‘Striking the Imagination through the Eye’: Relating the Archaeology of Mesopotamia to the British Public, 1920–1939

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

I, Hélène Maloigne, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis explores how British archaeologists working in Iraq during the interwar period engaged with the public through popular books, newspapers and radio broadcasts. Based on the main case study of Charles Leonard Woolley and his excavations at Ur for the British Museum and the Pennsylvania University Museum (1922–1934), I show how this popularization of archaeology went hand in hand with its professionalization during a formative stage of the discipline. Looking at popular and scholarly work over three different media from a historian's vantage point contextualises archaeology as a well-established and popular subject in interwar reading and listening. It also demonstrates the strong overlap between the three media and therefore connects the work of the thesis with current scholarship in archaeology, modern British history, history of science and media history.

Chapters One and Two explore the development of (field) archaeology in the interwar period and some of the major themes in archaeological thinking of the time (chronological sequences, migrations, race, the role of women in ancient societies). I explore how these themes advanced the discipline and disciplining of archaeology, and how they were intricately connected with and influential on contemporary debates on eugenics, race relations, international and home politics and society.

Finally, Chapters Three to Five examine how archaeologists communicated with the public and each other through newspapers, the radio and books. The transmedial appeal of archaeology is explored through Woolley's and other archaeologists' success in writing for newspapers/magazines, with the BBC and on the popular book market, using published and archival sources to anchor the development and popular appeal of archaeology in the interwar period in its historical, social and disciplinary context.

The conclusion reviews the findings of the thesis and outlines further avenues for research.

Impact Statement

This thesis presents an intervention into the history of archaeology, employing a wide range of approaches. Profiting from modern British studies, the history and philosophy of science and media history, it explores how British archaeologists working in the Middle East in the interwar period communicated with the public through newspapers, the radio and books. The thesis explores these communications both in terms of their content and the functions they served. It posits that what is often called the popularization of archaeological knowledge in the press and in other media, aimed at a general public, served the additional function of professionalising the discipline.

The impact of this contribution to interwar British history and the history of archaeology will be presented in journal articles and a monograph. I aim to publish at least two chapters of the thesis as articles in peer-reviewed journals and will be working towards a book proposal after submission. My research has furthermore been presented in online blog posts, engaging with scholars

of a wide range of disciplines as well as members of the public. I have participated in a number of conferences during my studies, sharing my research with scholars of a wide range of backgrounds and at various levels in their career.

I aim to pursue my research through an academic career and further publications, the results of which will inform future teaching engagements at undergraduate and masters level. I have secured a teaching engagement immediately after submission with City Lit, London's leading adult education college. There I will be teaching classes I have designed, based on my PhD research and on teaching experience gained at UCL. I have also obtained a Higher Education Academy Associate Fellowship through UCL's Arena programme, a teaching certificate for the higher education sector, which informs and underwrites my pedagogical approach.

As this thesis has profited from a studentship through the AHRC's Collaborative Doctoral Award programme, I have further shared my research with the wider public through the partnering institution for this thesis, Birmingham Museums Trust. Outreach activities include public speaking engagements at Birmingham Museums. In addition, I will be involved in the on-going redevelopment of the Ancient Near East galleries, developing information material for key stage 2.

The research presented in this thesis thus has an impact on a wide range of stakeholders, reaching out to the public of all ages, backgrounds and abilities.

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Abbreviations

BBC WAC	BBC Written Archives Centre
BMAG	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery
BMCE	British Museum Central Archives
BMME	British Museum Middle East Department
F&F	Faber and Faber
ILN	*The Illustrated London News*
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OUPA	Oxford University Press Archive
PA	Penguin Archives, University of Bristol, Library, Special Collections

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From the beginning of this project I have further profited greatly by attending Professor Paul Readman's Modern British History reading group at King's College London. Paul and the members of his group have been my guides in making the transition from archaeologist to modern historian, a journey which would have been significantly more difficult without their friendship, gentle criticism and encouragement. I would like to thank especially Agnes Arnold-Forster, Laura C Forster, Anna Maguire, Christian Melby, Martin Spychal, Ian B. Stewart and Brian Wallace. I also thank my PhD colleagues at UCL, especially Melissa Benson and Grace Redhead, for their support.

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❖ Introduction

This thesis explores how archaeologists addressed the British public during the interwar period through newspaper articles, radio broadcasts and books. I will situate these in the larger context of the continuing fascination of the past and archaeological exploration in the public imagination in Britain between the two World Wars. During this time, archaeology as a discipline went through a period of intense professionalization and maturing as a field of study, as its practitioners endeavoured to define its methods, aims and competencies in the field as well as in academe. The popular and the professional are therefore two sides of archaeology that became co-dependent as public interest in archaeological excavations reached unprecedented heights. Fuelled by the discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922 and excavations in the new British Mandate of Iraq – or Mesopotamia as the region had been known until the state was created after the First World War – archaeology proved to be a popular interest to many layers of society and infused scientific, literary, artistic and popular culture. This study focuses on archaeologists working in Iraq and their communication with the British reading and listening public as well as within their discipline. Focusing on archaeology in the British Mandate of Iraq (1920–1932) and the interwar period (1920–1939) allows us to closely examine a specific moment in a discipline while considering its wider historical context. Zooming in even more closely, the works of Charles Leonard Woolley (1880–1960), resulting from his excavations at Ur in southern Iraq, serve as a main case study.[1] His sustained success as a popularizer of archaeology across all three media and as a professional archaeologist illustrates well the importance of archaeology within popular and scientific discourse of the early twentieth century.

As should be clear from these introductory remarks, this thesis engages with a range of disciplinary fields, methods and approaches, time periods and locations. In what follows I will therefore provide an overview of literature that is relevant to all the following chapters, beginning with the history of archaeology and its relation to other fields, most importantly the history and philosophy of science. Writing a thesis focussing on a specific period in history I have of course also reviewed literature relating to the early twentieth century, reaching back to the nineteenth century and

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1 Woolley published under a range of variations of his name: C. Leonard Woolley, Leonard Woolley, Sir Leonard Woolley. No library catalogue is consistent in its use of this or even necessarily conforms to the name actually printed on any title. Woolley never appears to have used his first name Charles in full. To simplify the bibliography and citations I have used C. Leonard Woolley throughout the bibliography but will refer to him as Leonard Woolley in the text.

forward to the post-Second World War period. Writing about a large number of people, working in and with a range of geographical locations (the Middle East, Britain) as well as temporal periods (the nineteenth and twentieth centuries AD, various periods BC) it is impossible to be encyclopaedic. The sections introducing Leonard and Katharine Woolley, archaeology in the Middle East as well as interwar Britain are therefore offered as guides to the relevant fields without any claims to exhaustiveness.[2] I conclude this introduction with a short overview of the Ur excavations and an overview of the chapters.

Throughout his long life Leonard Woolley was a prolific writer and broadcaster. He excavated in Britain, Italy, Sudan, Syria, Turkey and Iraq, and he published journal articles and final excavation reports, semi-popular and popular books, magazine and newspaper articles and lectured on the radio about archaeology. His work as an archaeologist as well as his experiences in both World Wars provided him with ample material for further publications (both in newspapers and magazines and in books) and made him a popular guest on BBC programmes almost until his death in 1960. Although he never held a university position, his influence on archaeological practice has lasted until this day. These factors make his work and creative output the ideal case study to explore archaeology in the public imagination. The volume and variety of his written and spoken materials (such as they survive) make him stand out among his colleagues, yet he is here firmly placed within his contemporary circle and archaeology as a discipline.

One reason for Woolley's success stemmed from his ability to make archaeology relatable. As I will explore throughout the thesis, the skill to communicate with a wide range of audiences (perceived as well as real) and in a variety of formats was vital for the archaeologist of the interwar period. The usefulness of the term 'relate' as I employ it in the title therefore lies in its dual meaning: it encompasses the narrative element of archaeological writing as well as the relationship of the past to and its importance in the present. Woolley wrote that it was the field archaeologist who had the responsibility 'to make real and modern' what might seem to some a 'far-off tale'. This, he went on, was best achieved by recovering from the earth 'such documented relics of the past as strike the imagination through the eye'.[3]

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2 Literature regarding specific aspects of newspaper, radio and book history are treated in the respective chapters.

3 C. Leonard Woolley, *Digging Up the Past* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1930a), p. 141.

Following a general shift in the historiography of archaeology away from a narrative of a string of great discoveries in the field made by the lone male explorer, my thesis places Woolley, as unique as his career and prolific output may be, within his historical and disciplinary context.[4] I draw heavily on approaches from the history of science to contextualise the archaeological community (and Woolley's place within it) as concerned with creating and defining the boundaries of its science as well as with communicating and engaging the scientific and non-scientific public. Looking at how archaeologists presented their work in the media enables me to connect the history of archaeology with media history and modern British studies more generally. While histories of archaeology continue to be most often written by archaeologists – and I am one by training – this thesis intervenes in this historiography by employing a historian's approach.

While explaining the work of archaeologists we research we often find it necessary to provide information on the particular period of the past they worked on, thus leading us into a linearly-conceived view of disciplinary 'progress'.[5] Postcolonial studies have been most influential in countering this trend and in redressing the imbalances of the colonial discourses inherent to much of nineteenth- and twentieth-century archaeology.[6] Important, and extensive, work has been done in re-inscribing the importance of indigenous communities for archaeological fieldwork and in exploring

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4 Oscar Moro-Abadía has identified a 'Whig' approach as an important step in the self-consciousness of a new discipline which served to demonstrate its progress and therefore maturity. Oscar Moro Abadía, 'Beyond Externalism. Exploring new Directions in the History of Archaeology', *Archaeological Dialogues* 17/2 (2010), 215–236. Glyn Daniel's *A Hundred Years of Archaeology* (London: Duckworth, 1952) might serve as a prime example here. See also Sara Perry, 'Professionalization: Archaeology as an "Expert" Knowledge', in *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, ed. by Claire Smith (New York: Springer, 2014), 6150–6159, p. 6150.

5 This is a general impression of the literature, which is furthermore often aimed at a non-specialist readership. The latter fact is often the reason for this slippage. There exists a great number of articles, special journal issues or chapters in edited volumes attempting (more or less successfully) to bridge the various subspecialties and language barriers between historians of archaeology and those of other disciplines: Andrew L. Christenson, *Tracing Archaeology's Past. The Historiography of Archaeology* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1989); Nick Merriman (ed.), *Public Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2004); Hans-Joachim Gehrke and Miriam Sénéchau (eds.), *Geschichte, Archäologie, Öffentlichkeit. Für einen neuen Dialog zwischen Wissenschaft und Medien. Standpunkte aus Forschung und Praxis* (Berlin: Transcript Verlag, 2010); Ola Wolfhechel Jensen (ed.) *Histories of Archaeological Practices. Reflections on Methods, Strategies and Social Organisation in Past Fieldwork*, (Stockholm: National Historical Museum, 2012); Gisela Eberhardt and Fabian Link (eds.), *Historiographical Approaches to Past Archaeological Research* (Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2015); Bernd Hüppauf and Peter Weingart (eds.), *Frosch und Frankenstein. Bilder als Medium der Popularisierung von Wissenschaft* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2015); *Antiquity* 76 (2002), *Modernism/modernity* 11/1 (2004), *Complutum* 24/2 (2013); *History of Science* 55/3 (2017); *Museum History Journal* 10/2 (2017).

6 Andrea Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus. Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005); Oscar Moro-Abadía, 'The History of Archaeology as "Colonial Discourse"', *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 16/2 (2006), 4–17; Nathan Schlanger and Jarl Nordbladh (eds.), *Archives, Ancestors, Practices: Archaeology in the Light of its History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008); Matthew Liebmann and Uzma Z. Rizvi, *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique* (Lanham, AltaMira Press, 2008); Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, Edhem Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past, A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753–1914* (Istanbul: SALT, 2011).

the power imbalance between coloniser and colonized.[7] This branch of disciplinary history is closely connected to an equally strong field of scholars looking at the connection between nationalism and imperialism and the founding of nation-states, seeking to contextualize archaeology and the importance of the past within national foundation myths and actualities.[8] Others, building on the foundational work of Bruce Trigger, have sought to explore archaeological thought and method as an expression of modernity and modern science.[9] Most of this work is fractured along disciplinary subspecialties, language and national boundaries and it is almost impossible to keep track of the stream of new publications appearing each year.

With regards to the Middle East, and Iraq especially, there has been renewed interest in the relationship between archaeology, imperialism and armed conflict since the Gulf War (1990–1991). The American Invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the effect this has had on Iraqi heritage sites have brought the region once again to the front pages of Western newspapers. As Michael Seymour has pointed out, journalistic interest in the archaeology of Mesopotamia is thus subject to political or economic events considered newsworthy (see Chapter Four for a discussion of this term) and it often serves as a trope in evoking the importance of the region for Western readers (without taking Iraqi perspectives into account).[10]

In addition to the new strands contributing to the history of archaeology as outline above, there is existing research into archaeology's relationship with the media

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7 Ashish Chadha, 'Visions of Discipline: Sir Mortimer Wheeler and the Archaeological Method in India (1944–1948)', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2/3 (2002), 378–401; Nick Shepherd, '"When the Hand that Holds the Trowel is Black...". Disciplinary Practices of Self-Representation and the Issue of "Native" Labour in Archaeology', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3/3 (2003), 334–352; Stephen Quirke, *Hidden Hands. Egyptian Workforces in Petrie Excavation Archives, 1880–1924* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co, 2010); Wendy Doyon, 'On Archaeological Labour in Modern Egypt', in *Histories of Archaeology. Interdisciplinary Measures*, ed. by William Carruthers (New York: Routledge, 2015), 141–156. Questions of repatriation are also intricately entwined in this. See Janet Marstine (ed.), R*outledge Companion to Museum Ethics. Redefining Ethics for the Twenty-First Century Museum* (London: Routledge, 2011) for an overview.

8 Lynn Meskell (ed.), *Archaeology Under Fire. Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (London: Routledge, 1998); Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins. Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Holger Hoock, 'The British State and the Anglo-French Wars over Antiquities, 1798–1858', *The Historical Journal* 50/1 (2007), 49–72. The output here is large and often focuses on a specific national story (therefore sometimes repeating the very processes the work proposes to challenge). Most relevant for my study here has been Magnus T. Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past. Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

9 Bruce Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Julian Thomas, *Archaeology and Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2004a), *idem*, 'Archaeology's Place in Modernity', *Modernism/modernity* 11/1 (2004b), 17–34; Gavin Lucas, 'Modern Disturbances: On the Ambiguities of Archaeology', *ibid.*, 109–120.

10 Michael Seymour, 'Ancient Mesopotamia and Modern Iraq in the British Press, 1980–2003', *Current Anthropology* 45/3 (2004), 351–368.

(with a general focus on news reporting and television programming) and I consider my thesis a contribution to this line of research. The archaeologists active in the interwar period (and beyond) were, as this thesis will show, acutely aware of the value of employing popular media.[11] Only in the last few decades, however, has there been a sustained exploration of this practice and how it affects archaeological interpretation in return. Timothy Clack and Marcus Brittain have provided an important contribution to exploring archaeology's varied interaction with the media in their edited collection.[12] As Karol Kulik points out in his chapter, recent generations of archaeologists have assumed their efforts to improve this relationship to be 'new'.[13] Changes in demands by public funders (at least in Britain), new impulses in archaeological theory and method developed during the 1970s and 1980s and, not least of all, an 'amnesia' among archaeologists regarding the discipline's history have all contributed to this impression.

Most accounts of archaeology and the media, however, suffer from an amnesia of their own: they either focus on archaeology's 'progression' out of antiquarianism in the nineteenth century up to the First World War, or claim that Mortimer Wheeler and Glyn Daniel 'double-handedly dragged their colleagues and the profession into the homes of the British public via radio and television' in the 1950s.[14] As my thesis will show, the interwar period, so often left out or skipped over in these linear accounts, must be explored in greater detail to understand the continuities of the nineteenth century and the base on which the post-War popularisers built their success.

While most of the works cited here emphasise the importance of discoveries made in the field for the development of the discipline, feminist approaches, gender and women's studies have introduced other work contexts.[15] The museum, laboratory, archive, classroom, laboratory or illustration studio housed work often undertaken by

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11 Glyn Daniel, 'Archaeology and Television', *Antiquity* 28 (1954), 201–205.

12 Timothy Clack and Marcus Brittain (eds.), *Archaeology and the Media* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007).

13 Karol Kulik 'A Short History of Archaeological Communication', in *Archaeology and the Media*, ed. by Timothy Clack and Marcus Brittain (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), 111–124, p. 112.

14 Kulik 2007, p. 116. Important contributions to this line of research are the *Filming Antiquity* project https://www.filmingantiquity.com/media.html [accessed 29 April 2020]; Colleen Morgan, 'Archaeology and the Moving Image', *Public Archaeology* 14/3 (2014), 323–344; and Kathryn Elizabeth Rogers, *Off the Record. Archaeology and Documentary Filmmaking* (University of Southampton: unpublished PhD thesis, 2019).

15 Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Marie Louise Stig Sorensen (eds.), *Excavating Women. History of Women in European Archaeology* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1998); Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Joukowsky (eds.), *Breaking Ground. Pioneering Women Archaeologists* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004); Joan M. Gero and Margaret Wright Conkey (eds.), *Engendering Archaeology. Women and Prehistory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). See also www.trowelblazer.com for an ever-expanding number of shorter pieces on female archaeologists [accessed 14.05.2019].

women, long considered of secondary importance, is slowly being 'excavated'.[16] When women did participate in the field, their work as field archaeologists, cataloguers, photographers, illustrators, nurses, secretaries, wives or companions often went unmentioned in excavation reports, was hidden in a dedication or preface or simply erased.[17] While it is essential for the further development of histories of archaeology as a sub-discipline (as well as for understanding and challenging our own practices) to foreground previously marginalised spaces and roles, I here emphatically insist on the importance of fieldwork for the discipline in the interwar period, as it presents a number of complexes which can be usefully explored both by the disciplinary historian as well as by those seeking to understand archaeology's place in wider society.

Considering one aspect of archaeological work in greater detail, however, I do not subscribe to a narrow 'internalist', Whig view of archaeology.[18] Rather, I want to emphasise the function fieldwork fulfilled as a tool that archaeologists used to communicate with their publics. In my thesis I therefore focus heavily on material created by archaeologists themselves. Neither do I mean to neglect the wide field of reception studies, which has vastly enhanced our understanding of the place of the past in the present. While this has become an academic field of study in itself (flourishing most in studying the reception of Greece, Rome, and Egypt), it seldom interacts with work studying the popularization of science.[19] In following Sara Perry, I understand my thesis as a contribution to the history of archaeology in exploring these seemingly 'informal' kinds of communication with archival research into personal letters or mutual site visits exchanged between archaeologists.[20]

An important aspect of reception is the emphasis on the popular output of 'professional scientists' (see Chapter One) in the media and their peer-to-peer communication conducted through these channels. I believe my study helps to 'brea[k] down the distinction between "academic" and the "popular"'. As Stephanie Moser has

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16 Kathleen L. Sheppard, 'Margaret Alice Murray and Archaeological Training in the Classroom. Preparing "Petrie's Pups"', in *Histories of Egyptology. Interdisciplinary Measures*, ed. by William Carruthers (New York: Routledge, 2015), 112–128.

17 Alan Kaiser, *Archaeology, Sexism, and Scandal: The Long-Suppressed Story of One Woman's Discoveries and the Man Who Stole Credit for Them* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015); Stephanie Moser, 'On Disciplinary Culture: Archaeology as Fieldwork and Its Gendered Associations', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 14/3 (2007), 235–263.

18 Moro Abadía 2010, *passim*.

19 See for example Lorna Hardwick, *Reception Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Stephanie Moser, *Designing Antiquity. Owen Jones, Ancient Egypt and the Crystal Palace* (New Haven, Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2012a); Sarah J. Butler, *Britain and its Empire in the Shadow of Rome. The Reception of Rome in Socio-Political Debate from the 1850s to the 1920s* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012); Eleanor Dobson and Nichola Tonks (eds.), *Ancient Egypt in the Modern Imagination: Art, Literature and Culture* (London: Bloomsbury, in press).

20 Sara Perry, 'Archaeology on Television, 1937', *Public Archaeology* 16/1 (2017), 3–18, p. 6151.

pointed out, only in 'the fusion of the two and the way they work in concert with each other that is the basis of making ideas' will we contribute to a greater understanding of the nature of this relationship.[21]

Archaeology has often been called an inherently visual science. To answer whether it relies more on the eye as a sense than any other discipline is not the aim of this thesis.[22] However, Woolley's quote, which provides the title to this study, points towards the important place a 'scopic regime' occupied in the discipline. This can be traced back to its roots in antiquarianism and art history with their emphasis on depicting the objects of their study instead of relying solely on description.[23] In linear accounts of archaeological 'progress' the emphasis has often been on 'scientific' illustration, whether this refers to technical drawing, photography or statistical analysis. In the nineteenth century, photography, as Frederick Bohrer argues, became such an important tool for archaeology as both developed simultaneously during the second half of the nineteenth century, and ancient remains (especially in Egypt and on other stops of the Grand Tour) were some of the first subjects to be captured by early photographers.[24] While both 'scientific' photography and illustration are well-researched aspects of archaeological practice, 'popular' or non-academic illustrations and reporting remain stubbornly on the periphery of disciplinary histories.[25] This is despite the fact that, as Stephanie Moser has noted, 'they often communicate ideas about the "essence" or character of ancient peoples in a manner that is not conveyed in conventional academic texts'.[26]

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21 Stephanie Moser, 'Reconstructing Ancient Worlds: Reception Studies, Archaeological Representation and the Interpretation of Ancient Egypt', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22/4 (2015), 1263–1308, p. 1302.

22 Roger Balm, *Archaeology's Visual Culture. Digging and Desire* (London: Routledge, 2016). On observation and its relation to objectivity see Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2010); Lorraine Daston, 'On Scientific Observation', *Isis* 99/1 (2008), 97–110.

23 Of course, reading text (for the sighted) is a visual activity as much as looking at images.

24 Frederick Nathaniel Bohrer, *Photography and Archaeology* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011). See, however, Mirjam Brusius, *Fotografie und museales Wissen. William Henry Fox Talbot, das Altertum und die Absenz der Fotografie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

25 While earlier historians of the discipline like Stanley Casson (*Progress of Archaeology* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1934; *The Discovery of Man: The Story of the Inquiry into Human Origins* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1939)), Grahame Clark (*Archaeology and Society* (London: Methuen, 1939)) or Glyn Daniel (*A Hundred Years of Archaeology* (London: Duckworth, 1952)) used illustrations in their publications, they did not reflect on their own practice. One of the first to do so was Stuart Piggott in his *Antiquity Depicted. Aspects of Archaeological Illustration* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978). Since then the enquiry into the use of archaeological illustration has widened. Chapters on practice as well as theory now form part of many handbooks and overviews: Stephanie Moser, 'Archaeological Representation: The Consumption and Creation of the Past' in *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeology*, ed. by Chris Gosden, Barry W. Cunliff and Rosemary A. Joyce (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012b), 1048–1077.

26 Moser 2012b, p. 1050.

This appeal for a more interdisciplinary approach to disciplinary histories finds parallels in other disciplines as well. Calling for a more integrated method towards studying the interwar media landscape, Siân Nicholas has challenged historians to 'contextualise developments in one mass medium in relation to other media'.[27] By exploring newspapers and magazines, radio broadcasts and books, this thesis explores the intermedial nature of archaeological writing and lecturing, emphasising the popularity of the subject for a wide range of audiences during the interwar period by a public reeling from the shock of the Great War.[28]

Britons after the Great War were looking for answers. Answers from their political leaders to explain the loss of human life, the misery of the trenches, modernised warfare, disease, hunger, and shell-shock.[29] But they were also looking for distraction, entertainment, knowledge, and a deeper understanding not only of how the Great War had come about, but also how to move on from it. Carsten Kretschmann has argued that crises or moments of 'accelerated social change' enhance the demand for popularized knowledge because it promises explanations and routine.[30] And archaeology – as this thesis will show – was ideally posed to contribute to this demand. While the Great War is often used as a convenient cutting-off point for historical accounts, it is important to consider continuities and avoid interpretations gained by hindsight.[31] I employ the term 'interwar period' to conveniently define the time span under consideration, but contemporaries did not conceive of their age as wedged between wars (at least not until the very late Thirties). The late Victorian and

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27 Siân Nicholas, 'Media History or Media Histories?: Re-addressing the History of the Mass Media in Inter-War Britain', *Media History* 18/3–4 (2012), 379–394, p. 382–383.

28 Gabriele Rippl (ed.), Handbook of Intermediality (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter/Mouton, 2015).

29 While this thesis examines historical developments mostly taking place in the interwar period, it is not a thesis of the interwar period. For political and economical aspects of Britain 1918–1940 see for example James Vernon, *Modern Britain, 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Roderick Floud and Paul Johson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain. Volume 2. Economic Maturity, 1860–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Philipp Blom, *Fracture. Life and Culture in the West, 1918–1938* (London: Atlantic Books, 2015).

30 Carsten Kretschmann, 'Wissenschaftspopularisierung – Ansätze und Konzepte' in *Frosch und Frankenstein. Bilder als Medium der Popularisierung von Wissenschaft*, ed. by Bernd Hüppauf and Peter Weingart (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2015), 79–99, p. 84. Richard Overy makes a similar argument when he states that the war had disrupted the then prevalent view of history as progressive. Cyclical systems 'gave historians [and by extension archaeologists as the interpreters of the longue durée] a central place in explaining the current crisis of civilization as a profound historical phenomenon rather than a mere consequence of the war.' Richard Overy, *The Morbid Age. Britain Between the Wars* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), p. 28–29. See also Louise Blakeney Williams, *Modernism and the Ideology of History. Literature, Politics and the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

31 Arne Schirrmacher (and many others) makes a similar point when he notes that scientific and cultural developments seldom fit so neatly into historical narratives centred around political events. Arne Schirrmacher, 'Nach der Popularisierung. Zur Relation von Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit im 20. Jahrhundert (After Popularization. On the Relation between Science and Public in the 20th Century)', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 34/1 (2008), 73–95, p. 74.

Edwardian periods, via the complex of the *fin de siècle*, petered out slowly amid new impulses such as modernism, surrealism, jazz, and the 'age of mechanical reproduction'.[32] All archaeologists studied here were born and schooled in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, went to university during the Edwardian years and participated in the Great War on the front, in intelligence or in providing medical care. Their experiences must therefore be considered in their variety *and* as typical examples in building a picture of archaeology and society in Britain in the Twenties and Thirties.

The case study of Charles Leonard Woolley is used throughout this thesis as such an exceptional yet typical example of a late-Victorian beginning to life, and a career spanning sixty years of the twentieth century. Woolley was born in London in 1880, the third of eleven children of George Herbert and Sarah Woolley.[33] As the son of a curate he attended St. John's School in Leatherhead, Surrey on fellowships and went on to New College, Oxford. There he achieved only a second in theology in 1904, dashing his hopes for a career following in his father's footsteps. According to his own, and often quoted, origin myth, he had resolved to become a schoolmaster when he was called to see the Warden of New College, William Archibald Spooner (1844–1930). Spooner, after questioning Woolley as to his plans, told him: '… well, Mr Woolley, I have decided that you shall be an archaeologist'.[34] Woolley thereupon took a position as assistant to Arthur Evans in the Ashmolean Museum and soon gained his first field experiences in Britain, Italy and modern-day Sudan with David Randall-McIver (1873–1945). This last excavation ran from 1907 to 1911 and was funded by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (hereafter University Museum). In 1912 and 1913 he acted as director at David Hogarth's excavations at Carchemish, assisted by T. E. Lawrence (later to be styled 'of Arabia'). During the First World War Woolley served as a military intelligence officer in Cairo, in close proximity to but not as a member of Hogarth's Arab Bureau. He was taken captive while on a mission in the Gulf of Alexandretta in 1916 and spent the remainder of the war as a prisoner of war in Turkey.[35] Keen to restart his excavations at Carchemish he returned

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32 Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, transl. by J. A. Underwood (London: Penguin, 2008). Michael Saler (ed.), *The Fin-de-Siècle World* (London: Routledge, 2015).

33 All biographical details are taken from H. V. F. Winstone, *Woolley of Ur. The Life of Sir Leonard Woolley* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1990) and Christopher Eden, 'Woolley, Sir (Charles) Leonard (1880–1960)', online edition, *ODNB*, 2004.

34 Winstone 1990, p. 15–16. Woolley dedicated his book of memoirs about Carchemish and his travels with Lawrence to 'The Warden of New College, Oxford'. C. Leonard Woolley, *Dead Towns and Living Men. Being Pages from an Antiquary's Notebook* (London: Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press, 1920).

35 C. Leonard Woolley (ed.), *From Kastamuni to Kedos. Being a Record of Experiences of Prisoners of War in Turkey, 1916–1918* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1921).

there in 1920 but the conditions on what had become the frontline between Kemalist troops and the French army made the continuation of excavations impossible.[36] After a short stint at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, Woolley was appointed director for the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia at Ur in southern Iraq in 1922. The findings from these excavations will provide the main focus of this study. After that project ended in 1934, Woolley continued to be active in the field, excavating at Tell Atchana (and nearby Al-Mina) in what is now the State of Hatay of the Republic of Turkey before and after the Second World War.[37] During the war, Woolley worked in various positions as archaeological advisor, first to the Directorate of Public Relations and from 1943 onwards in the Directorate of Civil Affairs.[38] After the conclusion of the excavations at Tell Atchana he retired from fieldwork but remained an active writer and broadcaster.[39] Leonard Woolley died on 20 February 1960.[40]

In 1927 Woolley married one of the volunteer assistants and the only woman to work at Ur, Katharine Elizabeth Keeling (née Menke, 1888–1945).[41] After schooling in Germany and Britain and studies at Oxford she had volunteered as a nurse in the First World War and married her first husband, Colonel Bertram Keeling, in 1920. After his suicide the same year she returned to nursing and, during a stay in Baghdad in 1923, visited Ur and became a volunteer for the excavation. A gifted illustrator and

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36 Hasan Kayali, 'The Struggle for Independence', in *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume 4. Turkey in the Modern World*, ed. by Reşat Kasaba (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 112–146.

37 C. Leonard Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom. Being a Record of the Results Obtained from the Excavations of Two Mounds, Atchana and Al Mina, in the Turkish Hatay* (London: Penguin Books, 1953a).

38 I am grateful to Oliver Carter-Wakefield for corrections on this matter. Greg Bradsher, 'Sir Charles Leonard Woolley. The Background and Early Activities of an Unlikely Monuments Man', *The National Archives. The Text Message Blog*, https://text-message.blogs.archives.gov/2013/12/05/sir-charles-leonard-woolley-the-background-and-early-activities-of-an-unlikely-monuments-man/ 2013. [accessed 22 September 2019].

39 C. Leonard Woolley, *Spadework. Adventures in Archaeology* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1953b); C. Leonard Woolley, *The Young Archaeologist* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1961); C. Leonard Woolley, *As I Seem to Remember* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. on Behalf of Shaftesbury and District Society and Museum, 1962).

40 *The Times*, 22 February 1960, 14.

41 Little is known about Katharine, most information coming from Winstone's biography of Leonard Woolley. This is mainly based on accounts by M. E. L. Mallowan and his wife, the author Agatha Christie, who were friends of the Woolleys. Winstone's other main sources were Woolley's housekeepers whom he employed in the last decade of his life. As Katharine Woolley died in 1945 this information is third-hand at best. See Lisa-Marie Shillito, 'Katharine Woolley. Demanding, Dangerous, and Digging', *Trowelblazers*, n.d. http://trowelblazers.com/katharine-woolley/ [accessed 20 September 2019]; Nadja Cholidis, '"The Glamour of the East": Some Reflections on Agatha Christie's Murder in Mesopotamia', *Agatha Christie and Archaeology*, ed. by Charlotte Trümpler (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), 335–349; Kyra Kaercher, 'Adventure Calls. The Life of a Woman Adventurer', *Museum Blog*, https://www.penn.museum/blog/museum/adventure-calls-the-life-of-a-woman-adventurer/ [accessed 20 September 2019], for more balanced assessments of Katharine's personality and contribution to the work published solely under her husband's name.

conservator, she became a valued member of Woolley's team. In 1926, George Byron Gordon, director of the University Museum, expressed his concern about gossip he had heard from visitors to the excavation. An unmarried (or rather widowed) woman living with a group of men in a remote location for months had apparently raised some eyebrows. Leonard Woolley protested vehemently and – in a rather chivalrous mode – defended Katharine's reputation, noting that this was perhaps 'the price women may have to pay for cooperation in scientific work'.[42] He also denied any romantic involvement with Katharine.

Nevertheless, Leonard and Katharine were married in 1927. The nature and development of their relationship remains a source of intrigue and speculation to some, and Katharine was often remembered as a complicated and demanding, even hypochondriac woman.[43] This does not seem to have had an impact on the couple's working life as Katharine was an integral part of the excavations, taking on the 'traditional role' of an archaeologist's wife busy with housekeeping, hosting guests, nursing duties, while at the same time supervising large parts of the excavation work, undertaking illustration and conservation/reconstruction.[44] She is also reported to have been a relentless fundraiser for the Ur excavations and for the later excavations at Tell Atchana, which relied almost entirely on private donors and public subscription. As I will show throughout the thesis, she also had great influence on Woolley's writing and his interpretation of the archaeological evidence. Leonard readily acknowledged her role, yet her status as an archaeologist has gone largely unacknowledged within the history of archaeology through the lack of publications in her name and the general lack of attention afforded to women's contributions to science.

In 1929 she published a novel, *Adventure Calls*, with John Murray, to probably modest success.[45] She furthermore wrote about her experiences at Ur in a number of

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42 Cited in Robert H. Dyson, 'Archival Glimpses of the Ur Expedition in the Years 1920 to 1926, *Expedition* 20/1 (1977), 5–23, pp. 20–23. On marriage in the interwar period see Timothy Willem Jones, 'Love, Honour and Obey? Romance, Subordination and Marital Subjectivity in Interwar Britain', in *Love and Romance in Britain, 1918–1970*, ed. by Alana Harris and Timothy Willem Jones (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 124–143. Katharine Holden *The Shadow of Marriage. Singleness in England, 1914–60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

43 Agatha Christie, *An Autobiography* (London: HarperCollins, 2010), pp. 377; 391. At what point she and others discovered that she suffered from multiple sclerosis, a disease which manifests itself in highly individual and changing symptoms, remains unclear.

44 Linda Braidwood, *Digging Beyond the Tigris* (London: Abelard–Schuman, 1959); Seton Lloyd, *The Interval. A Life in Near Eastern Archaeology* (Oxford: L. Collon 1986), p. 19–20.; Norma Dever, 'They Also Dug! Archaeologists' Wives and Their Stories', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67/3 (2004), 162–173; Agatha Christie Mallowan, *Come, Tell Me How You Live* (London: Collins, 1946); Mary Chubb, *Nefertiti Lived Here … With Illustrations by Ralph Lavers* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1954); Mary Chubb, *City in the Sand* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1957).

45 Unfortunately the John Murray Archive at the National Library of Scotland has not retained any correspondence between Katharine Woolley and staff at John Murray (David McClay, pers. comm.,

newspapers and magazines.[46] During the Second World War Katharine acted as her husband's secretary, a modest title considering her share in the substantial achievement of creating an index and catalogue of artworks and archaeological sites at risk of looting or destruction in Europe and North Africa, and coordinating efforts with Allied troops to protect them. She died after protracted illness from the effects of multiple sclerosis on 8 November 1945.[47]

Politics and Archaeology in the Middle East

This thesis has as its focus the work of Western archaeologists working in the Middle East.[48] In some chapters I will focus more narrowly on Mandate-era Iraq, while in other places I widen the scope to include more of the Eastern Mediterranean and, in exploring newspapers magazines and books and radio talks published and broadcast in Britain, it occasionally becomes necessary to take archaeologists working in other parts of the world into account. As my focus is not only the early twentieth century AD but also the distant past, terminology becomes ever more complex. While the 'Middle East' can encompass the area from Morocco to Afghanistan, I focus here specifically on the region covered by the modern nation-states of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel, Jordan and Iraq. Some scholars prefer the term 'West(ern) Asia' as more geographically neutral. This has not, in general, been taken up in (Western) scholarship and I therefore follow the terminology used in the literature I rely on. When speaking about the modern nation-state Iraq, I will do so explicitly to mean the political entity created after the First World War. 'Mesopotamia', the land between the rivers (Euphrates and Tigris), is a Greek term, which overlaps largely with the borders of Iraq but also includes parts of modern-day Syria and Turkey, and I use this term when referring to the region in archaeological terms.[49] When speaking about the past, archaeologists often

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18.01.2016). In a letter to R. W. Chapman at Oxford University Press she wrote that 'it has been a complete failure and I think I deserve it, & I am thoroughly ashamed of it & am never going to write anything again …' OUPA, Katharine Woolley to R. W. Chapman, 18 March 1930.

46 Katharine Keeling, 'Gala-Gala and Nick', *The Cornhill Magazine*, New Series, Vol. 59/350 (August 1925), 214–225; Katharine Keeling, 'The Diggers', *The Cornhill Magazine*, New Series, Vol. 60/360 (June 1926), 723–740.

47 *The Times*, 12 November 1945, 7.

48 Guillemette Crouzet, *Genèses du Moyen-Orient: le golfe Persique à l'âge des impérialismes (vers 1800-vers 1914). Préface de Christopher A. Bayly* (Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon, 2015).

49 The fact that this term was in use in the early twentieth century AD and during the First World War further complicates the matter. I will not use it in this sense. It goes without saying that this is not how the peoples of the region described it before arrival of the Greeks. J. J. Finkelstein, 'Mesopotamia', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 21/2 (1962), 73–92. Al-Jazirah in Arabic (the island) also covers the land between the rivers. This encompasses parts of Syria, Turkey and Iraq. For the complicated place the interdisciplinary researcher of this region finds herself in see Eleanor Robson, 'Boundary Conflicts. Archaeology and Politics in the Middle East and Beyond', in *Crossing Frontiers. The Opportunities and Challenges of Interdisciplinary Approaches to Archaeology. Proceedings of a Conference held at*

use the term 'Ancient Near East'. The Near East in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries AD parlance included parts of southeast Europe, reflecting the shifting borders of the Ottoman Empire.[50] In current (twenty-first century AD) terms, the Ancient Near East has shifted eastwards to overlap Western Asia (and often includes Turkey, Armenia, Iran and even the southern Caucasus). In what follows I provide an overview of the Mandate years of Iraq so as to contextualise the political entity and its relationship to archaeology within its borders, as this is the main locale for the following chapters.

According to Charles Townshend, British imperial expansion in the Middle East in the years following the First World War was in a sense 'astonishing and unpredictable.[51] He relates in great detail the Mesopotamian campaign as it evolved during the War and how it led to the occupation and finally the British mandate. In his assessment of the personalities and institutions involved he emphasises the lack of cohesive policy and the competition amongst the various ministries who – some more reluctantly than others – were involved in the administration of the region both during and after the War. These include but were not limited to the War Office, the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, the India Office, the Government of India as well as the commanders of the various forces, including the newly established Royal Air Force.[52] This maze of competing agencies was populated by strongly opinionated personalities in Iraq as well as in London and Simla (and Cairo during the War).[53]

Townshend names Gertrude Bell's 1917 report on the tribal structure in Iraq as one of the most influential documents informing British policy, but in reality, Townshend continues, it presented 'a serious distortion of Iraqi society'. British

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the University of Oxford, 25–26 June 2005, ed. by H. Schroeder, P. Bray, P. Gardner, V. Jefferson and E. Macaulay-Lewis (Oxford: School of Archaeology, 2007), 139–141.

50 The modern-day states of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey and sometimes Romania.

51 Charles Townshend, *When God Made Hell. The British Invasion of Mesopotamia and the Creation of Iraq* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), p. xxiii. The remit of this thesis does not allow for a detailed discussion of all aspects of British involvement in the Middle East, preceding and during the First World War. Neither can it focus in detail on the period after Iraq obtained independence in 1932 up to this day. I refer the reader for the larger connections to Crouzet 2015. See also Roger Adelson, *London and the Invention of the Middle East. Money, Power, and War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); John Fisher, *Curzon and British Imperialism in the Middle East, 1916–1919* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999); Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 3rd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Toby Dodge, *Inventing Iraq. The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians. The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). For an overview of the fluctuating geographical definitions of the Near, Middle and Far East throughout the 19th and 20th centuries see Roderic H. Davison, 'Where is the Middle East?', *Foreign Affairs* 38/4 (1960), 665–675.

52 Townshend 2010, p. 473–475.

53 See also Fisher 1999.

officials aimed to enforce tribal structures as they saw or wished to see them: with one sheikh at the head of a tribe with whom they could establish relations and who was to be in charge of his people and area. This led to stiff competition amongst pretenders, corruption and the unfair distribution of land.[54] The building of hospitals and schools and the establishment of newspapers as well as the rebuilding of the city of Kut – which had suffered tremendously under the siege and consequent conquest by Ottoman troops – fostered goodwill in the population. However, the large contingent of army personnel and the exorbitant costs of accommodation and administration these generated contributed to a smouldering unrest in the civilian population. By 1919 Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for War, demanded the reduction of troops on the ground and therefore costs and, in an effort to achieve this, initiated air control by the RAF over large parts of the area.[55] The British military and civil officers vastly misjudged the mood within the Iraqi population during that period and thought that the occasional fights in the provinces would not escalate into a full-blown revolt.[56] Fighting started in July 1920 in Rumaitha and by late August the mid-Euphrates region had to be abandoned by troops and a general rebellion broke out.[57] Although the bigger towns like Baghdad, Basra and Tikrit remained calm, the more remote areas and southern marshes as well as mountainous northern, Kurdish regions presented themselves to British troops as the greatest challenges, leading to the involvement of the RAF and its infamous bombing of villages during the 1920 *Al-Thawra al-Iraqiya* or Iraqi uprising, which lasted until October of the same year.[58]

In March 1921 Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, convened the Cairo Conference in order to tackle the situation in Iraq and elsewhere in the Middle East. Its main goal was the reduction of costs or rather the transfer of the burden of costs from the British to the Iraqi taxpayer while retaining control firmly in British hands.[59] One of the most important questions at the conference was how Iraq should be governed and how the hopes raised by Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points could best be managed.[60]

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54 Townshend 2010, pp. 407–409; Tripp 2007, p. 51.
55 Townshend 2010, p. 453.
56 Townshend 2010, p. 469.
57 Tripp 2007, p. 43.
58 See also Jafna L. Cox, 'A Splendid Training Ground: The Importance to the Royal Air Force of its Role in Iraq, 1919–32', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 13/2 (1985), 157–184; Priya Satia, *Spies in Arabia. The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) and *eadem,* 'Drones. A History from the British Middle East', *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 5/1 (2014), 1–31.
59 Adelson 1995, p. 198; Peter Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq. Contriving King and Country* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), p. 40.
60 Arab expectations had been further raised by the Anglo-French Declaration issued in 1918, but dashed at the conference of San Remo in April 1920, during which the A, B and C Mandates were

The support the Arab population had extended to the British during the War and the promises made in return needed to be considered if this transfer of costs was to be made palatable. Faisal al-Awwal bin al-Hussain bin ‘Ali al-Hashimi (1885–1933) – the son of the Sharif of Mecca and one of the leaders of the Arab troops under the guidance of T. E. Lawrence during the First World War – had been proclaimed king of Syria in 1920, only to be expelled by the French by July of the same year. This left him free to take up the British offer to become king of Iraq (a land in which he had never yet set foot). At the conference the British government thus also confirmed its approval of Faisal’s candidacy as ruler of Iraq, on the condition that he accept the mandate as a (temporary) form of governing.[61] He was crowned in August 1921 after a rigged referendum resulting in a 96 per cent. approval rate.[62]

Faisal’s reign was ‘marked by his attempt to give some strength to an office characterised chiefly by its weakness’, maintaining a fine balance between his position, effectively as a British puppet, and creating an independent Iraqi nation. In the face of rising opposition to mandatory rule the British had promised Faisal and the cabinet an Anglo-Iraqi treaty, in fact a mere smoke-screen for the mandate. After lengthy negotiations this was approved by the council of ministers in October 1922, pending ratification by the Constituent Assembly. This convened for its first session in 1924, the delay caused by debates about constitutional and electoral questions, party formations and, most crucially, the fact that almost half of Iraq’s population was Shi’ite while the British favoured a Sunni-dominated government.[63] The resolution of the conflict over Mosul province and the eventual settlement of hostilities with Turkey with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, together with the recommendations by the League of Nations, resulted in the finalisation of Iraq’s northern border and a new Anglo-Iraqi Treaty in 1926. It was to last for twenty-five years, unless Iraq was admitted as a fully independent member of the League of Nations before the treaty’s expiration.[64] This was recommended by Britain in 1929 and, in 1931, the League Mandates Commission saw the conditions for Iraq’s admission as fulfilled. Hence, in ‘October 1932 Iraq’s membership of the League of Nations was approved by a unanimous vote of the

allocated and confirmed. Sluglett pp. 28–30. See also Ali A. Allawi, *Faisal I of Iraq* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2014).

61 Adelson 1995, p. 200.

62 Tripp 2007, p. 47–48.

63 Not to mention other minorities such as the Kurds, Jews, Yazidis and various Christian communities. Tripp 2007, pp. 31; 52 for population percentages. One of the reasons for promoting Sunni leadership was to lessen the influence of neighbouring Shi’ite Iran.

64 Tripp 2007, p. 57 for a full discussion of the implications of this process for the Kurdish population.

League's Assembly'.[65] According to Peter Sluglett, this news received only a lukewarm reception in Iraq as Iraqis were well aware of the 'conditional independence' thus granted to them. It retained many aspects of the mandate system such as the British advisers and RAF bases, ostensibly to support a weak Iraqi military but in effect to defend British interests in and retain access to the oil fields.[66]

As this thesis will explore, the British Mandate provided archaeologists with access not only to new sites but also to the bodies of ancient and modern inhabitants of the region. The hierarchically structured relationship between colonizer and colonized played itself out on the field of human remains but had great influence on how modern Iraqis were perceived. The role the long established process of Western science of classifying humanity into races and sexes and how these two categories are intricately connected will be shown below.

When Woolley conducted his first season in November 1922, just weeks after the signing of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty, there was no law in place regulating either excavation permits or the state's approach to movable or immovable antiquities.[67] The treaty had, however, made provisions for the antiquities legislation to be based on the not-ratified Treaty of Sèvres, which the Allies had tried to impose on Turkey after the First World War.[68] Article 421 of Part XIII of this Treaty required a division of all excavated finds between the hosting country and the excavating institution, which was to prove the most controversial aspect of later legislation in Iraq and other countries.[69] The Antiquities Act of Iraq was largely a creation of Gertrude Bell in her role as Oriental Secretary to the High Commissioner, a position she held from 1921 until her death in 1926, and in her role as Honorary Director of Antiquities, which was bestowed

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65 Tripp 2007, p. 72–75.

66 Sluglett 2007, p. 156–158.

67 Although not explicitly stated, Bernhardsson's research seems to imply that the Ottoman laws were no longer in force. Bernhardsson 2005; Bernhardsson 2017.

68 Ana Filipa Vrdoljak, *International Law, Museums and the Return of Cultural Objects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 67. Paul Basu and Vinita Damodaran, 'Colonial Histories of Heritage: Legislative Migrations and the Politics of Preservation ', *Past & Present* 226, suppl. 10 (2015), 240–271. David Hogarth had been a member of the committee drafting this part of the document. These provisions were eventually not carried over to the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923. James H. Breasted, 'Obituary. David George Hogarth', *Geographical Review* 18/1 (1928), 159–161, p. 160.

69 Under the Ottoman Empire legislation introduced in 1874 equally allowed for a division of finds. '[N]umerous loopholes' and 'the absence of enforcement' enabled the 'midcentury amateur and professional European archaeologists' to view 'the Ottoman Empire as a garden of antiquities ripe for harvesting', a privilege they were not ready to relinquish. Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed. Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003), pp. 90; 108. A new law, introduced in 1906, defined all antiquities as belonging to the Ottoman government and their collection as the state's prerogative, but proved permeable upon diplomatic intervention. Shaw 2003, pp. 126–128.

on her by King Faisal in 1922.[70] By October the same year Bell had formulated the legislation and expected it to be passed by the cabinet without any problems. But some ministers voiced opposition and as a result Woolley started his excavation in November with only a temporary permit issued by the Ministry of Public Works. Cabinet ministers particularly opposed the proposed division of finds which heavily favoured foreign excavators, insisting that all finds belonged to the nation and would therefore remain in the country.[71] Eventually, with the support of the king and the High Commissioner, Bell's law was passed in June 1924.[72]

The Mandate period witnessed a sharp rise of Western-led excavation projects, of which Woolley's at Ur was but one.[73] During that time Bell also initiated what was to become her long-lasting legacy, the National Museum of Iraq. Like many other museums of its time, the main purpose of the National Museum was to build an object-based collection representing the history of this newly created nation through its material culture.[74] Bell had provided for this in her legislation, which named the museum as the repository of archaeological finds. In her position as Honorary Director of Antiquities Bell had put herself in charge of the division of finds at the end of the excavation season, for the first time at Ur in 1923.[75] After her initial success with legislation, Bell became politically marginalised as Iraqi politicians gained more experience with the processes of governing, and nationalism and an Iraqi identity started to be more clearly defined.[76] Her successors Sidney Smith and Julius Jordan

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70 Liora Lukitz, 'Bell, Gertrude Margaret Lowthian (1868–1926)', online edition, *ODNB*, 2008; Bernhardsson 2005, p. 117.

71 The department of antiquities was initially placed under the Ministry of Public Works and was transferred to the Ministry of Education after Bell's death in 1926.

72 In 1936 the earlier Act was replaced by The Iraqi Antiquities Law No. 59, which in essence remained in force until 2002. Vrdoljak 2009, p. 70. J. O'Keefe and Lyndel V. Prott, *Law and the Cultural Heritage. Volume 1. Discovery and Excavation* (Abingdon: Professional Books, 1984), 46–47; Bernhardsson 2005: passim and p. 121 also discusses the persistent lobbying by the British Museum to allow the excavator a share of the finds.

73 These included Kish (Oxford University and the Field Museum, Chicago), Uruk/Warka (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft), the Diyala excavations at Tell Asmar, Tell Agrab, Khafaje and Ishchali (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, which also excavated at Khorsabad and other, smaller sites), and Nuzi (American School of Oriental Research), to name but a few. Seton Lloyd, *Mounds of the Near East* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963); Lloyd 1986; Bernhardsson 2005, pp. 131–133.

74 Bernhardsson (2010, p. 151) describes the founding of the Iraq National Museum as differing from other colonially installed museums in that it was primarily perceived as storage for archaeological finds rather than an instrument of construing an Iraqi identity despite being conceived by Western colonial administrators and archaeologists.

75 The Gertrude Bell Papers, Gertrude Bell Archive, University of Newcastle. Gertrude Bell to her father, Sir Hugh Bell, 01.03.1923. [http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/ Accessed 09.03.2017]. Bernhardsson 2005, p. 141–143 See also the recent reassessment of many aspects of Bell's life in Paul Collins and Charles Tripp (eds.) *Gertrude Bell and Iraq. A Life and Legacy*, Proceedings of the British Academy 205 (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2017).

76 Lukitz 2008. Gertrude Bell died on 11 July 1926. Her legacy to Iraqi archaeology lives on in the British Institute for the Study of Iraq (Gertrude Bell Memorial), formerly the British School of

both brought their own politics and connections to the position but the office has remained associated with her.[77]

Excavating Ur

With Woolley as its director, the Joint Expedition started excavations at Ur (modern-day Tell al-Muqayyar near Nasriyah in southern Iraq) and nearby Tell al-'Ubaid in November 1922.[78] Already in 1919, the two museums, or rather their directors, Sir Frederic George Kenyon (1863–1952) of the British Museum and George Byron Gordon (1870–1927) of the University Museum, had agreed on a collaborative excavation in Iraq, the so-called Joint Expedition. For this the University Museum would supply the capital and the British Museum the personnel and the connections to the military and civil authorities.[79] Ur had previously been explored by J. E. Taylor, British consul at Basra, in 1854 and the question of the 'identification' of the site with the city mentioned as the birthplace of Abraham in the Bible had been settled positively by Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810–1895), British consul in Baghdad from 1844, one of the pioneers of the decipherment of cuneiform writing.[80] In 1918 Reginald Campbell Thompson undertook some work on behalf of the British Museum while stationed in Baghdad as an army officer, as did Henry Reginald Hall in 1919.[81] Hall's preliminary explorations encouraged the British Museum to join forces with the University Museum and initiate the project with Woolley at its helm. The ultimate choice of Ur depended not only on these explorations but also on the fact that large areas of the rest of the country were deemed unsafe due to civil unrest. Other potential

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Archaeology in Iraq, for the foundation of which she provided in her will. Bernhardsson 2005, p. 148; www.bisi.ac.uk [Accessed 9 March 2017].

77 The most recent treatment of her life is the documentary *Letters from Baghdad*, Between the Rivers Production, 2016.

78 There is no consistency in archaeological publications regarding the use of modern site names and ancient city names, further complicated by the transliteration of Arabic into English. I follow the commonly adopted spellings in archaeological literature, except when using direct quotes and will use ancient and modern names synonymously to mean both the site and the excavation project. For example, Uruk and Warka both refer to the archaeological site and its structures as well as the ancient city being excavated. A formalised spelling guide to Romanization systems can be found at https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/romanization-systems [accessed 23 September 2019].

79 Bernhardsson 2005, p. 113–114.

80 R. W. Ferrier and Stephanie Dalley, 'Rawlinson, Sir Henry Creswicke, first baronet (1810–1895)', online edition, *ODNB*, 2015; Harriet Crawford, *Ur. The City of the Moon God* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), p. 3.

81 Reginald Campbell Thompson, 'The British Museum Excavations at Abu Shahrain in Mesopotamia in 1918', *Archaeologia* 70 (1920), 101–144; Henry Reginald Hall, *A Season's Work at Ur, Al-'Ubaid, Abu Shahrain (Eridu) and Elsewhere. Being an Unofficial Account of the British Museum Archaeological Mission to Babylonia, 1919* (London: Methuen & Co, 1939); Bernhardsson 2005, 89–91; Crawford 2015: 4–6.

sites had been excluded due to the lack of infrastructure necessary to ensure water supply.[82]

The site is located circa 200 miles southeast of Baghdad, now in the Dhi Qar Governorate of Iraq. One of the larger cities of southern Mesopotamia, it was inhabited from at least the 5th millennium BC until around 500 BC, when the slow westward shift of the Euphrates made it too difficult for the population to access water.[83] While Woolley's excavations were pioneering in many aspects, the Royal Cemetery (Early Dynastic Period, mid-3rd millennium BC) remains his most famous discovery, mainly for its jewellery and other precious finds as well as for the rituals of human sacrifice. A large number of people were sacrificed to follow members of the elite to the afterlife.[84] This discovery rivalled that of Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922 and ensured a sharp increase in media attention and subsequently public subscription. As detailed by Allison Jean Millerman, the excavation was beset by continuous financial problems, especially on the British side.[85] The British Museum repeatedly struggled to fulfil its obligations, leaving Woolley short of funds during several seasons, which occasionally even forced him to close earlier than he had intended. Nevertheless, the project profited from the favourable political circumstances (i.e. the British mandatory administration of Iraq) and the project surely owed its longevity to this as well as to Woolley's astute publicising of his finds. By 1934 Woolley, perhaps because he felt that twelve seasons at Ur were enough, but certainly due to a foreseeable change in the legislation after independence, terminated his excavations.[86] The revised law of 1936 resulted in a number of excavators terminating their activities in Iraq or not taking up planned work, and Woolley relocated to Syria for his next excavation.[87] As this thesis will detail, Woolley continued publishing about Ur and related themes until the Second World War and beyond.[88]

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82 See Allison Jean Millerman, *The 'Spinning of Ur': How Sir Leonard Woolley, James R. Ogden and the British Museum Interpreted and Represented the Past to Generate Funding for the Excavation of Ur in the 1920's and 1930's*, (University of Manchester: unpublished PhD thesis 2015) for further details.

83 Crawford 2015, p. 6.

84 Aubrey Baadsgaard, Janet Monge, Samantha Cox, Richard Zettler, 'Human Sacrifice and Intentional Corpse Preservation in the Royal Cemetery of Ur', *Antiquity* 85/327 (2011), 27–42.

85 Millerman 2015.

86 In an article published in *The Times* in 1934 Woolley expressed his disapproval of this quite vocally and repeated it in *Antiquity* in 1935, supported by Crawford in his Editorial. C. Leonard Woolley, 'Excavations in Iraq', *The Times*, 12 December 1934c, 10; *idem*, 'Antiquities Law, Iraq', *Antiquity* 9/33 (1935b), 84–88; The Editor [O. G. S. Crawford], 'Editorial Notes', *Antiquity* 9/33 (1935), 1–4.

87 Lloyd 1986, p. 75; Christie Mallowan 1946.

88 The last excavation report on Ur appeared in 1978. C. Leonard Woolley and M. E. L. Mallowan, *Ur Excavations, Volume VII. The Old Babylonian Period*, ed. by T. C. Mitchell (London: British Museum Publications, 1978). There were in total ten Ur Publication volumes, which were not published in numerical order.

Chapter overview

Chapter One provides the historical and disciplinary background. Exploring the development of archaeology in the period, I look at how fieldwork connected archaeologists of all nations in a variety of ways, professionally and personally, and provided them with one of the main themes of their popular accounts. Using archival and published material, I show how the core-set of archaeologists of my study communicated, discussed and (dis-)agreed with each other to advance their knowledge and thus the discipline/disciplining of archaeology.

Chapter Two explores three of the main themes preoccupying archaeologists in the interwar period: migrations, race and the role of women in ancient society. The question of migrations and race were intricately connected to the establishing of sequences and periods and led to sustained and long-lasting discussions amongst the core-set, while the perception of the role of women was undergoing significant changes in Britain following the partial and full enfranchisement acts. By tracing the development of Leonard Woolley's thoughts on these issues I aim to show the larger development within the discipline of the time and how global events, such as the First World War, had a lasting impact on how ancient civilizations were perceived. Archaeology, in turn, influenced contemporary debates on eugenics, race relations, politics and society.

Chapter Three focuses on newspapers and magazines, specifically *The Times* and *The Illustrated London News*, for reasons that I shall explain there. Here, Woolley's work is placed in the wider context of archaeological writing in these two publications to establish a preliminary quantitative and qualitative analysis of the core-set's journalistic output. The content of the articles is further explored in respect to the use of visual material as well as to the themes explored in Chapters One and Two.

Chapter Four continues the case studies by looking at how archaeology was presented on the new medium of radio. Using BBC publications – *The Radio Times* and *The Listener* – I explore both broadcast talks as well their published versions and additionally commissioned material. Archival research into Leonard Woolley's interactions with the BBC provides an important insight into how archaeology, via the specific example of Woolley's work in the Middle East, was valued by BBC staff over the two decades, contributing to current scholarship into radio content and publishing as well as providing a new look at how archaeology in the field was conceived of by archaeologists themselves.

Chapter Five completes my analysis by looking at Leonard Woolley's books for the general reader, published between 1928 and 1936. Supported by archival research, I

trace Woolley's success as a popular writer and astute publicist of his excavation's and his own cause. I explore how his popularity in the newspapers and on the radio contributed significantly to his success as a book author. Exploring the use made of visual material in popular books helps us explore the fluid boundary between scholarly and popular work in the period.

Finally, I conclude the thesis with reflections on how it has intervened in a number of fields. I have anchored archaeology in the Middle East during the interwar period more firmly, connecting it to developments in the wider discipline. Approaches from the history and philosophy of science, modern British studies and media history have supported a better understanding of how archaeologists worked towards closing the boundaries of their science while they opened up communication to audiences both within their set as well as the public. The conclusion will also discuss the further avenues for research opened up by the thesis.

1. 'Sudden Coordination': Popularization and the Professional Archaeologist

Introduction

This chapter sets the scene for the following chapters by showing how archaeologists in the interwar period collaborated to define and close the boundaries of their science by professionalizing and simultaneously popularizing the discipline. Combining these two approaches, which are usually defined as internalist (professionalization) and externalist (popularization), I aim to intervene in the traditional approaches to histories of the discipline as outlined in the introduction. As I will show, the professional and the popular depended on each other, as archaeologists used public forums such as newspapers, radio talks and popular books to communicate not only with their general audience but also with each other. This thesis is concerned with British archaeology in the Middle East by the main example of Leonard Woolley and the excavations he led at Ur in southern Iraq. In order to contextualize Woolley within the discipline as well as within the popular works created by archaeologists for their audiences I will employ the concept of the 'core-set' to work with a set of people and excavation sites, located in Mandate-era Iraq and the wider Middle East.

This chapter will thus begin with a discussion of the term 'core-set', followed by an introduction to the cast of characters. I continue with a discussion of how archaeology (by the example of practitioners working in the Middle East) underwent a period of professionalization, along with parallel and overlapping processes of institutionalization at universities, the founding of scholarly associations, conferences and academic journals. Crucial to this development was the role of fieldwork and the field as a social and professional space. The interwar period witnessed a series of excavations that made vital contributions to refining and extending the chronology of the Ancient Near East backwards in time. The establishment of an agreed sequence and nomenclature for the prehistoric periods became possible only through the effort of scholars collaborating and exchanging knowledge gained from excavation during informal and formal encounters.

Turning from what to where information was shared, I will then show how the popular or public fora of newspapers, broadcasts and books that archaeologists employed so successfully not only informed and entertained the public but also served as an important context for peer-to-peer communication. A successful popularizing

career depended on an archaeologist's professional standing, which in turn rested on his or her success and credibility gained in fieldwork.

Alice Stevenson has recently asserted that 'the apparent public enthusiasm for archaeology in the 1920s, as expressed in "Tutmania" or in modernism, was not directed at, nor drawn from, archaeology as a practice or with museums as institutions.' Rather, she goes on to say, 'it signalled a societal receptiveness to particular aesthetics and narratives.'[1] In her otherwise very perceptive analysis, Stevenson does not discuss what these aesthetics and narratives actually were and how wider society and those promoting Tutmania and modernism gained access to them.[2] My research shows that they were indeed drawn from and depended on archaeology as a practice, more specifically its fieldwork component. Fieldwork was not only defining for the development of the discipline at home and abroad, its methods and the circumstances of life on an excavation were of equal importance in relating archaeology to the reading and listening public.[3] The archaeologist in the field proved pivotal in bringing archaeology to the 'the man in the street', the 'listener-in' and the 'ordinary intelligent reader', and has supplied the lasting image of 'the archaeologist' for the popular imagination. The archaeologists who were successful in the field were also those who were successful on the popular market. Here the distinction between the man or woman working in the field, collecting their own material, and the 'armchair' scholar of the previous period who had relied on information gathered by others is of vital importance and went through various shifts in meaning and prestige.[4]

According to George Stocking, Jr., the term 'field-work' was introduced to anthropology by A. C. Haddon in his reports on the *Cambridge Anthropology Expedition to the Torres Straits*.[5] Haddon sought to establish a link between his work and the long-

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1 Alice Stevenson, *Scattered Finds. Archaeology, Egyptology and Museums* (London: UCL Press, 2019), p. 175.

2 Allegra Fryxell, 'Tutankhamen, Egyptomania, and Temporal Enchantment in Interwar Britain'. *Twentieth Century British History* 28/4 (2017): 516–542.

3 Julia Roberts, 'Excavating an Identity. British Fieldwork in the First Half of the 20th Century' in *Histories of Archaeological Practices. Reflections on Methods, Strategies and Social Organisation in Past Fieldwork*, ed. by Ola Wolfhechel Jensen (Stockholm: National Historical Museum, 2012), 211–240.

4 As Eleanor Robson has remarked, one of the first excavators of Ancient Near Eastern remains of the nineteenth century, Paul-Émile Botta, had been a field collector of botanical and faunal specimens and 'applied similar methods to collecting Assyrian artefacts'. *Ancient Knowledge Networks – A Social Geography of Cuneiform Scholarship in First-Millennium Assyria and Babylonia* (London: UCL Press, 2019) p. 12.

5 George W. Stocking, Jr., 'The Ethnographer's Magic. Fieldwork in British Anthropology from Tylor to Malinowski', in *Observers Observed. Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork*, ed. by *idem* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), p. 80.

standing tradition of field naturalists.[6] This move was, continues Stocking, part of a longer-term trend in British ethnography towards the collection of data in the field by self-defined anthropologists, no longer willing to rely on reports by collectors or more or less 'amateur' sources such as missionaries, which had characterised the work of E. B. Tylor and James Frazer.[7] A similar, although by no means identical development can be observed in archaeology, with a move towards systematic recording in the field through excavation and an increasing importance of stratigraphy.[8] Woolley and others emphasised the fieldwork aspect of their work and, as I will discuss below, saw it as the distinguishing feature of their contribution towards establishing archaeology as a profession and a science.

This did not mean, however, that the comparative method lost its importance over night. On the contrary, the fieldworker by definition was uniquely suited to apply this method. Only in the field could 'the old anthropological method of Tylor and Pitt-Rivers' be employed to its best advantage. O. G. S. Crawford promised the readers of his new journal *Antiquity*, founded in 1927, that archaeologists would no longer neglect this approach. They would strive to gain 'familiarity with the habits and outlook of primitive communities', something he deemed essential for the successful archaeologists.[9] The past lived on in the present: only through scientific observation and talking to the 'savage' who best understood the primitive tools he helped excavate could the 'expert' hope to fully understand it.[10] Who was and was not an expert and who had control over this definition will be explored further below.

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6 Kristian Hvidtfelt Nielsen, Michael Harbsmeier, Christopher Jacob Ries (eds.), *Scientists and Scholars in the Field. Studies in the History of Fieldwork and Expeditions* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2012).

7 Stocking 1983, p. 74; *idem*, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York/London: Free Press, 1987); *idem*, *After Tylor. British Social Anthropology, 1888–1951* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995). How this development overlaps the shifts in objectivity is traced by Daston 2008 and Daston and Galison 2010.

8 Limited space prevents me from discussing this complex in more detail. See Gavin Lucas, *Critical Approaches to Fieldwork. Contemporary and Historical Archaeological Practice* (London: Routledge, 2001) for a discussion of the gradual move from typology to stratigraphy as a dating method, further emphasising the importance of excavation. Bjørnar Olsen, Michael Shanks, Timothy Webmoor and Christopher Witmore, *Archaeology. The Discipline of Things* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) discuss the meaning of material culture within archaeological method and theory in more recent years.

9 Editor [O. G. S. Crawford], 'Editorial Notes' *Antiquity* 1/1 (1927), 1–4. I focus here, and throughout this thesis, very specifically on archaeology abroad and not on the longer continuities (never explicitly mentioned by Crawford) with antiquarian practice in Britain. Katharina Boehm, 'Empiricism, Antiquarian Fieldwork and the (In)visibilization of the Past in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Word & Image* 33/3 (2017), 257–266. Timothy Darvill, 'British Pioneers and Fieldwork Traditions', in *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, ed. by Claire Smith (New York: Springer, 2014), 1016–1019.

10 It is sometimes difficult to clearly identify hyperbole in Crawford's writing. Archaeology in Britain occupied a prominent place in *Antiquity* and I am not certain how Crawford expected archaeologists at home to connect with the savage or who the savages were in this analogy. Kitty Hauser, *Bloody Old Britain. O. G. S. Crawford and the Archaeology of Modern Life* (London: Granta, 2009).

The Core-Set

In further defining or at least narrowing my set of characters within my temporal and spatial borders I have found it useful to look to approaches employed in the sociology and history of science, particularly the idea of the core-set. Harry Collins defines the members of such a group as 'those who are actively involved in experimentation or observation, or making contributions to the theory of the phenomenon, or of the experiment, such that they have an effect on the outcome of the controversy.'[11] Collins goes on to explain that 'the question of competitiveness between members of the core-set makes it necessary to refer to them as a "set" rather than a group'. In addition, the members of his 'set' do not necessarily interact frequently with each other, either due to the distance between their working places or to personal or professional animosity. All of these statements apply to archaeologists working in the Middle East in the interwar period. While Collins is here concerned primarily with the dynamics of controversies, I believe the concept of the core-set has value in understanding archaeology in the interwar period as undergoing an important formative stage. Trevor J. Pinch and Wiebe E. Bijker have further developed Collins' exploration of controversies, arguing that they 'reveal the interpretative flexibility of scientific results', a flexibility which soon disappears from science, however, as opinions consolidate and consensus is formed.[12] According to them, and this is again reflected in archaeology and especially chronological discussions lasting to this day, 'to close a technological "controversy" the problems need not be solved in the common sense of that word. The key point is whether the relevant social groups see the problem as being solved.'[13]

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[11] Harry M. Collins, 'The Place of the "Core-Set" in Modern Science. Social Contingency with Methodological Propriety in Science', *History of Science. An Annual Review of Literature, Research and Teaching* 19 (1981), 6–19, p. 8. The place of the experiment or the laboratory environment in the natural sciences is taken by the field or excavation in archaeology. V. Gordon Childe, 'Archaeology as a Science', *Nature* 152/3844 (1943), 22–23. Childe pointed out that excavation was an experiment that could not be repeated. Michael Pesek, 'Vom richtigen Reisen und Beobachten: Ratgeberliteratur für Forschungsreisende nach Übersee im 19. Jahrhundert', *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 40/1 (2017) 17–38, p. 20. See also Diana Crane, *Invisible Colleges. Diffusion of Knowledge in Scientific Communities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); Tony Becher and Paul Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, 2nd edition (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001). The archaeologists working in the Middle East throughout this thesis are understood to be part of a 'subspecialism' as defined by Becher and Trowler, pp. 65–68. See also Tony Becher, 'The Counter-Culture of Specialisation', *European Journal of Education* 25/3 (1990), 333–346.

[12] Trevor J. Pinch, Wiebe E. Bijker, 'The Social Construction of Facts and Artifacts. Or How the Sociology of Science and the Sociology of Technology Might Benefit Each Other', *Social Studies of Science* 14/3 (August 1984), 399–441, p. 410.

[13] Pinch and Bijker 1984, pp. 426–427; Harry M. Collins and Robert Evans, 'The Third Wave of Science Studies. Studies of Expertise and Experience', *Social Studies of Science* 32/2 (2002), 235–296. See, however, S. Scott Graham and Lynda Walsh, 'There's No Such Thing as a Scientific Controversy', *Technical Communication Quarterly* 28/3 (2019), 192–206; Jeff Thomas, 'Controversy and

What furthermore makes the idea of a core-set particularly useful for looking at archaeology is the ease with which members of the set join it or leave it as their interests or career paths take them elsewhere, either permanently or temporarily. In addition, the core-set in Collins' and Pinch and Bijker's definition does not work like a closed network. All members of the set are of course at the same time members of other sets, of their discipline as a whole and of the wider public.

This strength of the concept of the core-set – its fluidity – is at the same time its weakness. It makes it difficult to define a set of characters or biographies to explore, as especially those on the fringe (or those considered to be the fringe) tend to fade into the background. As this chapter explores, archaeologists were concerned with delimiting the boundaries of their discipline, excluding not only those they deemed 'unscientific' but also on the basis of sex, class and race. In order to address and explore these gatekeeping activities, historians of archaeology and archaeologists have usefully employed a number of different approaches to widen the scope of their research. From Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) to collective biography and prosopography, we have a range of methods and theories at our disposal.[14] I employ the concept of the core-set in this thesis as an analytical device because it allows for a re-opening of the borders of the circle of archaeological practitioners to include women archaeologists, indigenous experts and other contributors to archaeological work such as museum or university staff of funding institutions, the local communities, or, as further explored in later chapters, temporary collaborators such as editors, radio staff or technical illustrators.

The Cast

Who, then, is included in this core-set of interwar archaeologists of the Middle East?[15] As outlined above, the boundaries are by definition permeable and allow for a flexible approach. This is especially valuable as the three media I examine –

Consensus' in *Practising Science Communication in the Information Age. Theorising Professional Practices*, ed. by Richard Holliman, Jeff Thomas, Sam Smidt, Eileen Scanlon, Elizabeth Whitelegg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 131–148. Chronology as explored below has not been 'solved' in Ancient Near Eastern archaeology, nor do most archaeologists consider it thus. Yet most problems occupying the core-set of archaeologists here were 'solved' by later discoveries and studies or have lost their importance for scholars (such as the Flood or the origin of the Sumerians). See Chapter Two.

14 For ANT see various contributions in Paul Greaves-Brown, Rodney Harrison, Angela Piccini (eds.), *The Handbook of the Archaeology of the Contemporary World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Matthew Spriggs, 'The Hidden History of a Third of the World: the Collective Biography of Australian and International Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP) Project', *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 27/1 (2017), 1–11. For prosopographical approaches e.g. Amara Thornton, 'Social Networks in the History of Archaeology. Placing Archaeology in its Context', in *Historiographical Approaches to Past Archaeological Research*, ed. by Gisela Eberhardt and Fabian Link (Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2015), 69–94; K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Prosopography', in *SAGE Research Methods Foundations*, ed. by Paul Atkinson, Sara Delamont, Alexandru Cernat, Joseph W. Sakshaug, Richard A. Williams (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2019) n.p.

15 I further limit myself to archaeologists of the Ancient Near East, studying the pre-Persian periods.

newspapers, radio, books – were not used by all archaeologists to the same degree, either due to personal preference, or perhaps talent for one rather than the other style of communication. As this thesis limits itself to interwar period excavations in the Middle East (with a more narrow focus on Iraq in this chapter) it is not surprising that the majority of excavations conducted were led by British archaeologists or funded by British institutions, especially during the Mandate period.[16] In addition to Woolley's excavations at Ur I will therefore be considering the members of the following excavations: Tell al-Ubaid (Harry Reginald Hall, Leonard Woolley), Kish/Jemdet Nasr (Stephen Langdon, Ernest Mackay, Louis-Charles Watelin), and Nineveh (Reginald Campbell Thompson,[17] Max Mallowan[18]). Projects funded by American institutions include Tepe Gawra, Tell Billah and Yorghan Tepe (Ephraim Speiser) and the various projects of the 'Iraq Expedition' funded by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: Tell Asmar, Khafajeh, Ishchali, Tell Agrab, various Assyrian sites in northern Iraq (Henri Frankfort, Seton Lloyd). The Germans were represented by their excavations at Uruk/Warka (Julius Jordan, Arnold Nöldeke), and the French by the project at Telloh (the Abbé de Genouillac, André Parrot). What becomes immediately clear from this list is that interwar archaeology was dominated by northern European and American men. In limiting myself to Western scholars I do not intend to diminish or ignore the achievements made by Iraqi archaeologists. Their contributions and experiences are sorely understudied and underappreciated by Western scholarship and merit their own study, especially within the context of Iraq's social, political and educational history. However, Iraqi archaeologists (then limited to men) did not start leading excavations or participating in more senior positions until after independence and, as the focus of this thesis is communication with the public in Britain, they play a minimal role here.[19]

No women led excavations in Iraq during the period, and very few did so in the wider region. This does not mean that they were not present, but rather that their stories and contributions have been overshadowed by the careers of their male colleagues due to the dearth of sources published under their own names. The cast of the core-set thus also includes Katharine Woolley as well as a number of women

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16 For a detailed list of excavations, the respective excavation dates as well as the funding institutions from the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, see Svend Age Pallis, *The Antiquity of Iraq. A Handbook of Assyriology* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1956), pp. 340–384.

17 Campbell Thompson had also conducted several soundings and surveys shortly after the First World War at Ur, Abu Shahrain (Eridu) and other sites.

18 Mallowan also excavated with Woolley at Ur from 1925–1931 and later led his own excavations at Tell Arpachiyah in 1933.

19 Seton Lloyd, *Foundations in the Dust,* Revised and enlarged edition (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980). 194–197.

working in the wider Middle East. There were of course further women archaeologists and team members who did not leave a published record of their participation in the discipline. These were often the wives or partners of male archaeologists who took on a number of roles on excavations, including illustration, finds registration, photography and conservation (see Introduction). Their contributions are by no means considered peripheral but must await a different kind of study.

But let us change the question of who is included in the core-set to why they are included. Who or what is a professional archaeologist? And how does one become a professional or expert in anything?[20] During the interwar period, Alexander Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson studied such diverse occupations as lawyers, doctors, engineers, auctioneers, teachers and artists, as well as chemists and physicists for their overview of the development of the professions. Their study did not include archaeologists, anthropologists or students of other branches of the social and historical sciences.[21] Only over the course of the twentieth century did university teaching in the humanities (and later the social sciences) come to be seen as a profession, especially with the expansion of the university landscape.[22] The professionalizing of archaeology in Britain experienced one of its most important impulses with the foundation of the Institute of Archaeology at University College London in 1936.[23]

However, archaeologists increasingly came to consider themselves professional(s) and used this term liberally, thus staking their claim to creating and disciplining their

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20 I here use predominantly the term professional rather than expert, as this was how archaeologists usually referred to themselves. I rely heavily on Andrew Abbott's seminal work *The System of Professions. An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988) for definitions of professional and professionalization. I further follow his approach by focussing on aspects of work (in this case fieldwork) within a profession rather than on its structure. On experts see Roy MacLeod (ed.), *Government and Expertise. Specialists, Administrators and Professionals, 1860–1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

21 Alexander M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, *The Professions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933). William Joseph Reader, *Professional Men. The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966); Terence James Johnson, *Professions and Power* (London: Macmillan, 1972); Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society. England since 1880* (London: Routledge, 2002 [1989]).

22 G. Kitson Clark, 'A Hundred Years of the Teaching of History at Cambridge, 1873–1973', *The Historical Journal* 16/3 (1973), 535–553; R. D. Anderson, *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800. Prepared for the Economic History Society* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities, 1870–1939* (London: UCL Press, 1995); Johnson Kent Wright, 'History and Historicism' in *The Cambridge History of Science. Volume 7. The Modern Social Sciences*, ed. by Theodore M. Porter and Dorothy Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 113–130.

23 Abbott (1988, *passim*) warns against relying on 'firsts' in establishing a profession's history. In any case, the IoA was not the first to offer courses in archaeology. I have singled it out here as one of the most important institutions for focussing on teaching fieldwork methods.

own profession or science.[24] This was precisely the intention of O. G. S. Crawford in establishing the journal *Antiquity*. In his first editorial he defined its aims as

> keep[ing] our readers informed about important discoveries made and books published; and we shall warn them of mare's nests. Many so-called discoveries are nothing but newspaper "stunts"; many best-sellers are written by quacks. The public is humbugged, but it is nobody's business to expose the fraud.

The antidote to these stunts, Crawford continued, was to 'create a sound and informed body of opinion' and to make it available to the public.[25] Contributions to the new journal were written almost exclusively by archaeologists, and presumably only by those Crawford considered legitimate. The public, Crawford opined in 1940, was 'everyone who is not a professional archaeologist', and archaeology had ceased being a 'mere hobby' and had become a 'skilled profession'.[26]

'Professions', remarks Stefan Collini, 'like clubs, are about excluding people'.[27] What are now considered distinct professions furthermore often began in clubs and societies (see below) and it is in these social spaces, which often excluded not only based on membership to a profession, but also on the basis of sex, class or ethnicity, that science moved slowly from amateurism to professionalism.[28] It is, however, hard to pinpoint when archaeologists started to distance themselves from the British amateur tradition. Historical accounts of archaeology, which emphasise individual discoveries that fuelled the 'progress' of the discipline, focus heavily on professionalising activities such as the founding of university institutes.[29] As Brian Taylor has pointed out, '"amateurism" is a

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24 Limited space prevents me from fully discussing the shifting meaning of the term science in this context. I understand it in the sense of the German *Wissenschaft* (which is how I think my core-set perceived of it), which encompasses all branches of knowledge production and diffusion. Historians of science in the English-speaking world, however, routinely ignore archaeology in their work on the popularization of science, by which are understood the natural sciences, and often their application to technological 'progress' and invention. Even *The Cambridge History of Science, Volume 7. The Modern Social Sciences*, ed. by Theodore M. Porter and Dorothy Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), does not deign it worthy of a chapter (as opposed to anthropology and history). Traces of archaeology can be found in Peter Bowler's work, e.g., *Science for All. The Popularization of Science in Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); *idem*, 'Popular Science Magazines in Interwar Britain: Authors and Readerships', *Science in Context* 26/3 (2013), 437–457.

25 Editor [O. G. S. Crawford] 1927, p. 2.

26 Editor [O. G. S. Crawford], 'Editorial Notes' *Antiquity* 14/54 (1940), 113–116, p. 114; 116. According to Kenneth Hudson, this public has always remained rather small, never exceeding more than 5000 subscribers. *A Social History of Archaeology. The British Experience* (London: Macmillan, 1981), p. 103.

27 *Public Moralists. Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p. 237.

28 David E. Allen, 'Amateurs and Professionals', in *The Cambridge History of Science. Volume 7. The Modern Social Sciences*, ed. by Theodore M. Porter and Dorothy Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 15–33. Abbott 1988, pp. 1–31, points out the importance of interprofessional competition in the process of professionalization.

29 Daniel 1952; Stuart Piggott, 'Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler. 10 September 1890 - 22 July 1976', *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society* 23 (1977), 623–642; Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians, and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

definition afforded by professionals to deride a phase of their organizational history', while, as Steve Fuller puts it, "a cult of expertise" is developed by historians of a discipline (which are often also practitioners) intent on writing a canonical history of their science.[30] As I will show below, the distinction between amateur, professional and those in between was defined in the field as much as in the public forum.

Archaeologists at the time were very much aware of the importance of speaking to the public and the role they played in it. Crawford's call to arms to his peers was often repeated, in the pages of *Antiquity* as well as in other newspapers and journals. David Randall-MacIver's 1932 presidential address to Section H (Anthropology) of the British Association for the Advancement of Science expanded upon Crawford's call for a double-pronged approach to the discipline by encouraging his colleagues to simultaneously close the borders of the discipline and open up communication with the wider world.[31] He perceived of archaeology as consisting of three main 'axioms': collection in the field; housing, conservation and exhibition in a museum; and the comparative study, synthesis and popularization of the results. He emphasised that 'no person who is not qualified by special knowledge and study should ever be allowed to excavate at all.' Only a 'scientific institution' or a 'committee of scientific men' should be allowed to endorse such a man.[32] While he acknowledged that not everyone had a talent for popularization, he encouraged 'the explorer himself' to take advantage of the fame archaeology had gained:

> It would be exceedingly foolish not to welcome this popularity and cultivate it by every possible means. Here is a study which does no harm to anyone, which any intelligent being can share, and which can add immensely to the amenity and happiness of the ordinary man's life.[33]

Randall-MacIver impressed upon his audience the need for a wide range of publications (leaving explorations unpublished, he said, was a crime), ranging from scientific reports to semi-popular works and 'general synthetic works'. The latter, he said, had made archaeology a 'coherent science' and had produced this 'sudden coordination' which made the ancient world appear 'as a connected whole'. Those

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[30] Brian Taylor, 'Amateurs, Professionals and the Knowledge of Archaeology', *The British Journal of Sociology* 46/3 (1995), 499–508, p. 502; Steve Fuller, 'Disciplinary Boundaries and the Rhetoric of the Social Sciences'. *Poetics Today* 12/2 (1991), 301–325, pp. 305; 309.

[31] This was published in abbreviated form as 'Archaeology as a Science', *Antiquity* 7/25 (March 1933), 5–20. The full address is published as 'The Place of Archaeology as a Science, and some Practical Problems in its Development', in *Report of the Annual Meeting, 1932*, British Association for the Advancement of Science (London: 1932), 147–168.

[32] Randall-MacIver 1933, p. 9.

[33] Randall-MacIver 1933, p. 14. Which study was he comparing archaeology to that might harm someone?

kinds of publications were most likely to be written by a museum curator or a professor with 'sufficient leisure', while the fieldworker hardly had time to conduct the type of comparative study necessary for this.[34] Specialisation, although 'naturally and properly abhorrent to the British mind', was becoming an increasing danger to archaeology, and the professional archaeologist relied on his colleagues to provide the synthesising and semi-popular works to prevent him from becoming a narrow specialist.[35] Popularization, therefore, served a double function: to engage with the public and to advance the profession through coordinated, collaborative efforts.

Archaeology as collaboration

The First World War had a lasting impact on any kind of hetero- and homosocial relations and collaborations.[36] Archaeologists working in the Middle East had played a crucial role in the War and especially in intelligence gathering.[37] Their work was mostly – although not exclusively – conducted in Cairo, and did not offer the same camaraderie as the circumstances of the Western Front or Mesopotamia. Nevertheless, their contribution to the war (most visible to this day in the role played by T. E. Lawrence) relied on the informal connections, friendships and modes of communication established during their work as archaeologists—with their colleagues as well as with their local contacts. The relative absence of women on excavations in the interwar period and the reluctance of some male archaeologists to include them can perhaps be seen as a direct result of the mainly homosocial experiences many had during the war.[38] There were of course a myriad number of war experiences to be had, but the influence of women's work during the War is more difficult to trace in archaeology. Like many others, Katharine Woolley worked as a nurse in a field hospital, a skill she later brought to the excavation, where she treated staff for minor injuries. The lasting friendships women formed during the war, often as nurses, perhaps found

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34 See Chapter Five for how Woolley stumbled over this obstacle.

35 Randall-MacIver 1932, p. 158–159. A reviewer of Randall-MacIver's address made a further distinction, not between the amateur and the professional, but between the trained man (be he amateur or professional) and the untrained. 'Problems in the Advancement of Archaeology', *Nature* 130/3280 (1932), 377–379.

36 Sarah Cole, *Modernism, Male Friendship, and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

37 Bruce Westrate, *The Arab Bureau. British Policy in the Middle East, 1916–1920* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).

38 We must of course also consider the traditional division of labour in both Western and Middle Eastern societies. Local women were not employed as part of the workforce in Iraq, in fact they are hardly ever mentioned in either scholarly or popular accounts. In Egypt, girls up to about 14 years of age often worked as basket carriers. Quirke 2010, *passim.* Arnold Nöldeke, *Altiki der Finder. Memoiren eines Ausgräbers,* ed. by Elisabeth Weber-Nöldeke (Hildesheim: Olms, 2003), pp. 291–294, mentions wives of workers or servants carrying out jobs such as laundry and baking. See also https://trowelblazers.tumblr.com/post/52617020726/yusra-expert-excavator-of-mount-carmel [accessed 22 May 2019].

its culmination in Dorothy Garrod's all-female excavation season at Mount Carmel in Palestine in 1929.[39]

Excavation projects and their funding institutions also profited directly from the outcome of the War – the establishment of the British Mandate over Iraq – and the connections forged in its course. The RAF took several flights over Ur to take aerial photographs, which Woolley used in his publications.[40] This intimately connects archaeology in Iraq to the colonial gaze and its immediate impact on the lives of the Iraqi population.[41] In a letter to University Museum Director Gordon, Woolley pointed out his value to the excavation as representing the British Museum and by extension the British as Mandatory power, in Iraq. Discussing the dire financial situation in 1927, he detailed the many donations and services rendered for free by the RAF, the Port Agencies and Railways that amounted to vital non-monetary contributions, which the University Museum should match by allowing him to draw on its funds. Archaeology in Iraq would not have made it even this far without the British old boys' network.[42]

I have hinted above at an important role that women played on archaeological excavations, namely the companion or wife. The friendships and professional networks inherent to archaeology as a social practice are of course not confined to heterosexual romantic relationships, but offer a wide range of approaches to explore male friendship, collaborations and friendships across genders and sexualities.[43] The social environment of an archaeological excavation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries awaits

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39 Christine E. Hallett, *Containing Trauma. Nursing Work in the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Dorothy Garrod, Dorothea M. Bate, *The Stone Age of Mount Carmel. Vol. 1, Excavations at the Wady el-Mughara* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937).

40 C. Leonard Woolley, 'Excavations at Ur of the Chaldees', *The Antiquaries Journal* 3/4 (1923), 311–333; *idem*, 'Excavations at Ur, 1929-30', *The Antiquaries Journal* 3/4 (1930f), 315–343. Not to mention that the nearest train station was called Ur Junction, although I have been unable to ascertain the date of this naming. Hugh Hughes, *Middle East Railways* (Harrow: Continental Railway Circle, 1981), pp. 87–100. See also Sebastian Ritchie, *The RAF, Small Wars and Insurgencies in the Middle East, 1919–1939* (Air Media Centre, 2011).

41 Satia 2008; 2014.

42 BMCE WY1 7/12 C. Leonard Woolley to George Byron Gordon, 13 January 1927. Iain Jackson, 'The Architecture of the British Mandate in Iraq. Nation-Building and State Creation', *The Journal of Architecture* 21/3 (2016), 375–417. There is also the long-standing association of archaeology and the military, not least evidenced in our continued use of terms such as 'trench', 'survey' and so forth. R. E. M. Wheeler, *Archaeology from the Earth* (London: Penguin Books, 1956). Chadh 2002; Rebecca Wexler, *Heightened Histories: Aerial Archaeology and British Nationalism in England and Iraq*, unpublished MPhil Thesis (University of Cambridge, 2007); Adam Stout, *Creating Prehistory. Druids, Ley Hunters and Archaeologists in Pre-War Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), p. 217; Christopher Evans, 'Soldiering Archaeology. Pitt Rivers and "Militarism"', *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 24 (2014), 1–20.

43 Limited space prevents me from fully exploring archaeology from a history of emotions-viewpoint. See Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns (eds.), *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014); Marcus Collins, *Modern Love. An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Atlantic, 2003); Benno Gammerl, 'Emotional Styles – Concepts and Challenges', *Rethinking History* 16/2 (2012), 161–175.

detailed exploration.[44] As contemporary studies (and personal experience) show, an excavation is an environment in which friendships are made or destroyed, professional relationships and careers established or ended and romantic involvements flourish or wither.[45] Archaeological relationships are thus extremely diverse and often fluid in their shape. In the context of work in the Middle East, the time spent together over a short but very intense period, sometimes in a remote location where outside contacts and distractions are hard to come by, group dynamics can take on a life of their own. To illustrate this we will turn to Leonard Woolley's experiences and consider his two most important relationships: with his wife Katharine and his foreman Sheikh Hamoudi.

As I have laid out in the introduction, Leonard and Katharine's relationship was complicated.[46] Whatever the nature of their personal life, the couple's working relationship seems to have flourished.[47]

Figure 1.1. Katharine and Leonard Woolley at Ur, circa 1930
© The Trustees of the British Museum

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44 But see Laurent Dissard, 'Learning by Doing. Archaeological Excavations as "Communities of Practice"', *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 29/1 (2019), 1–8. There is a body of work on reflexivity (spearheaded by Ian Hodder) that has introduced the participant-observer to recent excavation work. Ian Hodder, *The Present Past. An Introduction to Anthropology for Archaeologists* (London: Batsford, 1982); Matt Edgeworth, *Acts of Discovery. An Ethnography of Archaeological Practice*, BAR International Series 1131 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2003); Michael Shanks, *Experiencing the Past. On the Character of Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1992). None of these studies consider the historical background. Collective biography and a history of emotions approach could be usefully employed to explore the lives of the members of an expedition and their interlocking personal and professional relationships.

45 A note on terminology: When referring to an excavation as a social environment I mean this to include the whole site, encompassing the excavation trenches, accommodation, find storage facilities, socialising spaces, and, to a certain degree, modes of transport used to reach a site. More on the latter point below.

46 She was the first and only woman to join the team. A request by the architect Young to bring his wife for the 1924/1925 season was refused by Woolley as 'the country is not secure enough for a woman … and I have no accommodation for a woman'. BMCE WY1 1/47, C. Leonard Woolley to Frederic Kenyon, 28 August 1924. Of course, by that time, Katharine (then Keeling) was already working as a volunteer there. See Freya Stark's *Baghdad Sketches* (London: British Publisher's Guild by Murray, 1947) for the regulations concerning Western women's presence in Iraq.

47 Woolley is said to have destroyed both his and his wife's personal papers prior to his death.

Katharine took on ever-greater responsibilities in the field, supervising large excavation areas, in addition to her drawing, illustration and conservation duties. While Leonard Woolley always made a point of mentioning her contribution to the work (and often acknowledging the fact that he would not have been able to carry most of it out without her) in his reports and books, Katharine never (co-)authored any of the scholarly publications on Ur or their later excavation at Tell Atchana/ancient Alalakh. It is impossible to tell whether this was her choice or whether Leonard or the museum directors had a say in that.[48]

Women have long participated in and facilitated their male relations' work without acknowledgment.[49] As Londa Schiebinger has put it, 'the normal pattern for women in science was that of the private assistant, usually a wife, sometimes a sister or niece, who devoted her life to a man as a loyal assistant and indefatigable aide.'[50] This is also typical for much of archaeology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as, for example, the lives of Sophia Schliemann and Hilda Flinders Petrie attest.[51] While it is important to re-assess women's individual contributions to a progressively 'better' understanding of the past, I believe that these stories are best explored by looking at archaeology as a collaborative process.[52] Considering Katharine and Leonard Woolley as a successful creative couple is illustrated by a story Leonard often repeated in his reminiscences: When at Ur his workers first came upon the levels he suspected to be connected to the Flood mentioned in the Sumerian King List and the Bible, he asked two of his staff to interpret the evidence (the layers containing flint implements and

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48 After Woolley's strongly-worded defence of Katharine's presence on the excavation Gordon backtracked and wrote that women were not per se barred from an excavation (be they single or married), but that volunteers should receive a small stipend for their work. After their marriage, Woolley requested a salary of £100 plus expenses for Katharine (his own starting salary in 1922 had been £600). BMCE WY1 1/121, Frederic Kenyon to C. Leonard Woolley, 25 September 1922; BMCE WY1 4/47, C. Leonard Woolley to unknown, 7 July 1927.

49 This is again a field of study of its own. I have profited from Janet Finch, *Married to the Job. Wives Incorporation in Men's Work* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1983); Patricia Fara, *Pandora's Breeches. Women, Science and Power in the Enlightenment* (London: Pimlico, 2004); *eadem*, *A Lab of One's Own. Science and Suffrage in the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

50 Londa L. Schiebinger, *The Mind has no Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 245–248. Schiebinger is here discussing the nineteenth century.

51 D. A. Traill, 'The Archaeological Career of Sophia Schliemann', *Antichthon* 23 (1989), 99–107. William Matthew Flinders Petrie, 'Underground History. Small clues that May Mean Great Discoveries—Ardours and Rewards of an Archaeologist', *The Graphic*, 15 March 1930, 412. Agatha Christie is often presented as the Grande Dame of archaeological wives. She did not consider herself an archaeologist, but perhaps served Mallowans' excavations best by her fame, which attracted funding and publicity. Eleanor Robson, 'Old Habits Die Hard. Writing the Excavation and Dispersal History of Nimrud', *Museum History Journal* 10/2 (2017), 217–232.

52 Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack and Pnina G. Abir-Am (eds.), *Creative Couples in the Sciences* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

painted pottery sherds superimposed by a thick level of clean clay). He wanted to get a second opinion, but they were unable to answer. Katharine, on the other hand, immediately knew what Leonard was getting at and could casually remark that it was, 'of course, the Flood'.[53] This episode shows not only two fieldworkers casually discussing an aspect of their findings, but that Leonard was appreciative of Katharine's analytical skills and relied on them (even if he perhaps used her merely to illustrate his male assistants' ineptitude).

Archaeology in the field (as well as in any other space) relies on these kinds of informal exchanges and casual conversations as we try to make sense of the evidence we are unearthing.[54] As such, the field also functions as a classroom. Kathleen Sheppard has insisted that many of M. W. Flinders Petrie's students would have been unable to perform so well in the field had they not received extensive teaching by Margaret Murray beforehand.[55] This is undoubtedly true, but it evades the question of where archaeologists who had not profited from university training (like Petrie himself, or Leonard and Katharine Woolley) learnt and developed their skills. The Flood episode thus points not only to a collaborative environment but also to one which Woolley clearly perceived as offering teaching or training opportunities.

On a large operation such as Ur Woolley not only relied on his university-educated Western assistants but more importantly on his long-time collaborator and foreman, Sheikh Mohammed bin Sheikh Ibrahim el-Awassi (c.1875–1953), known as Hamoudi. Like Katharine, Hamoudi never co-authored any of the excavation reports, but the fact that his work with Woolley stretched over four decades is a strong indication of his commitment to a career in archaeology.

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53 C. Leonard Woolley, 'Myth or Legend IV? The Flood', *The Listener*, 12 March 1953c, 426–428.
54 Woolley 1953b, p. 117.
55 Sheppard 2015.

Figure 1.2. Sheikh Hamoudi and Leonard Woolley at Ur
© The Trustees of the British Museum

The two men developed a life-long friendship and appreciation for each other after first working together at Carchemish from 1911 to 1912. Sheikh Hamoudi came from a distinguished family in the area of Jerablus (the modern town closest to Carchemish) and returned there with his sons after every season at Ur. Foremen and indigenous experts have long figured in archaeological histories but in a rather ephemeral manner, similar to guides or interpreters.[56] As Sheikh Hamoudi did not live in Iraq it is difficult to assess his standing within the local community and a more in-depth engagement with his life would have to take that into account. For the local population, archaeological work was often a welcome supplement and usually paid better than agricultural work.[57] With the proliferation of archaeological projects after 1925, however, came competition, and archaeologists had to coordinate their approach.[58] How indigenous and foreign experts (and this includes Sheikh Hamoudi)

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[56] Rachel Mairs, Maya Muratov, *Archaeologists, Tourists, Interpreters. Exploring Egypt and the Near East in the Late 19th– early 20th Centuries* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014). See Doyon 2015, pp. 146–148; and Anne Clément, 'Rethinking "Peasant Consciousness" in Colonial Egypt: An Exploration of the Performance of Folksongs by Upper Egyptian Agricultural Workers on the Archaeological Excavation Sites of Karnak and Dendera at the Turn of the Twentieth Century (1885–1914)', *History and Anthropology* 21/2 (2010), 73–100 on the origins of the foreman system.

[57] This is at least the mantra repeated in the archaeological literature. I do not know of any studies into wage labour in Iraq which takes archaeological excavation into account. Raymond P. Dougherty, 'Searching for Ancient Remains in Lower 'Irâq. Report of an Archaeological Survey Made in Southern Babylonia during the First Quarter of 1926', *The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research* 7 (1925–1926), 1–93. Marion Farouk-Sluglett, Peter Sluglett, 'Labor and National Liberation. The Trade Union Movement in Iraq, 1920–1958', *Arab Studies Quarterly* 5/2 (1983), 139–154.

[58] When German archaeologist Jordan returned to Uruk in 1928 he and Woolley agreed to use the same wage and baksheesh system to avoid competition, an arrangement Arnold Nöldeke continued upon Jordan's appointment as Director of the Antiquities Service in 1931. BMCE WY1 13/73/1, C. Leonard Woolley to Frederic Kenyon, 1 November 1928; BMCE WY1 17/19, Arnold Nöldeke to C. Leonard Woolley, 26 November 1931. Nöldeke 2003, pp. 284–320.

collaborated with the local community is outside the remit of this thesis and remains unexplored in previous scholarship.[59]

Woolley wrote repeatedly about Hamoudi and their shared experiences.[60] Unfortunately no letters between Woolley and Hamoudi survive. The evidence in the Ur excavation archive at the British Museum indicates that they usually communicated via the Akras family in Aleppo (bankers and British honorary consuls). These missives were instructions for Hamoudi and his sons regarding the preparation of the excavation house at the beginning of the season, the purchase of provisions and tools, or the transfer of salaries and expenses.

The three men were normally already at Ur when the Woolleys arrived but occasionally they met in Aleppo and travelled the rest of the way together.[61] These joint trips to and from the excavation illustrate that their relationship went well beyond a purely professional collaboration.[62] After one of the excavation seasons at Carchemish Hamoudi accompanied Woolley and Lawrence back to Oxford for a three-month holiday.[63] In 1932 Katharine and Leonard took Hamoudi and his sons on a trip paid for by the Ur excavation.[64] This was 'in recognition of the ten years' work that Hamoudi has done at Ur [and] he and his sons instead of going straight back to Aleppo were taken by us to visit Damascus and B'albeek and so North…'[65] Sheikh Hamoudi and his sons were thus as much professional archaeologist as their Western colleagues, and a reassessment of their careers within archaeology and outside of it is long overdue.

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59 Perhaps with the exception of T. E. Lawrence's friendship with Dahoum/Selim Ahmed. But this has rather been the subject of speculation around Lawrence's sexual identity and is discussed in his numerous biographies with varying levels of sensitivity. Michael Korda, *Hero. The Life and Legend of Lawrence of Arabia* (London: JR, 2011); Joseph A. Boone, 'Vacation Cruises. Or, the Homoerotics of Orientalism', *PMLA* 110/1 (1995), 89–107.

60 Woolley 1920, where a whole chapter is dedicated to his story. The 1954 revised and enlarged edition (London: Lutterworth Press) provides a rare glimpse into Hamoudi's life away from the excavation: 'For a long time he had been urged to stand for the Syrian Parliament and had always refused, maintaining that he was "an archaeologist, not a politician," but at last he was elected without his consent'. p. 156.

61 Katharine Woolley [henceforth KWoolley], 'Digging Up Bible History', *Britannia and Eve*, 4 January 1929b, 24–27, p. 24; Leon Legrain, 'The Joint Expedition to Ur of the Chaldees', *The Museum Journal* XVI/2 (June 1925), 81–124.

62 See also Noel Teulon Porter's introduction to Woolley's *As I Seem to Remember*, pp. 54–59.

63 Woolley 1962. In addition to enjoying each other's company, Hamoudi probably served also as an 'exotic specimen' to Woolley and Lawrence, brought back from their travels abroad. Surely though, Oxford was just as exotic to him as he was to it.

64 Hamoudi had started his work at Ur with the assistance of two of his sons; Ibrahim and Yahia. After Ibrahim's premature death in 1932, his brother Alawi took his place. BMCA WY1 23/23/1–3. Yahia and Alawi ibn Mohammed continued to work with Woolley at Tell Atchana until 1949.

65 BMCA WY1 23/10, C. Leonard Woolley to George Francis Hill, 12 April 1932. On an earlier trip taken together see C. Leonard Woolley, 'Archaeology, the Mirror of the Ages. Our Debt to the Humble Delvers in the Ruins at Carchemish and at Ur', *The National Geographic Magazine* LIV/1 (July 1928d), 207–226.

The journey to an excavation played a significant role in popular accounts of archaeology (see Chapter Four). Archaeology and exploration were still deeply connected practices in some areas of the world and the travel part of an expedition provided the writer with a steady flow of episodes or at least prompts to advance the narrative.[66] This was part of the 'doubled narrative', which Felix Wiedemann has described as a significant development in nineteenth-century archaeological writing.[67] He argues that excavators gave prominent position in their text to how they found and unearthed material remains. Unlike trends in historical writing of the time, which moved towards a more 'objective' stance, these 'secondary stories' often featured the narrator (in this case an archaeologist) himself. In fact, Wiedemann emphasises, 'stresses and strains' of an explorer's journey formed large portions of these accounts. In the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East of the early twentieth century, where excavators usually focused on just one site for several years, travel to the location replaced the exploration section of the account, while the 'stresses and strains' of excavation life continued to be part of the story, along with its joys.[68] Iraq could be reached by a number of routes from Europe, one of which was to Istanbul (either by boat or the Orient Express) then on to Aleppo and Damascus, and across the desert with the Nairn Transport Company.[69] This was the preferred route for most archaeologists (one of the alternatives being a boat trip to Basra and onwards by train). The frequency with which travel figures in archaeological accounts further connects their popularity to what Paul Fussell has identified as one of the main concerns of British literary writing (and reading) in the interwar period.[70] According to Fussell,

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66 Marie Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edition (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2007).

67 Felix Wiedemann, 'Stones and Stories. On the Use of Narratological Approaches for Writing the History of Archaeology', in Eberhardt and Link 2015a, 165–189, p. 172. Austen Henry Layard's accounts are a prime example of this. Katharina Boehm (paraphrasing earlier scholarship) traces the shift from the trip as the expository device, devoid of immediacy, to the embedded account of the traveller within the landscape and climate he encounters to the early eighteenth century. Boehm 2017, p. 259.

68 The exception to stationary archaeology is the survey, a method then in its early stages. M. E. L. Mallowan, *Mallowan's Memoirs. Agatha and the Archaeologist* (London: HarperCollins 2001 [1977]). Christie Mallowan 1946.
This travel theme is generally missing in popular accounts of twentieth-century archaeology in Britain, surely due to the more familiar landscape and mundane travel arrangements. There is, however, an interesting complex to explore with regards to guidebooks or tourist information on how to reach a site (see Chapter Four). The travel trope in archaeology in the Middle East continued well into the twentieth century. David Oels, 'Ceram – Keller – Pörtner. Die archäologischen Bestseller der fünfziger Jahre als historischer Projektionsraum' in *Geschichte für Leser. Populäre Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Wolfgang Hardtwig and Erhard Schütz (Stuttgart: FSteiner, 2005), 345–370.

69 John Murchison Munro, *The Nairn Way. Desert Bus to Baghdad, With Illustrations by Penny Williams* (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1980). Jackson 2016, pp. 391–397; Nöldeke 2003, pp. 284–286. Philip Willard Ireland, 'Berlin to Baghdad Up-to-Date', *Foreign Affairs* 19/3 (1941), 665–670.

70 Paul Fussell, *Abroad. British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

British writers were keen to break free from post-war Britain's constricting society. Taking up archaeological work abroad or reading about it tapped directly into this desire to escape, both geographically and temporally.

Travelling together not only served the mundane task of reaching or leaving a site, it was also a space for cementing and celebrating friendships. In addition to this, as is illustrated by the trips the Woolleys undertook with Sheikh Hamoudi and his sons, it also served the important function of visiting sites, either as tourists before but more often out of a need to form further connections and to observe finds and architecture in person and share expertise with other archaeologists.

Knowledge exchange in the field

The Ur Excavation Archive in the British Museum offers a rich, albeit one-sided source for exploring informal connections between Woolley and his colleagues. Over the years, Woolley communicated with most of the archaeologists active in the area as well as the various directors or officers of the Antiquities Service. The following discussion of some of these exchanges is offered as an illustration of the kind of communication upheld by archaeologists.

No archaeological site can be understood in isolation, and for the archaeologists of the interwar period visiting other excavations was essential, as this was often the only way to see material and locations without having to wait for publication.[71] It also forged important links and facilitated the sharing of expertise and knowledge, and established friendships. Due to the lack of transport links and limited time available visits were, however, often short. These visits were by their very nature ephemeral and not usually recorded in the written reports. Yet they constitute an important part of every archaeologist's life on a site and often resurface in memoirs or reminiscences.[72]

Spending long months in the field, focusing narrowly on one's own site and work not only bore the danger of over-specialisation as Randall-MacIver feared, it also seriously hampered access to publications. Metropolitan newspapers were available in

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71 BMCE WY1 25/6, C. Leonard Woolley to Museum directors, 31 March 1934: 'At the end of the season I visited the excavations at Warka and Tell Asmar, an experience which I judged to be absolutely necessary in view of the fact that I shall now be writing up in my final reports the periods with which these excavations are mainly concerned, and a first hand knowledge of sites other than Ur is essential.'

72 Traditionally these visits still take place on excavations in the Middle East. During the 2006 season in the North-East Syrian Jazira our team at Tell al-Hamidiyah visited and received the neighbouring project teams of Tell Brak, Tell Mozan, Tell Barri, and Tell Beydar. These visits also form part of the initiation into '"do[ing]" excavation' as described by John Carman in 'Excavating Excavation. A Contribution to the Social Archaeology of Archaeology', in *Digging the Dirt. Excavation in a New Millennium*, BAR International Series 1256, ed. by Geoff Carver (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004), 47–51. Seton Lloyd, 'Excavating the Land Between the Two Rivers', in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East, Vol. IV,* ed. by Jack M. Sasson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), 2729–2741.

Baghdad and perhaps other towns but scholarly journals, let alone a fully equipped archaeological library, were not yet available in Iraq. Woolley and his peers therefore frequently exchanged or lent each other books, journal issues and off-prints.[73] While visits were usually undertaken at the beginning or end of a season, archaeologists also borrowed each other's specialist staff for short spells. After Sidney Smith (1922–23), Leon Legrain (1924–1926) and Eric Burrows (1926–1930) the Ur excavations did not have an epigrapher for the remaining seasons. Instead, Woolley relied on visits from Cyrus H. Gordon who was working with Ephraim Speiser at Tell Billah and Tepe Gawra a few miles northeast of Mosul. Speiser's projects were also funded by the University of Pennsylvania, which further facilitated these kinds of collaborations, especially in light of often tight budgets.[74] Woolley's main contacts, however, were with the archaeologists of the excavation projects closest to Ur (Tello, Kish, and Warka) and with the (honorary) Directors of the Antiquities Service: Gertrude Bell, Sidney Smith and Julius Jordan.[75]

Bell, Smith and Jordan, each in her/his own way, are fascinating case studies in the overlap between archaeology, colonial administration and diplomacy. Each brought their own personality, priorities and politics to the office of Director of the Antiquities Service, although its duties and functions had of course been defined by Bell.[76] Woolley's correspondence with Smith seems devoid of any personal remarks and rather business-like.[77] Its main themes are the Baghdad conference (see below) and the rather thorny issue of archaeologists purchasing objects, either from illicit diggers in their area or from dealers.[78] Even though Smith had worked with Woolley as the epigrapher at Ur the two never got along and their correspondence reflects this.

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73 BMCE WY1 15/8, L. C. Watelin to C. Leonard Woolley, 10 December 1929; BMCE WY1 15/33 L. C. Watelin to C. Leonard Woolley, 31 December 1930, BMCE WY1 L. C. Watelin to C. Leonard Woolley, 28 February 1932; BMCE WY1 15/32, Abbé de Genouillac to C. Leonard Woolley, 1 January [1931?]; BMCE WY1 17/3, André Parrot to C. Leonard Woolley, 23 February 1932; BMCE WY1 24/23, André Parrot to C. Leonard Woolley, 1 July 1934; BMCE WY1 15/44, Conrad Preusser to C. Leonard Woolley, 14 February 1931.

74 BMCE WY1 17/16, Ephraim Speiser to C. Leonard Woolley, 27 December 1931; BMCE 17/11, C. Leonard Woolley to Ephraim Speiser, 14 January 1932; BMCE 17/9, C. Leonard Woolley to Ephraim Speiser, 28 January 1932; BMCE 17/6/1, Cyrus Gordon to C. Leonard Woolley, 12 February 1932. See also André Parrot, *L'aventure archéologique* (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1979), p. 164, where he describes getting help (during excavations at Mari) from Frank Pearson at nearby Dura-Europos with excavating fragile objects.

75 The Ur archive contains mostly letters written by or addressed to Leonard Woolley. There are usually no copies of Woolley's letters to other archaeologists and I am aware of the one-sidedness of the sources. As it stands, the archive illustrates well the kinds of contacts archaeologists had, what they were preoccupied with and the information they exchanged.

76 Collins and Tripp 2017. Her letters are available online at http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/ [Accessed 14 June 2019].

77 Woolley and Smith are said to have disliked each other. Winstone 1990, passim.

78 This is too complex an issue to do full justice to in a footnote. As the correspondence on this (which also included other archaeologists) clusters around December 1930, I suspect it was the aftermath of

By contrast, Jordan's letters display a collegial relationship. He often thanked Woolley for journal issues, and their correspondence regarding the division of finds and other administrative matters was cordial. The balancing act between archaeologist/curator and colonial administrator/advisor was surely a difficult one. Growing Iraqi self-confidence and nationalist sentiment in the press as well as within the civil service and government, especially after independence in 1932, put increasing pressure on foreign advisors while archaeological colleagues, their funding institutions and governments pushed back from the other side. Jordan's tenure as Director of the Antiquities Service has never been studied in detail and it seems he was not the first choice to succeed Smith.[79] What distinguished him from Smith, apart from the fact that he was not British, was his long experience in fieldwork, something that the core-set clearly saw and discussed amongst themselves as an experience essential to understanding the archaeological record and one that set them apart from the critic at home.

Ubaid, Uruk, Jemdet Nasr

Archaeologists often name periods or phases of the past after eponymous sites based on the diagnostic material (usually the pottery) first encountered there.[80] While this is often proposed by the scholar first excavating the site or studying the material, for a term to become accepted in academic discourse others must agree with this initial assessment. This can be an arduous process, involving years of discussion and a high volume of printed matter. It is here again useful to think about the concept of the core-set and Collins' initial definition of this in relation to a controversy. The historian finds herself in rather an unlucky position compared to the sociologist of science who conducted his research 'while the debate is still fresh… so that contributors who were on the "wrong side" will not have been written out of the history of the affair in other people's minds…'.[81] In a later article reviewing the development of his discipline Collins asserted that 'only exposure to the lived history of the core-set can reveal the

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the Cooke-Starr affair. Richard Cooke, interim Honorary Director of Antiquities after Bell's death, and Richard Starr of the Harvard Expedition had been caught attempting to smuggle antiquities out of the country. James F. Goode, *Negotiating for the Past. Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919–1941* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).

79 Ernst Herzfeld had also been in the running, as well as René Dussaud and Roland de Mecquenem. Ann C. Gunter and Stefan R. Hauser, 'Ernst Herzfeld and Near Eastern Studies, 1900–1950', in *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies, 1900–1950*, ed. by *eidem* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 3–44, p. 21. BMCE WY1 15/23, Abbé de Genouillac to C. Leonard Woolley, 28 November 1930. Arnold Nöldeke, *Briefe aus Uruk-Warka, 1931–1939*, ed. by Margarete van Ess and Elisabeth Weber-Nöldeke (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), p. 28, footnote 2.

80 Stuart Campbell, 'Rethinking Halaf Chronologies', *Paléorient* 33/1 (2007), 103–136.

81 Collins 1981, p. 9.

richness of dispute and its potential for being re-opened.'[82] I believe that as historians we are still able to catch some of the lived history of a discipline through the archive. Collins identified the settling of a controversy as the moment when a core-set turned into a core-group, as the process involved in this meant that scholars had to perform the boundary-work 'of trying to define people in or out' of their discipline. The following discussion of the establishment of nomenclature presents such a moment.[83]

As Leonard Woolley and his peers were pushing the Mesopotamian past ever further backwards, they soon realized that they had discovered previously unknown periods. A more detailed discussion about the various races and peoples believed to be associated with changes in material culture is provided in Chapter Two, but I would here like to focus on how and in what contexts and forums archaeologists discussed and debated these terms.

From the seventeenth century onwards academic or scholarly knowledge, just like professional expertise, was often formed and exchanged in more or less formalised societies or clubs.[84] Limited space prevents me from discussing the place of archaeology within these societies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and its relation to the shifting meanings of scientific, botanical, antiquarian or other work. Suffice it to say that during most of the interwar period the archaeology of the Ancient Near East did not have its own society in Britain, nor was there a journal dedicated exclusively to either the archaeology or the languages of the region until 1934.[85] Woolley, for example, published his preliminary annual reports in the Royal Society of Antiquaries' *The Antiquaries' Journal* and in O. G. S. Crawford's *Antiquity* as well as several other societal

82 Collins and Evans 2002, p. 246,

83 Terry Shinn and Richard Whitley (eds.), *Expository Science. Forms and Functions of Popularisation* (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1985); Thomas F. Gieryn, *Cultural Boundaries of Science. Credibility on the Line* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). Boundary-work traditionally refers to the border between science and non-science (especially regarding contested fields such as psychic research or astrology). I employ the term to mean the boundaries between members of the same discipline as much as those between the 'public' and the 'professionals'.

84 There is a vast body of literature available on the founding and history of various societies and institutions in Britain, beginning with the Royal Society in 1660. The Royal Society, *The Royal Society. 350 Years of Science* (London: Royal Society, 2010). Of more immediate relevance to archaeology and antiquarian pursuits are Susan Pearce (ed.), *Visions of Antiquity. the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707–2007* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007) and Levine 1986.

85 *Iraq*, the journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq (now the British Institute for the Study of Iraq), first appeared in 1934. *Sumer*, published by the Iraqi Directorate General of Antiquities, appeared first in 1945. See also Eleanor Robson, 'Bel and the Dragons. Deciphering Cuneiform after Decipherment' in *William Henry Fox Talbot. Beyond Photography*, ed. by Mirjam Brusius, Katrina Dean and Chitra Ramalingam (New Haven: The Yale Center for British Art, 2013), 193–218, on the Society for Biblical Archaeology and its *Transactions*, which ran from 1872–1893. For the Royal Asiatic Society see Stuart Simmonds and Simon Digby (eds.), *The Royal Asiatic Society. Its History and Treasures. Published in Commemoration of the Sesquicentenary Year of the Foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Leiden: Published for the Royal Asiatic Society by Brill, 1979).

publications, usually following a lecture given to the respective members.[86] Full excavation reports in book form usually took – and still take – several years to complete, as plates and drawings had to be made, comparative material researched or additional funding sought. As Chapter Three explores in greater detail, news of discoveries or finds were often first announced in newspaper or magazine articles. This served as an important channel for exchanging scholarly relevant information between archaeologists while they waited (sometimes in vain) for a colleague's more detailed report. *The Times* and *The Illustrated London News* were available abroad as well, and reviewers of Woolley's work (especially critical ones) frequently referred to information first published in such a format (see Chapter Two). Informing a wider public of one's finds was therefore not the only function of writing for a newspaper or magazine but an important part of peer-to-peer communication, precisely as Randall-MacIver had suggested.

The core-set soon realized that their excavations were uncovering important moments in the development of settled communities, animal domestication, writing and urbanization.[87] Differences in methodology, accuracy of recording and publication by the excavators have led to several re-assessments or re-excavations over the years, but what I want to focus on here is how these archaeologists shared information which enabled them to understand their own sites better and reach conclusions they were then able to discuss in a more formal setting, eventually leading to consensus.[88]

Taking up his job as Director of the Iraqi Antiquities Service in early 1929, Sidney Smith soon realised that confusion was reigning: the nomenclature of periods and pottery typologies of the various projects could not be correlated and thus the

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86 There were several scholarly publications in Germany (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (founded 1847), *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* (founded 1866), *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (founded 1898), *Mitt(h)eilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (founded 1898), *Archiv für Orientforschung* (founded 1923)), Austria (*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (founded 1887)) and France (*Journal Asiatique* (founded 1822), *Revue archéologique* (founded 1844), *Babyloniaca, études de philologie assyro-babylonienne* (founded 1879) and *Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie* (founded 1920), as well as America (*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (founded as *Hebraica* in 1884)). See AWOL – The Ancient World Online Blog for a more comprehensive list: http://ancientworldonline.blogspot.co.uk/2015/12/alphabetical-list-of-open-access.html [Accessed 18 November 2017].

87 Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Catherine Marro (ed.), *After the Ubaid: Interpreting Change from the Caucasus to Mesopotamia at the Dawn of Urban Civilization (4500–3500 BC): Papers from the Post-Ubaid Horizon in the Fertile Crescent and Beyond International Workshop held at Fosseuse, 29th June–1st July 2009,* Varia Anatolica 27 (Paris: De Boccard Édition, 2012).

88 McGuire Gibson, *The City and Area of Kish, with Appendix by Robert McCormick Adams*, ed. by Henry Field and Edith M. Laird (Miami: Field Research Projects, 1972); Matthew Rogers, *Secrets of the Dark Mound. Jemdet Nasr, 1926–1928* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips for the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2002); Mario Liverani, *Uruk. The First City*, ed. and translated by Zainab Bahrani and Marc Van de Mieroop (London: Equinox, 2006).

publication of further material was delayed. The pace of excavation, with annual seasons lasting up to five months, had already overtaken that of publication and the amount of material uncovered was simply too great to deal with. He therefore proposed to all project directors a conference in January 1930,

> to discuss (1) the possibility of exchanging the accumulated unpublished results of their pottery and stone vase types with a view to forming a reliable corpus; (2) certain questions of nomenclature, with a view to obtaining greater ease of reference for the officials of this department.[89]

Woolley agreed to attend the conference and welcomed the initiative. While it is uncertain whether the 'reliable corpus' was ever established, the questions of nomenclature were solved within a year and eventually accepted by most parties involved. The conference proceedings were never published (probably there was no intention to do so) and no minutes survive in the Ur Archive, but a letter from Smith to Hall at the British Museum offers a rare glimpse into the dynamic between the various actors:

> As all the great archaeologists are talking about the pottery evidence and not producing any proofs, I called a conference of archaeologists the other day to make them circulate their pottery evidence to form a corpus. Woolley took charge. Frankfort was amazingly proficient as a polyglot, the Abbe de Genouillac astonished us all by the details of processes no one had ever heard of. M Watelin was excessively clear about things every one knew. Waterman and Starr (Kirkuk) were mum. Jordan listened and thought. Campbell Thompson's expedition was not represented. I think a catalogue will be a good thing if it stops people talking about pottery at all. But then you have always known that I am a heathen.[90]

At least one follow-up conference was held in January 1931 and only fleeting mention can be found of succeeding conferences.[91] More importantly, however, the conference had led to the partial 'solution' of what could be termed a controversy between the members of the core-set (in the sense these terms are used by Collins). While relative, let alone absolute, dating remained highly controversial, what the archaeologists could agree on was a sequence of the periods to be named Ubaid, Uruk, and Jemdet Nasr after the sites where diagnostic material had first been encountered (see also Chapter Two).

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89 BMCE WY1 2/47, Sidney Smith to C. Leonard Woolley, 18 November 1929.

90 BMME, Sidney Smith to H. R. Hall, 24 January 1930. I am grateful to Dr Jonathan Taylor, Dept. of the Middle East, British Museum, for this reference.

91 For example in Arnold Nöldeke's letters to his family. Nöldeke 2008, pp. 73–74.

Prior to this get-together in Baghdad the only recorded meeting of the core-set had taken place at the first-ever Assyriological section at the 17th International Congress of Orientalists (ICO), held in 1928 in Oxford.[92] The proceedings from this conference unfortunately only list the title of talks, and consequently it is hard to ascertain how far discussions had progressed by then. Yet at the 18th ICO in September 1931 in Leiden, Henri Frankfort could confidently outline the newly agreed terminology for these phases to which he added the Early Dynastic between the Jemdet Nasr and Akkadian periods.[93] The title of the talk and the ensuing discussion clearly indicate that the establishing of the sequence was still dependent on the idea of 'races', despite a shift towards pottery as a dating tool. The battle over which people or cultural element had been the progenitors of the changes in material culture raged on. Archaeologists insisted on the fact that such a change inevitably meant the influx of a new people or culture, which conquered or at least subdued the native population (see Chapter Two). The idea that a change in material culture equals a violently induced change in population or 'race' has not entirely subsided in archaeological thinking.[94] Stuart Campbell has recently criticised the use of these superseded terminologies. He points out that the use of ceramics to establish sequences – as Woolley and his peers did – leads to a circular argument in chronological discussions, when 'a chronological structure that is defined through change in material culture is then used as the framework within which to explain social changes reflected in that material culture'.[95]

In the summer of 1932 a host of scholars descended upon King's College London for the first International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (ICPPS). A bemused correspondent for *The Daily Telegraph* admitted confusion at the many different types of archaeologists in attendance: the 'absent-minded professors'

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92 Stephen Langdon, no title, in *Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists: Oxford 1928* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1929a), p. 51. Speakers included Woolley, Ephraim Speiser, Viktor Christian, Archibald H. Sayce, Eberhard Unger, Edward Chiera, George Dossin, Ernest Mackay, and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt. See also Paul Servais, 'Scholarly Networks and International Congresses. The Orientalists before the First World War', in *Information Beyond Borders. International Cultural and Intellectual Exchange in the Belle Époque*, ed. by W. Boyd Rayward (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 85–95.

93 Henri Frankfort, 'The Earliest Appearance of the Sumerians', *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International des Orientalistes. Leiden 7 – 12 Septembre 1931* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1932a), 62–64, p. 63. For a discussion of the term Early Dynastic and its problematic applicability to the wider region see Jean M. Evans, 'The Square Temple at Tell Asmar and the Construction of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia, ca. 2900–2350 B.C.E.', *American Journal of Archaeology* 111/4 (2007), 599–632.

94 While this idea is not exclusive to British archaeologists, the fear of invasion was (and is) an important theme in British cultural life. Christian Kjellstrøm Melby, *The Invasions of Britain. Invasion-Scare Fiction and Society, 1871–1914* (King's College London, unpublished PhD thesis, 2018). Grahame Clark, 'The Invasion Hypothesis in British Archaeology', *Antiquity* 40/159 (1966), 172–189. Stefan Burmeister, 'Archaeology and Migration. Approaches to an Archaeological Proof of Migration', *Current Anthropology* 41/4 (2000) 539–567.

95 Campbell 2007, p. 104.

with gold-rimmed spectacles, stroking their beards, 'hard-faced business men archaeologists, those who could probably tell you the winner of the 3.30, poetic archaeologists, and archaeologists who might have worn gaiters and chewed a straw at the Royal Show'. Most importantly, a new type was clearly emerging, the correspondent asserted:

> The "absent-minded professor" is passing, and his successor is a lean, bronzed young athlete, who digs and prospects for the treasures of history and prehistory in China, Mesopotamia, Kenya, or Tibet under conditions of hardship and adventure.[96]

Fieldwork, once again, was the defining element of a professional archaeologist's life. This illustrates again the shift towards the scholar conducting research himself rather than relying on information collected by others. This development is mirrored by other disciplines such as anthropology, with Bronislaw Malinowski's concept of the participant-observer developed in the 1920s.[97] First-hand observation rather than second-hand synthesis became the key to establishing one's credibility as a professional. This sentiment was shared by the core-set, and it seems the ICPPS had been keenly anticipated and discussed beforehand. Woolley's excavations at Ur and Ubaid were vital for the establishment of early chronology but his dating remained controversial. His most vocal critics included Ernst Weidner and Viktor Christian (see Chapter Two) and the line was clearly drawn between 'the man of the spade and the men of the writing table'.[98] Jordan agreed with Woolley that the contest between the two camps could be amusing and he asked him to write to him about who had 'won the match of the early Sumerian chronologists… on [*sic*] the prehistoric congress'.[99] Langdon concurred with Jordan's characterisation and opined that since 'Weidner and Christian have never been present at any excavation… how they venture to oppose the clear evidence of men like yourself and Watelin is a mystery to me.'[100]

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96 A Special Correspondent, 'Professors and Professors. Old Types and a New One', *The Daily Telegraph*, 2 August 1932, 4.

97 Malinowski's contribution to anthropology was of course part of a longer-term development within the discipline. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific. An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, with a foreword by Sir James George Frazer (London: Routledge, 1922).

98 BMCE WY1 23/14 Julius Jordan to C. Leonard Woolley, 13 July 1932.

99 Neither Weidner nor Christian are listed as members or participants in the *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences. London, August 1–6, 1932* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), whereas Woolley, Watelin, Frankfort, and Mallowan, among others, all presented their findings.

100 BMCE WY1 28/28 Stephen Langdon to C. Leonard Woolley, 20 September 1932. Langdon and Woolley did not always agree on chronology. In early 1929 they exchanged a number of letters to the editor and articles in *The Times* around the dating of the Flood at their respective sites. BMCE WY1 13/60/1, C. Leonard Woolley to F. Kenyon, 31 January 1929; Stephen H. Langdon, 'New Finds at

For the core-set, personal observation in the field would always trump synthesis achieved in the comfort of the study.

Professional communication in the public forum

Outward solidarity against the armchair faction did not, of course, prevent the core-set from continuing to disagree amongst themselves, in private as well as in public. As Randall-MacIver had demanded, the disciplining of archaeology had to take place not only within its borders, but also in (semi-)popular and public forums. Chapters Three to Five provide detailed case studies for how archaeologists interacted with the public through three popular media, but I would like to explore here the function these public and popular debates provided for the core-set and for archaeology as a discipline more generally.

Much ink has been spilt trying to define what 'popular' means and what makes archaeology, in particular, so enduringly popular.[101] As I have outlined above, archaeology does not usually figure in the literature on the history of science and the same holds true for investigations into the popularization of science. This is in part due to the fact that archaeology is not everywhere considered a science (by which in the Anglophone world are meant the natural sciences) and by the impossibility of expressing the more encompassing concept of *Wissenschaft* in English.[102] For this reason, I have found it useful to look to German scholarship in exploring not only the popular appeal of archaeology but also how a discipline bridging the gap between the 'hard' and the 'soft' sciences might be approached using the methods usually reserved for the former.[103]

Kish', *The Times*, 4 January 1929b, 8; C. Leonard Woolley, 'The Flood', *The Times*, 16 March 1929d, 13; 'Date of the Flood', *The Times*, 18 March 1929e, 9.

101 Christiane Zintzen, *Von Pompeii nach Troja. Archäologie, Literatur und Öffentlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert*, Comentarii, Bd. 6 (Wien: WUV Universitätsverlag, 1998); Cornelius Holtorf, *From Stonehenge to Las Vegas. Archaeology as Popular Culture* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2005); Barbara Korte and Sylvia Paletschek (eds.), *History goes Pop. Zur Repräsentation von Geschichte in populären Medien und Genres* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2009); Eberhard and Link 2015; Susanne Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology. Fictional and Factual Texts in 19th and early 20th Century Britain* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2015).

102 The US academic tradition places archaeology within anthropological departments and thus brings it closer to the hard sciences. This made it easy for Marcel LaFollette to include archaeology in her analysis without the need to define exactly what she meant by 'science' or why archaeology and anthropology were part of it. Marcel C. LaFollette, *Making Science Our Own. Public Images of Science, 1910–1955* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990). In Britain or Germany it is often considered part of the historical sciences or arts and humanities faculties (*philosophisch-historische Fakultäten*). This stems from its connection to art history, going back to Johann Joachim Winckelmann.

103 I have profited from the following: Franz Georg Maier, *Von Winckelmann zu Schliemann – Archäologie als Eroberungswissenschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Gerda Henkel Vorlesung (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft, 1992); Angela Schwarz, *Der Schlüssel zur modernen Welt. Wissenschaftspopularisierung in Großbritannien und Deutschland im Übergang zur Moderne (ca. 1870–1914)*, Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Nr. 153 (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1999); Andreas W. Daum,

Reviewing the literature on the history of science, Carsten Kretschmann has proposed replacing the term *Wissenschaftspopularisierung* (the popularization of science) with that of *Wissenpopularisierung* (the popularization of knowledge).[104] He argues that we must differentiate more carefully between communication and popularization and their respective aims of relating science and the knowledge generated by practising it.[105] This is particularly pertinent for the case of interwar archaeology. As I have explored above, archaeologists were very concerned with establishing archaeology as a discipline (and as a science) but they were equally concerned with sharing their findings or knowledge with a wider public in popular language.[106] On the one hand, they emphasised the importance of method (fieldwork) in communicating and popularizing their science, on the other, they focused on the knowledge and finds gained through the application of these methods. Yet both types of writing (and broadcasting) were not only addressed to 'the public' but served a further function as explained by Massimiano Bucchi:

> [S]cientists' discourse at the public level is only apparently "public": communication at this level is not actually meant to address the public, but to send "coded messages" to colleagues without having to conform to the constraints of specialist communication'.[107]

Applying this interpretation to archaeology we can trace a continuation from the republic of letters in the seventeenth century, the founding of academies and scholarly societies to today and contextualise the place of 'popularized' knowledge within science without neglecting, of course, the very real function this had of informing a lay public of new discoveries.[108] As Bucchi goes on to say, communicating science at the popular level can 'foster the inclusion or exclusion of actors or theories… or confer a different status on existing models by linking them to other public issues

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Wissenschaftspopularisierung im 19. Jahrhundert: bürgerliche Kultur, naturwissenschaftliche Bildung und die deutsche Öffentlichkeit, 1848–1914, 2nd edition (München: Oldenbourg, 2002); Monika Estermann and Ute Schneider (eds.), *Wissenschaftsverlage zwischen Professionalisierung und Popularisierung*, Wolfenbütteler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens 41 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007); Andy Hahnemann and David Oels (eds.), *Sachbuch und populäres Wissen im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2008); Gehrke and Sénéchau 2010; Stefanie Samida (ed.), *Inszenierte Wissenschaft. Zur Popularisierung von Wissen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2011); Hüppauf and Weingart 2015.

104 Carsten Kretschmann, 'Einleitung. Wissenspopularisierung – ein altes, neues Forschungsfeld' in *Wissenspopularisierung: Konzepte der Wissensverbreitung im Wandel,* ed. by *idem* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 7–21.

105 Kretschmann, 2015.

106 I also consciously ignore the field of public understanding of science (PUS), which can best be explored in the journal of the same name, although it might be interesting to explore the crossover between this and public archaeology. For the latter see the journal of the same name, and Gabriel Moshenska (ed.), *Key Concepts in Public Archaeology* (London: UCL Press, 2017).

107 Massimiano Bucchi, 'When Scientists Turn to the Public. Alternative Routes in Science Communication', *Public Understanding of Science* 5/4 (1996), 375–394, p. 380.

108 Susan Dalton, *Engendering the Republic of Letters. Reconnecting Public and Private Spheres in Eighteenth-Century France* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003);

and themes'.[109] Popularized knowledge therefore performs the boundary-work that requires the cooperation of both the internal and external approach to historiography.[110]In the context of interwar archaeology, letters between the members of the core-set, journals, and conferences all contributed to informal and formal exchanges in a private or academic setting. The public debates that informed the development of archaeology as a profession, however, are best illustrated by communication that took place in newspapers.

In a letter to the editor of *The Times*, John Garstang, then director of the Department of Antiquities in Mandatory Palestine as well as of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, invited 'young men just completing their university studies' to consider 'a career in the archaeological profession'.[111] He pointed towards Britain's 'increased responsibility in the Near East' as one of the reasons why more salaried positions were available. Furthermore, the general interest in the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun had shown that archaeology was now a science and that it would be 'improper to entrust the excavation of an historic site to an untrained and inexperienced man'. Promoting his School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Garstang especially encouraged the 'serious-minded student possessed already of private means' to attend courses and volunteer on excavations, as there were not enough students there to staff existing or planned expeditions. In addition, Garstang called for greater collaboration by institutions and potential funders in Europe and America to advertise their projects in 'a common clearing-house' so that information could be centralised and more easily accessed by universities and 'young men able to overcome the financial difficulties, or those for whom such do not exist'.

Ernest Mackay, who had just finished three seasons at Kish, was swift to respond.[112] In his opinion, the lack of trained men in the profession was due to uncertain career prospects. Archaeology was 'destined to remain the Cinderella of the professions' as long as this continued and members of the discipline failed to organize themselves into a society 'to defend their interests'. To remedy this situation he

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109 Bucchi 1996, p. 386. Such other issues or themes could be, in the case of archaeology, the protection of ancient monuments (at home as well as abroad), domestic and foreign politics, or antiquities legislation.

110 Fuller 1991, p. 302.

111 John Garstang, 'Archaeology as a Profession', *The Times*, 3 July 1925, 12. Garstang also simultaneously held the post of professor in the methods and practice of archaeology at the University of Liverpool from 1907 until 1941. O. R. Gurney, 'Garstang, John (1876–1956)', rev. by Philip. W. M. Freeman, online edition, *ODNB*, 2004.

112 Gregory L. Possehl, 'Ernest J. H. Mackay and the Penn Museum', *Expedition* 52/1 (2010), 40–43; Ernest Mackay, 'Archaeology as a Profession', *The Times*, 21 July 1925, 10.

suggested the creation of chairs or lectureships in archaeology whose holders might then carry out excavations for the various societies and schools. This would relieve the archaeologist of constant fear of losing his employment while the university, in exchange for his services, would receive a portion of the finds for its museum.[113] He called upon British universities to follow the example of Liverpool as the only institution with such an arrangement in doing 'a like service to science and the community'.

Mackay found support in S. E. Winbolt (1868–1944; see also Chapter Four), who drew attention to the situation in Britain where sites 'asking for the digging' abounded.[114] Excavation was 'too exacting a business to be undertaken by well-meaning, but half-baked, amateurs'.[115] Societies wishing to undertake a 'dig' should employ a suitably qualified excavator. He would have paid assistants who had some experience in addition to academic knowledge, and unpaid apprentices who wished to qualify as assistants. In time, this system would lead to a central register of 'a professional hierarchy' (consisting of excavators, assistants, apprentices and experienced diggers). Voluntary work was commendable but 'much better would be done if archaeology were organized as a profession'.

This lack of organization was of course precisely what necessitated discussion in a public forum. Garstang, Mackay and Winbolt had slightly diverging opinions on the most effective methods of attracting more people into the profession and of keeping them within its membership, yet they agreed on the pressing need for organisation, collaboration and training.

Conclusion

By looking at collaboration, communication and conferences this chapter has introduced the archaeologists explored in the coming chapters as a core-set of practitioners. I have considered the importance of fieldwork in establishing an archaeologist's credibility among his peers as well as in the public eye. Thinking about archaeology in the field as a social environment allows us to understand excavation as a collaborative space. This in turn contributes to current trends in the history of archaeology to include previously under-represented actors such as women or indigenous experts and (un)skilled labourers in disciplinary narratives. Reflecting on

113 By implication this would also open the profession to those without private means.
114 S. E. Winbolt, 'Archaeology as a Profession', *The Times*, 6 August 1925, 14.
115 Here Winbolt readily identified himself as such an amateur, something which, he felt, 'might have been prevented by serving an apprenticeship'.

relationships invites further research into friendships in archaeology and how their success or failure (or transformation into something more intimate) affects practice.

By employing approaches from the history of science such as the concept of boundary-work I have looked at how archaeologists worked together to discipline archaeology into a profession. To achieve this they collaborated in the field, visited each other, criticised and agreed with each other at conferences. The importance of meeting in person to hash out the intricacies of sequences and chronologies was apparent to archaeologists at the time. Taking the establishment of nomenclatures as an example I have shown how first-hand observation in the field gained its prominent place within archaeological practice at a moment when the science worked hard to delimit its borders. When scholarly publications or conferences took too long to materialise, archaeologists discussed pressing issues in more immediately available formats such as newspapers, attesting also the intermedial possibilities inherent to archaeological research. Communicating fieldwork and important discoveries through newspaper articles and letters to the editor served the dual role of defining archaeology as a discipline as well as popularising it for a public eager for news from the past. The issues archaeologists were concerned with, however, were not only relevant to the development of the science. 'Race' held a central place in discussions on chronology, and the political realities of the British Mandate administration of Iraq provided archaeologists with privileged access to the ancient and modern bodies of Mesopotamia.

2. Sumerians, Semites and Other(s). Themes in Interwar Archaeological Writing

Introduction

In addition to the discussions on chronology and professionalization explored in Chapter One, the archaeology of Mesopotamia during the interwar period revolved around a number of key themes and ideas that formed the basis for connecting the ancient to the modern world. Woolley and other archaeologists of the core-set identified these key themes at a time when such ideas were of great importance to society, and spoke directly to socio-political developments both in Britain and the wider world. This chapter shifts the focus from the communication of archaeological (fieldwork) science (to which we will return in later chapters) to the communication of knowledge. Focussing on the concept of 'races' in interwar archaeology will allow us to anchor this knowledge within its historical context of the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. I will show how archaeologists were tuned in to contemporary concerns and preoccupations about the future (and consequently the past) of the human race and how their research had an immediate impact on these concerns. Questions about the origins of the various 'races' inhabiting Mesopotamia (most prominently the 'Sumerians' and the 'Semites') were of great significance to scholars, as the region was perceived to be the 'Cradle of Civilisation', of which the contemporary West was seen to be the pinnacle.[1] The 'Sumerian Question', that is the origin of the speakers of this language, the time of their arrival to Mesopotamia and their relation to their 'Other' (the Semites) was deemed to be of prime importance by archaeologists. With increased archaeological activity, facilitated by the Mandate administration, came increased access not only to objects but also to human skeletal remains. The anthropologists tasked by Woolley and his colleagues with measuring and classifying this material did this by correlating it with the modern communities of the new state of Iraq. This taxonomy was mainly performed on the male body. Ideas about the role of 'woman' in ancient societies and her contribution to civilization and technological progress remained closely related to nineteenth-century thought throughout the interwar period (if addressed at all), even as the rights of women in Britain were expanded after the First World War and careers in archaeology became increasingly available to women. This chapter will therefore explore these themes – origins, race and

[1] See below for further discussion of the term 'race' within interwar scholarship. Inverted commas are omitted from the remainder of this chapter to ease readability.

gender – in turn and situate them in the development of archaeological knowledge by exploring Leonard Woolley's writings as specific case studies.

Archaeological discoveries played an important part in British interwar society and culture, and the language in which these were expressed is representative of its age. According to Richard Overy, Britain experienced 'a morbid age' between the Wars.[2] He describes a society obsessed with and anxious about not only individual mortality but also the future health of the human race. The Great War had, writes Overy, caused a 'crisis of civilization' to which discoveries and advances in science (Theory of Relativity) technology (modern weapons), the social sciences and economics (Marxist theory), and Freudian psychoanalysis (the subconscious) all contributed.[3] The biological laws of heredity, in combination with Darwinian evolution, further demonstrated the inescapability of natural development.[4] Curiously, Overy does not place much importance on creating a trajectory from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century via the complex of the *fin de siècle*. This has been an important line of enquiry especially for studies of literature.[5] The influence of publications such as Max Nordau's *Degeneration* on public opinion about artistic movements and individual artists, and Cesare Lombroso's work on criminality and its physical manifestations on psychiatric practice, psychology, anthropology and biology fed directly into language used by archaeologists.[6]

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2 Overy 2009.

3 The Great War also contributed substantially to the popularity of spiritualism and psychic research in the interwar period and, despite being the 'most "modern" of wars, triggered an avalanche of the "unmodern"'. Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 54. Michael Saler, '"Clap If You Believe in Sherlock Holmes": Mass Culture and the Re-Enchantment of Modernity, c. 1890–c. 1940', *The Historical Journal* 46/3 (2003), 599–622.

4 Eugenics, on the other hand, promised certain control over the composition and health of the human species.

5 William Greenslade, *Degeneration, Culture, and the Novel, 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Sally Ledger, 'In Darkest England. The Terror of Degeneration in Fin-de-Siècle Britain', *Literature and History* 4/2 (1995); Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration. A European Disorder, c. 1848–c. 1918*, Ideas in Context 15 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Sally Ledger, Roger Luckhurst, (eds.) *The Fin de Siècle. A Reader in Cultural History, c. 1880–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Barbara Korte, '"The Reassuring Science"? Archäologie als Sujet und Metapher in der Literatur Britanniens', *Poetica* 32 (2000), 125–150; *eadem,* 'Archäologie in der viktorianischen Literatur: Faszination und Schrecken der ‚tiefen' Zeit' in *Zeit und Roman: Zeiterfahrung im historischen Wandel und ästhetischer Paradigmenwechsel vom sechzehnten Jahrhundert bis zur Postmoderne*, ed. by Martin Middeke (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2002), 112–131; Eleanor Dobson, 'Sleeping Beauties. Mummies and the Fairy-Tale Genre at the Fin de Siècle', *Journal of International Women's Studies* 18/3 (2017), 19–34.

6 Max Nordau, *Degeneration* [translated from the 2nd edition of the German Work], 7th edition (London: Heinemann, 1895). Greenslade 1994; Paolo Mazzarello, 'Cesare Lombroso. An Anthropologist Between Evolution and Degeneration', *Functional Neurology* 26/2 (2011), 97–101. I have here picked out degeneration as one of the most important but by no means only concern of this epoch. Ian B. Stewart, 'E.E. Fournier d'Albe's Fin de siècle: Science, Nationalism and Monistic Philosophy in Britain and Ireland', *Cultural and Social History* 14/5 (2017), 599–620, p. 599; 608.

Overy only touches on archaeology in the interwar years and dates the 'remarkable flowering of archaeological research' in the Middle East to 'the two or three decades before 1914'.[7] Although he acknowledges the continuing hold past civilizations had on the popular imagination in the interwar period, he fails to connect the reasons behind this phenomenon to his overall theme of a society obsessed with death, decline and the cyclical rise and fall of civilizations and the human race. Yet the discoveries of archaeologists in Mesopotamia, Egypt and around the world fuelled public as well as academic discussions around these themes and provided them with new material on a regular basis. Carter's discovery and publicizing of Tutankhamun's tomb is merely the best-known example of 'Egyptomania' and its cyclical popularity in the West, and Woolley's discovery of the Royal Tombs is often compared to that find.[8] The paradox of a society fashionably obsessed with death, yet profoundly affected by the way in which violent conflicts changed lives as well as the maps of empires and nations 'gave historians a central place in explaining the current crisis of civilization as a profound historical phenomenon rather than a mere consequence of the war'.[9] I would extend Overy's argument to include archaeologists, anthropologists and their affiliated disciplines. By subscribing to the Spenglerian view of cultures as organisms – i.e., living and thus subject to the cycle of life with birth and death as inescapable components – archaeologists used language familiar to their readers from other contexts.[10] By placing Mesopotamian cultures in this succession of empires and races which grew and decayed morally as well as physically, they fed precisely into this 'social anxiety' described by Overy, and thus provided the reassuring view that things had always been like this, but that simultaneously, all empires and civilizations inevitably had to come to an end.[11] It is important to note here that what fascinated the public about archaeology in the Eastern Mediterranean was almost exclusively related to its exploration of burials and

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7 Overy 2009, p. 33. While there was certainly significant archaeological work being done before 1914, the Mandate allowed work to continue and offered substantial support to archaeologists wishing to take up work in the Middle East. The same applies to the French Mandates. Nicole Chevalier, *La recherché archéologique française au Moyen-Orient, 1842–1947* (Paris: Editions recherche sur les civilizations, 2002).

8 James Stevens Curl, *Egyptomania: The Egyptian Revival, a Recurring Theme in the History of Taste* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).

9 Overy 2009, pp. 49; 28–9.

10 Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus. Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1996), p. 306.

11 Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West: Form and Actuality*, translated by Charles Francis Atkinson (London: Allen & Unwin, 1926). I do not mean to imply an unreflecting use of Spengler's ideas by archaeologists, merely that the terminology and language used by Spengler was also pervasive in archaeology. As R. G. Collingwood pointed out, despite claims to the contrary, Spengler was not the first to conceive of history in this way. R. G. Collingwood, 'Oswald Spengler and the Theory of Historical Cycles', *Antiquity* 1/3 (1927), 311–325; *idem*, 'The Theory of Historical Cycles. II. Cycles and Progress', *Antiquity* 1/4 (1927), 435–446.

therefore death, as opposed to, e.g. architecture, trade or agriculture, once again pointing to contemporary fears and fixations.

Overy continues that the 'intellectual uncertainty' experienced in 'almost all areas of research, from astronomy to zoology…' meant that '[v]ery little scientific writing could be understood by the layman unless it was presented in a vulgarized form and it was here that science played its part in giving substance to social anxiety by relaying complex arguments in a deceptively simple language'.[12] This 'deceptively simple language' speaks directly to the intellectual doubt inherent to interwar archaeology.

These processes, however, are not unique to archaeology as a discipline. Rather, they mirror circumstances in other sciences in the same period. Graham Richards describes a similar development for psychoanalysis during the interwar period.[13] According to Richards, psychoanalysis in Britain travelled along the tracks of popularization and professionalization just as archaeology did. Thus, 'the popular press had, during the early 1920s, been able to raise a virtual moral panic about the dangers of quacks and charlatans posing as psychoanalysts.' This, Richards argues, necessitated a more streamlined and officially organised and accepted mission, with 'tighter control over entitlement to the use of the label "psychoanalyst"'. Practitioners also strived to differentiate and distance themselves 'from a suddenly growing horde of self-proclaimed psychotherapists.'[14]

Freud's fascination for archaeology and the significance the discipline had for his work has been widely explored and does not need to be repeated here.[15] Beyond this, however, historians of archaeology have largely neglected the overlap of core-sets of archaeologists, anthropologists and psychologists/psychiatrists and the role concepts such as degeneration played in these disciplines. Like Arthur Keith (see below), W. H. R. Rivers (1864–1922) exemplifies this interconnectedness. Best remembered today for his psychiatric work with shell-shock victims during the First World War, Rivers was furthermore an anthropologist as well as cultural historian. As Henrika Kuklick explains, 'Rivers would interpret as degeneration on a behavioral evolutionary scale the

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12 Overy 2009, pp. 374–375.

13 Graham Richards, 'Britain on the Couch. The Popularization of Psychoanalysis in Britain 1918–1940,' *Science in Context* 13/2 (2000), 183–230. For the concept of intellectual uncertainty within psychology and psychoanalysis see Morten Barnaes, 'Freud's 'The "Uncanny" and Deconstructive Criticism. Intellectual Uncertainty and Delicacy of Perception,' *Psychoanalysis and History* 12/1 (2010), 29–54.

14 Richards 2000, pp. 204–205. While there was no public 'moral panic' about fake archaeologists, Chapter One has shown that archaeologists were very much concerned with demarcating the borders of their discipline.

15 Lynn Gamwell, Richard Wells (eds.), *Sigmund Freud and Art. His Personal Collection of Antiquities* (Binghampton/London: State University of New York/Freud Museum, 1989).

functional psychological disorder that was named "shell shock"'.[16] By seeing traumatic experience as the cause for a regression to a more 'primitive' state of mind Rivers connected his anthropological to his psychiatric research.[17] Archaeology provided access to common human ancestry, while psychology promised to give access to the ancestral within the individual self. This spoke directly to an interwar preoccupation, with 'popular occult "counterculture" seeking in the face of the escalating success of materialist science to reconnect with the non-rational and the ancestral.'[18] The past and archaeology were thus not only deeply connected within the minds of connected scholars, but also within general society and popular culture.

Race

Various scholars have attempted to clarify past definitions of race but, as Michael Yuddell describes it, they have mainly accepted that, from the Middle Ages on, 'it could be a term simply to describe a group of people united by common characteristics, or it could be used when classifying different human groups, sometimes even in place of the term "species".[19] Given the instability of the term, this section will attempt to determine what archaeologists and their collaborators meant by the word race, and how their usage of the term changed throughout the period. Due to advances in biology, medicine and anthropology as well as political events around the world, the concept of race was itself undergoing vast challenges, which further complicated its usage. Representatives of various sciences disagreed with each other, with members of their own discipline, and often with politicians' and journalists' use of the term, yet they all agreed on the existence of racial differences and their significance for their respective societies.

Tracing the development of the idea of race, Ivan Hannaford has related that prior to Charles Darwin, naturalists like Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) and Georges Cuvier (1769–1832), to name but two, had paved the way for the next step in the evolution of race as an idea by developing and advocating for the polygenic or monogenic nature of

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16 Henrika Kuklick, 'Personal Equations: Reflections on the History of Fieldwork, with Special Reference to Sociocultural Anthropology', *Isis* 102/1 (2011), 1–33 (p. 20). See also George W. Stocking, Jr. 1995, pp. 1–8; 184–220; 228–232; 235–244 for more on Rivers.

17 Rivers was connected to archaeology through his work with Grafton Elliot Smith and their work on diffusionism. George W. Stocking, Jr., *After Tylor. British Social Anthropology, 1888–1951* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995). P. Crook, *Grafton Elliot Smith, Egyptology and the Diffusion of Culture. A Biographical Perspective* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2012).

18 Richards 2000, p. 189.

19 Michael Yudell, *Race Unmasked: Biology and Race in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), p. 27.

humankind's genesis.[20] This discussion was closely related to the gradual loss of emphasis placed on the Biblical story of creation in view of the development of geology and palaeontology during the nineteenth century. Humans came to be seen as just one species of many within nature, but whether there was more than one species, distinguished by colour of skin, shape of skull, and other, non-physical traits, was a bone of contention. As history and the new discipline of ethnology – and incipient archaeology – moved into the realms of politics, racial philosophy came to simultaneously support colonialist and imperialist reasoning. This made comparative studies of human variety, always from the viewpoint of the conqueror and coloniser, a vast new field of research.[21] What Darwin introduced or explicitly articulated within this debate was the *inevitability* of natural selection, providing those who proclaimed the unchangeable character of racial progress or decline with the almost irrefutable argument of evolution, even though, as Philip Kohl points out, racism and the assumption of racial superiority of one species over another was not inherent to evolutionary theory itself.[22] Furthermore, as we look at the interwar period, it is imperative to distinguish between scholars' and authors' personal views and their research and to put them in their proper philosophical as well as historical context. Paul Rich has cautioned against 'seeing all European thinking on race through the lenses of this catastrophic period and imposing present-day values on historical periods…'.[23] In what follows, we will explore how the concept of race (pre)occupied interwar

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20 Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996); Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1982).

21 The interconnection between imperialism, colonialist expansion and science, especially medicine and anthropology, is outside the scope of this thesis. See Benedikt Stuchtey, 'Introduction: Towards a Comparative History of Science and Tropical Medicine in Imperial Cultures since 1800' in *Science Across the European Empires*, ed. by *idem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1–45, for an astute and extensive overview of the relevant literature.

22 Philip L. Kohl, 'Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote Past', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27 (1998), 223–246, p. 236; Stocking 1987.

23 Paul Rich, 'The Long Victorian Sunset: Anthropology, Eugenics and Race in Britain, c. 1900–48', *Patterns of Prejudice* 18/3 (1984), 3–17, p. 3. As this chapter focuses on archaeological writing in the context of archaeology in the Middle East, the wider implications of scientific racism on society are outside the scope of this chapter. See Yuddell 2014; Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1981) for developments in America. Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism. Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). This also applies to eugenics, an important movement in the early twentieth century concerned with the 'improvement' and hygiene of the human race. One of the most prominent archaeologists in this context was Flinders Petrie. Debbie Challis, *The Archaeology of Race: The Eugenic Ideas of Francis Galton and Flinders Petrie* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013) remains one of the few in-depth studies connecting scientific racism with archaeological research, but falls somewhat short of its title in that it ends in 1911 with the death of Francis Galton while Petrie only died in 1942. It thus neglects Petrie's as well as Galton's continued influence during the interwar period. Greenslade 1994, p. 28; more generally see, Bradley W. Hart, 'Watching the 'Eugenic Experiment' Unfold: The Mixed Views of British Eugenicists Toward Nazi Germany in the Early 1930s,' *Journal of the History of Biology* 45/1 (2012), 33–63.

archaeologists and influenced their understanding of the prehistoric and historic populations of Mesopotamia, which formed the basis of their understanding of chronology as explored in Chapter One.

The Sumerian Question and Migrations

Sumerian, a linguistic isolate, was the language predominantly used for written records during the late fourth and third millennia BC in southern Mesopotamia. Its occurrence in a region where Semitic languages (both written and spoken) came to predominate perplexed many scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries AD, especially once Sumerian was identified as the language used in the oldest cuneiform texts. Some concluded from this that the Sumerians had come to Mesopotamia from elsewhere. To find this mythical place, various aspects of Sumerian culture or civilisation were called upon, while the Sumerian language was in turn compared to Altaic/Turkic, Caucasian, Indo-European, Polynesian, and Bantu languages.[24] This 'Sumerian Question' or 'Problem' thus conflated issues of race, language, geography and, increasingly in the interwar period, material culture, as these were all seen to depend on each other. Language in particular came to be seen as a racial marker for the individual human being as well as for political entities. Discussing the Sumerian language (and Sumerology/Assyriology as a discipline) further is outside the scope of this thesis, but the study of Mesopotamian languages depended heavily on the progress of excavations and the tablets they unearthed.[25] The range of proposed connections to other languages indicated above only emphasises that philologists themselves were far from agreeing on many basic aspects of Sumerian well past the interwar period.[26]

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[24] Ephraim Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins: The Basic Population of the Near East* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1930), p. 46; Henri Frankfort, 'Archeology and the Sumerian Problem', *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization No. 4* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932b) p. 44. Viktor Christian, 'Die sprachliche Stellung des Sumerischen', *Babyloniaca*, 12/3–4 (1931), 97–222, dealt with the various theories from a philological point of view. See also Tom Jones, *The Sumerian Problem* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969) for an overview of the Sumerian Problem; Steven W. Holloway, 'Introduction: Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible' in *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*, ed. by *idem* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 1–41; Erika Marsal, 'The Beginnings of Sumerology (I): From Early Sketches to a First Complete Grammar' *Aula Orientalis* 32/2 (2014), 293–297, p. 285, *eadem*, 'The Beginnings of Sumerology, II: From Delitzsch's grammar to Adam Falkenstein', *Aula Orientalis* 33, 255–269.

[25] And sometimes suffered from this interdependence. Robson 2019, p. 24.

[26] Jerrold S. Cooper, 'Posing the Sumerian Question. Race and Scholarship in the Early History of Assyriology', in *Velles Paraules. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Miguel Civil on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, Aula Orientalis 9/1–2* (1991), ed. by Piotr Michalowski *et al.*, 47–66; Netanel Anor, 'Joseph Halévy, Racial Scholarship and the "Sumerian Problem"', *Philological Encounters* 2/3–4 (2017) 321–345.

The Sumerians and the Semites were seen as the two main groups of people, or races, populating Mesopotamia.[27] Most scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries maintained that the Sumerian and the Semitic peoples had stood in perpetual conflict with each other based on their racial difference. Thus, in his first monograph, *The Sumerians*, Leonard Woolley introduced the lands of Sumer and Akkad in southern Mesopotamia as having stood in 'sharp opposition to one another, distinguished by the race and language of those who lived in them'.[28] While some pointed out that 'Sumerian' and 'Semitic' are merely linguistic categories, not all scholars made the differentiation.[29] By equating race with language and applying this hybrid category to ancient societies they were convinced that Mesopotamian history was riddled with wars between these two races. It was unimaginable to them, firstly, that two races could have lived side by side *without* being in perpetual conflict, and secondly, that perhaps different languages did *not* equate to different races in the biological sense (see below). In developing the chronology of the prehistory and history of Mesopotamia it was vital not only to determine which race dominated the other but also which was the progenitor of civilization. It was assumed that both the Sumerians as well as the Semites had migrated to Mesopotamia in prehistoric times, and precisely when these migrations had taken place became a crucial and heavily contested matter. For on the outcome of this debate depended which cultural element was responsible for the urbanization of Mesopotamia, the invention of writing and a range of other civilizational achievements.

It seemed to be a given that all races had come from somewhere. However, the narratives of the migrations of the Sumerians and the Semites differed distinctly. Little was known or understood about the Sumerians, but of course Europe (where most archaeological discussions took place in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) had a long and complicated relationship with those whom scholars identified as 'Semites', namely Jews and Arabs. According to many European scholars, both of these

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27 The Semitic language family was named after one of the sons of the Biblical figure Noah, Sem. Other language groups were accordingly named Hamite (African languages) and Japhetite (roughly coterminous with Indo-European languages). Other Semitic languages include Phoenician, Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic. Felix Wiedemann, 'Stammen die Juden von den Hethitern ab? Ethnohistorische Kartographien des Alten Orients und die Debatte um die „Judenfrage" um 1900' in *Historische Interventionen : Festschrift für Wolfgang Wippermann zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Axel Weipert *et al.* (Berlin: Trafo-Verlag, 2015b), 87–120, pp. 94–96.

28 Akkadian, named after the kingdom of Akkad, founded by Sargon in c. 2350 BC, is the earliest of the Semitic languages attested in the written record. C. Leonard Woolley, *The Sumerians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928a), p. 1. See also Chapter Five for Woolley's books.

29 L. H. Dudley Buxton and D. Talbot Rice in their 'Report on the Human Remains found at Kish', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 61 (1931), 57–119, pointed out (on p. 67) that 'if we are speaking in terms of physical anthropology, clearly we can hardly use such cultural and linguistic terms as "Sumerian" and "Semite".'

groups of people were inherently migratory. This repetitiveness and even monotony of life were seen as congenital to Oriental peoples and symptomatic of the unchanging Orient. Furthermore, this spatial as well as temporal vagueness pointed to the timeless nature of migratory movements of people—a central theme for European identity and historiography.[30] Western scholars were familiar with the Jewish communities within their countries, while during the nineteenth century travels and the beginnings of tourism to the 'Orient' had familiarized many with the diversity of Arab nomadic as well as sedentary communities.[31]

Felix Wiedemann has unravelled some of these issues regarding the Semites in the context of German archaeology of the Near East. His focus on migration narratives presents a novel approach to the history of archaeology, which opens it up to interdisciplinary exploration.[32] He argues convincingly that narratives of migration are a central theme of German archaeological, geographical and philological work of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wiedemann contends that around the turn of the century migrations in German scholarly narrative changed their character from singular events to repeated phenomena. He continues that Biblical events (such as Abraham leaving Ur or the Exodus), the dispersal of the Jews after the destruction of the Second Temple of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 AD, or the relatively rapid spread of Islam throughout northern Africa and into Spain were consolidated into a repetitive narrative of migration, which was in turn connected to the Semites as a race.

30 Roland Steinacher, 'Wanderung der Barbaren? Zur Entstehung und Bedeutung des Epochenbegriffs ‚Völkerwanderung' bis ins 19. Jahrhundert' in Felix Wiedemann *et al.,* 2017, 67–95; Chris Manias, '"Our Iberian Forefathers". The Deep Past and Racial Stratification of British Civilization, 1850–1914', *The Journal of British Studies* 51/4 (2012), 910–935; Richard Heigl, *Wüstensöhne und Despoten. Das Bild des Vorderen Orients in deutschsprachigen Weltgeschichten des 19. Jahrhunderts,* Regensburger Skripten zur Literaturwissenschaft 17 (Regensburg 2000).

31 The *Description de l'Egypte,* the result of Napoleon Bonaparte's campaigns to Egypt (1789–1801) is often cited as the publication which brought the Orient its prominent place in nineteenth century European culture. See also John K. Walton (ed.), *Histories of Tourism. Representation, Identity and Conflict* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005). Edward Said's *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978) remains the founding text for critiquing the West's relationship with the Middle East and Northern Africa. For a thorough discussion and critique of Said see Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism. Said and the Unsaid*, 2nd edition (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017); See further Suzanne Marchand, 'Philhellenism and the Furor Orientalis', *Modern Intellectual History* 1(3 (2004), 331–358; *eadem*, 'Popularizing the Orient in Fin de Siècle Germany', *Intellectual History Review* 17/2 (2007), 175–202.

32 Felix Wiedemann, 'Völkerwellen und Kulturbringer. Herkunfts- und Wanderungsnarrative in historisch-archäologischen Interpretationen des Vorderen Orients um 1900', *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 51/1–2 (2010), 105–128; *idem*, 'Zwischen Völkerflut und Heroismus. Zur Repräsentation der Beduinen in kulturhistorischen Deutungen des Vorderen Orients um 1900', in *Die Begegnung mit Fremden und das Geschichtsbewusstsein*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Main, Beiheft 88, ed. by Judith Becker and Bettina Braun (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 207–227; *idem*, 'Zirkuläre Verknüpfungen. Völkerwandungen und das Motiv der Wiederkehr in den Wissenschaften vom Alten Orient um 1900' in *Vom Wandern der Völker. Migrationserzählungen in den Altertumswissenschaften*, Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 41 ed. by Felix Wiedemann, Kerstin P. Hofmann, Hans-Joachim Gehrke (Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2017), 137–160.

For the scholars Wiedemann explores, there was an implicit and often even explicit connection to their life and times, in that this timeless nature of Semitic waves was not limited to the past: there was a constant threat of waves of Arabs or Jews spilling over into Europe.[33]

Wiedemann makes a convincing case in arguing that the identification of a race's perceived origin – in the case of the Semites this was mostly seen to be the Arabian peninsula – played a crucial role in the narrative which led a people from A to B. Based on comparisons to living Arab communities encountered by European travellers to the region, these 'primitive' nomadic societies were thought to be a remnant of the original Semitic state of being.[34] From there 'wave after wave of Semites for the last 5000 years' had overrun the Middle East.[35] Mesopotamia proper had then endured several other waves from Syria, Anatolia and the Levant throughout its history (see below).

Yet no-one had been able to determine the Sumerians' origin (partly because their language and thus their 'race' eluded possible connections to other languages), and this was what distinguished them most definitely from the Semites in the eyes of Western scholars. There was also no evidence (and most scholars here argued from ignorance) that the Sumerians had arrived in waves, and most scholars – as the example of Woolley's writing explored below will show – therefore presupposed a singular migration. Broadly speaking, pre-World War One scholars assumed that the Sumerians had arrived via the Persian Gulf (Figure 2.1). A major impulse to this discussion came with the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro in the Indus Valley from 1920 onwards.[36] The large urban centres uncovered there, in conjunction with objects of Indus Valley origin found at Ur and other sites in Iraq, seemed to support the theory of a Sumerian origin somewhere between Iraq and India, either present-day Iran (especially for those who saw similarities to pottery from early Susa and/or tried to connect the Sumerians to the Indo-European or Aryan races) or further north, in Central Asia by way of the Caucasus and Anatolia.[37] As the trajectory traced through

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[33] Felix Wiedemann 2017, passim. Throughout his work Wiedemann emphasises that the Semite was not only a negative figure within German Orientalist studies and wider society. Especially the view of the renewing force of the Arabic nomads (not the Jews, however) was often seen to resemble the creative, forceful nature of the German race. This complex issue, however, is outside of the scope of this thesis.

[34] Wiedemann 2012; Wiedemann 2015b, p. 98; Dudley L. H .Buxton, 'Pre-Sumerian Man. New Evidence from Arabia', *Discovery* VII/88 (April 1927), 105–109.

[35] George A. Barton, 'Whence Came the Sumerians', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 49 (1929), 263–268, p. 267.

[36] Shereen Ratnagar, *Trading Encounters. From the Euphrates to the Indus in the Bronze Age*, 2nd, revised edition (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[37] Felix Wiedemann, 2015b, p. 93.

Woolley's books will illustrate, field archaeology in the interwar period contributed to and substantially affected both archaeological practice as well as the place of the 'Sumerian Question' in scholarship.[38]

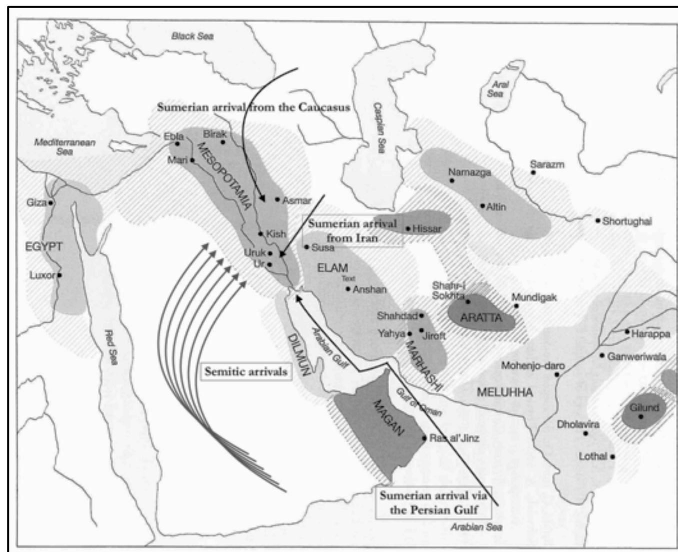

Figure 2.1. Proposed origins or routes of Sumerians and Semites into Mesopotamia
Adapted from Crawford 2013, p. 8

The Sumerians in Leonard Woolley's writing

In what follows I will use Leonard Woolley's books to trace the shifting complex of the Sumerians' perceived origin, racial composition, opposition to the Semites, and assumed role in the historical development of Mesopotamian society in interwar archaeology. While Woolley of course incorporated ideas he had first developed writing for newspapers and for broadcasting, as well as in his excavation reports, the complexity of the issue required the more ample space a book offered compared to an article or a talk.[39] In his opening chapter of *The Sumerians* (published in 1928) Woolley largely followed current scholarship on the racial elements present in the Ancient Near East: He identified a Semitic-speaking people from northern Syria, a 'fair-haired' stock, speaking a 'Caucasian tongue' from the north and east, inhabiting originally the Zagros mountains, and a Semitic Bedouin element, which had come from

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[38] A similarly complex idea is explored by Edna Ullmann-Margalit, *Out of the Cave. A Philosophical Inquiry into the Dead Sea Scrolls Research* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006). According to the author, the dominant hypothesis of the field, linking the nearby settlement of Khirbet Qumran with the sect of the Essenes to explain the authorship of the scrolls, produced 'a powerful combination of factors not often encountered in the history of science: seemingly strong textual evidence supporting it, a reputable scientist pronouncing it, and a widespread eagerness to believe it.' Edna Ullman-Margalit, 'Writings, Ruins, and Their Reading: The Dead Sea Discoveries as a Case Study in Theory Formation and Scientific Interpretation', *Social Research* 65/4 (1998), 839–870, p. 847. This is similar to Sumerian and Semitic migration narratives as explored above. As in Ullmann-Margalit's study, texts are used to interpret – and in turn are interpreted by – material finds to form a 'thick "circle of interpretation"'. Ullmann-Margalit 2006, p. 24.

[39] We will return to the production processes of Woolley's books in detail in Chapter Five.

the south.[40] The Sumerians had, according to Woolley, arrived last.[41] Woolley perceived them to be 'of the Indo-European stock', but resembling the modern Arab.[42] He suggested a mountainous country as their origin, but this could not have been neighbouring Elam (in present-day Iran), as there was no similarity of race.[43] Rather, it seemed to Woolley that the Sumerians must have migrated to southern Mesopotamia from the region somewhere between the Indus and Euphrates rivers, and had invaded the region from the Gulf as a fully formed people (Figure 2.2).[44]

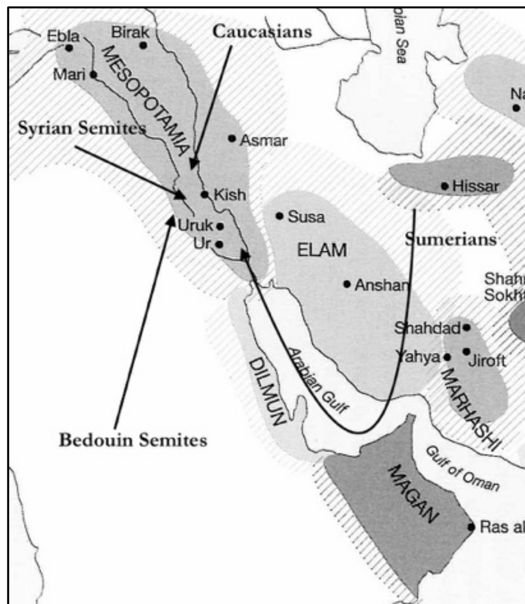

Figure 2.2. Sumerian and Semitic origins according to Leonard Woolley (1928)
Adapted from Crawford 2013, p. 8

The Sumerians had thus waited until the land was satisfactorily prepared for their invasion, whereupon they, 'the apostles of civilization', proceeded to enslave the

40 Without explicit reference, it is not certain what Woolley meant by the fair-haired people. He might here be referring to the Hurrians, or the Guti/Subareans. For the dispute about hair-colour see Ephraim Speiser, 'Hurrians and Subarians', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 68/1 (1948), 1–13.

41 Woolley 1928a, pp. 3–6.

42 Woolley here quoted Arthur Keith, on whom see below.

43 It would have been difficult for Woolley to say anything at all about the physical traits of the Elamites. At that time, and well into the later 20th century, Susa remained one of the few excavated Elamite sites. The methods employed at the site until the later 1960s, however, have made this large site very difficult to interpret. Elizabeth Carter, 'Elam ii. The Archaeology of Elam', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VIII/3, Online Edition (1998, rev. 2011), 313-325; Encyclopaedia Iranica, 'SUSA', 2015. The other site frequently mentioned in the literature of the period, Tell Musyan (also Tepe Mussian or Musiyan) denoted one or several settlement and cemetery sites in south-western Iran, which had been briefly explored by the French Mission to Iran in 1905. Elizabeth Carter and Matthew Stolper, *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Trevor Bryce in Consultation with Heather D. Baker, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia: From the Early Bronze Age to the Fall of the Persian Empire* (London: Routledge, 2009).

44 How Woolley defined 'Elam' and differentiated it from the admittedly much larger entity between these two rivers eludes my interpretation.

'despised dwellers in the swamps', the people of the Ubaid culture, which were a composite of the North-Syrian and Bedouin Semitic groups.[45]

Before the establishment of the sequence Ubaid – Uruk – Jemdet Nasr around 1930 (as described in Chapter One), the Flood served as a decisive separator of distinct cultures for the core-set.[46] Woolley had not yet begun excavating what he determined as evidence for the Flood at Ur and he therefore had little concrete evidence to go on.[47] Most other archaeologists did not agree with Woolley on the importance of the Flood as a dating device or even its significance. Neither the excavators at Kish/Jemdet Nasr nor those at Uruk found much evidence for a widespread flooding of southern Mesopotamia at their sites and consequently argued that Woolley's evidence pointed towards a merely local event. One of the problems Woolley encountered in this narrative was that the discovery of proto-cuneiform tablets and painted pottery at Jemdet Nasr pointed towards a highly developed cultural presence prior to the Flood (as the site was then dated). These objects could not have been made by 'Semitic colonists' from the Arabian Peninsula, as the quality of later Arabian pottery did not allow for such sophisticated forbears. If one was forced (as Woolley saw himself) to accept Semitic handiwork, it was better to point towards the North-Syrian Semites. In order to reach this conclusion, however, an 'inference to the best explanation' was necessary, forcing Woolley to state that this people had come originally from Asia Minor (and were therefore not really Semitic).[48]

Woolley continued his account of Sumerian history in language typical of the *fin de siècle*, the Great War and the interwar periods. The Sumerians had realized that 'in the advance of civilization the lead is generally taken by military science and equipment.' 'Set down in the midst of peoples' as the Sumerians had been, that were

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45 Woolley 1928a, pp. 9–13.

46 In this context 'The Flood' of course conjures up the Biblical story of Noah but is more specifically linked to the Flood mentioned in the Sumerian King List, which describes the succession of dynasties, as well as to the Sumerian and Akkadian legends of Utnapishtim/Atrahasis. Woolley had not yet started his excavations of the Flood levels and his opinion on the arrival of the Sumerians from elsewhere and the date and circumstances of this event would clearly be influenced by further findings. These passages must be read with this in mind. C. Leonard Woolley, 'The Cemetery of al-'Ubaid', in *Ur Excavations. Volume I. A Report on the Work Carried out at Al-'Ubaid for the British Museum in 1919 and for the Joint Expedition in 1923–4*, by H. R. Hall, C. Leonard Woolley, with Chapters by C. J. Gadd and Sir Arthur Keith, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927), 149–171, (p. 170). Footnote by C. J. Gadd.

47 In addition, one of the main copies of the Sumerian King List had only been published in 1923 but figured prominently in *The Sumerians*. Woolley reproduced excerpts over six pages and discussed the lists in his chapter on the early history of Mesopotamia. Woolley 1928a, pp. 21–34. Stephen H. Langdon, *Historical Inscriptions, Containing Principally the Chronological Prism, W-B.444,* Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts, Vol. II (London: Humphrey Milford, 1923).

48 Ullmann-Margalit defines 'inference to the best explanation' as the process whereby 'the as-yet-unknown existence of the initial conditions that are being inferred – or rather posited – from the resulting state of affairs'. Ullmann-Margalit 2006, p. 64.

> physically more powerful and addicted to war as a pastime, intellectual and artistic superiority would have made little headway, could not have indeed held its own against the covetousness it must have provoked, unless that genius had been applied to war no less than to peace.[49]

The brief Sumerian 'Renaissance' of the Ur III period finally came to an end by the process of intermixture with the Semites.[50] Indeed,

> [f]or a long time the process of decay had been going on; by intermixture with Akkadians and other Semitic-speaking stocks the purity of the race had been lost and the numbers of those who could call themselves Sumerians had diminished until they formed a minority only of the population; parallel with this physical decay there had been a moral degeneration which is reflected in the art of the people, where softness has taken the place of strength and convention has swamped originality.

In Woolley's inference miscegenation led to moral decay which in turn engendered artistic unoriginality and thus the end of a race.[51] Yet the Sumerians, intensely patriotic and intolerant of anything foreign, enacted their revenge on the Semites in another way. By stating that, 'the long-drawn death-agony of the race is of importance because it gave them time to assure their immortality', Woolley ascribed to the Sumerians a *fin de siècle*-awareness of their impending end and a wish to spite the Semites for bettering them. And with a neat but only implied reference to the other Semitic race, the Jews, Woolley laid the Sumerians to rest: 'the race had gone, exhausted by wars, sapped by decay, swamped by the more vigorous stock which had eaten of the tree of their knowledge'.[52]

This brief summary of Woolley's description of the rise and fall of the Sumerian race as he saw it in 1928 reflects what I have outlined as a continuing theme from the late Victorian to the interwar period. A concern with individual and racial decline and death was prominent in his readers' minds. The language he used can be seen as a sign

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49 Woolley 1928a, pp. 49–50.

50 The Ur III period (or Third Dynasty of Ur in interwar terminology) of the late 3rd millennium BC was characterized by a resurgence of Sumerian in the textual evidence. The reign of the 3rd dynasty of Ur followed the fall of the Akkad dynasty (founded by Sargon of Akkad) after its defeat by the Gutians. Sargon's and his successors' Semitic names further fuelled the theory of the presumed conflict of Sumerians and Semites. On the problematic of the term 'Renaissance' in this context see Andrea Becker, 'Neusumerische Renaissance? Wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Philologie und Archäologie', *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 16 (1985), 229–316; Walter Sallaberger, 'Ur III-Zeit' in *Mesopotamien: Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit, Annäherungen 3, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 160/3, ed. by Pascal Attinger and Markus Wäfler (Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg/Vandenhoek und Ruprecht, 1999), 121–390, p. 129.

51 Woolley 1928a, p. 170.

52 Woolley 1928a, pp. 180–182.

that he either shared those worries, or at least knew how to describe ancient societies in terminology he presumed his readers were familiar with and understood. While the question of origins and relations between the races continued to be important in interwar scholarship, it was not one of Woolley's main concerns. As Chapter One has shown, chronology and the establishment of disciplinary boundaries dominated the late twenties and early thirties. His succeeding publications, *Ur of the Chaldees* (1929) and *Digging up the Past* (1930), were less concerned with Mesopotamian history and more with the processes of excavation. There are still traces of the dialectics of racial conflict in them but this argument was not vital for Woolley, nor did he insist on it.[53]

Not until 1935, in his *The Development of Sumerian Art*, did Woolley focus again on the question of the interconnection of race, material culture and archaeological evidence. In comparing the development of Woolley's ideas from 1928 to 1935 about the Sumerian race several changes are obvious. Most significantly, Woolley now saw the Sumerians as a hybrid race consisting of an Iranian or Ubaid element, an Anatolian and a North Syrian element.[54] In a complete reversal of his earlier assessment of the physical and moral character of the Mesopotamian races Woolley now maintained that

> The old Iranian culture of al 'Ubaid, which had grown up out of the soil, had been wrecked by the Flood… the disaster had weakened the al 'Ubaid race morally as well as physically. Now, into the devastated and half-empty valley, following the course of the two rivers, from the north and from the north-west there came in a second flood, this time not of waters but of men: down the Tigris valley … advanced the people of Asia Minor, from the middle Euphrates the Syrians; the delta-land became a melting-pot in which three great early cultures, the Iranian, the Anatolian and the north Syrian, were to amalgamate and form a new race. Before the end of the Uruk period … the Sumerian race had come into existence and Sumerian art had taken on its distinctive character…[55]

While still employing the language of decay and decline, the narrative had changed decisively (Figure 2.3). In a lecture delivered in 1936 Woolley went so far as to say that 'no nation … has ever done anything so much so long as it was pure-blooded'. In what appears to be a significant step away from his earlier convictions of their

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53 In *Ur of the Chaldees* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1929a) Woolley briefly explained that the study of Sumerian skulls and bones 'shows that they were a branch of the Indo-European stock of the human race resembling what is called Caucasian man, a people who in stature and in appearance might pass as modern European rather than as Orientals'. A mere year later Woolley disagreed with his earlier assertion in *The Sumerians* that they looked more like modern Arabs. Woolley 1929a, p. 117.

54 Woolley considered the Iranian element the earliest immigrants to Mesopotamia. The other two elements – the Anatolian and North Syrian – arrived in the Uruk period. C. Leonard Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art* (London: Faber & Faber, 1935a) pp. 49–51.

55 Woolley 1935a, p. 53.

degenerating influence, he asserted that credit was due to the Semites for the inspiration 'without which Sumerian art would have been impossible'.[56]

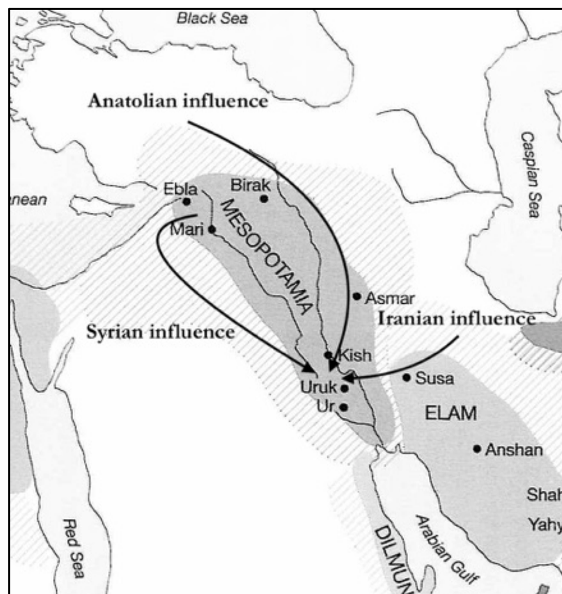

Figure 2.3. Sumerian origins according to Leonard Woolley (1935)
Adapted from Crawford 2013, p. 8

One could argue that Woolley simply reacted to new discoveries and publications by his colleagues and synthesised a complex subject for a general readership. Woolley, however, neither explained the thought process behind this change of opinion, nor did he engage significantly with the literature. Nevertheless, each chapter of The *Development of Sumerian Art* included a short list of further reading, many items which had been published only after *The Sumerians* had appeared and thus reflected the progress the discipline had made. By consolidating the core-set's work conducted during meetings, conferences and on private visits into a synthesis, Woolley thus contributed to the boundary-work of the preceding decade. He normalised nomenclature for the general reader by glossing over different interpretations of the evidence unearthed in his own and his peers' excavations.[57]

Sumerians, Semites and Iraqis

As explored above, anthropology, anatomy and medicine were often overlapping fields in the interwar period, as is perhaps best exemplified by the work of Arthur Keith (1866–1955). Keith was conservator of the Royal College of Surgeons (1908–1933), president of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1913–1917) and

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[56] C. Leonard Woolley, 'The Racial Elements in Sumerian Art History', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 84 (1936b), 552–564, pp. 552; 563.

[57] See also Chapter Five for the reception of his books by reviewers and popular success as indicated by sales numbers.

president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1927). A physician by training, Keith had made the study of early man his passion (and we will return to this emphasis on the male sex later on).[58] Charged with the anatomical study of human remains from Tell al-'Ubaid and Ur, as well as with the interpretation of measurements performed on living Iraqi communities for Henry Field in the 1930s, Keith contributed considerably to discussions on race. What I aim to contribute to the historical study of this subject is how archaeological discoveries informed perceptions of race in British society. As has already been mentioned, archaeologists played a crucial role in establishing and administering the Mandates. The idea that competing races and waxing and waning empires had shaped the history of the ancient (and by extension modern) Middle East was one of the foremost themes of interwar archaeology and society alike. By publishing both scholarly *and* popular books (and regularly contributing to newspapers and magazines on the subject) both Woolley and Keith played a crucial role in public debates around ancient and modern races. As Keith was not an archaeologist, I have largely left his newspaper and magazine articles as well as popular books out of the following account (and consecutive chapters) and focus on his academic output.[59] As this was a direct outcome of his collaborations with archaeologists I see this work as most influential on discussions in archaeology around races as well as chronology. The permeable borders of the core-set once again allow us to include contributors to archaeological knowledge, which would not otherwise feature in an account of archaeology as a discipline.

For his chapter on the human remains from al-'Ubaid and Ur, which he contributed to the first final excavation report (and from which Woolley's quotes in *The Sumerians* are taken) Keith conducted research on the skeletal remains of 17 individuals from al-'Ubaid (9 adult males, 6 adult females, 1 c. 18-year-old, 1 c. 7-year-old) and 7 from Ur (3 adult males, 4 adult females). In addition to this being a very small sample

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58 Keith's extensive research activity and his fascination with anthropology are detailed in his rather long-winded *An Autobiography* (London: Watts & Co., 1950). See also W. E. Le Gros Clark, 'Keith, Sir Arthur (1866–1955)', rev. Harold Ellis, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Peter J. Bowler, *Reconciling Science and Religion. The Debate in Early-Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). His papers at the Royal College of Surgeons (Papers of Sir Arthur Keith (MS0018)) reveal a wide correspondence with archaeologists working in Britain and around the world who sought his opinion on human remains. The correspondence with the Woolleys is small. It consists of a report on the skeletal material from Ur for Volume II of the final excavation reports (RCS-MUS/5/5/258,), a file with 31 diagrams of skulls for Volume I of the final excavation reports (MS0018/2/1/4), and a letter by Katharine Woolley written shortly before their departure from Ur in 1932 (MS0018/1/17/23).

59 Of the publications explored in Chapter Three, Keith's name appears frequently in *The Illustrated London News*, *The Times*, and the *Daily Mail*.

by which to judge a whole race, the condition of the skulls – and they were, with the exception of one partial female skeleton from Ur, only skulls – was such that of the male skulls from al-'Ubaid 5 were almost complete, 2 partially preserved and 2 fragmentary; of the female skulls 3 were sufficiently preserved and 3 incomplete. Almost all skulls from al-'Ubaid had been broken as well as flattened from the pressure of the soil and had to be reconstructed from fragments. The Ur skulls were very brittle but had not suffered from any deformation.[60] Undaunted by this, Keith conducted his measurements and was on the one hand certain that '*the whole of Mesopotamia* was inhabited by a people of the same physical race' and that the same race continued to live in the same area in the present day.[61] This race belonged to the same racial division as the Europeans, namely the Caucasian. However, 'the Mesopotamian peoples, both past and present, represent a transition between Iranian and Semitic types, but they have retained more of the Iranian than of the Semite.' It was also clear to Keith – most convenient in the absence of a full skeletal record – that 'in the identification of race, facial features provide the most reliable guide'.[62]

On almost every page of Keith's 1927 report the standard against which the Sumerian skulls are measured are the English, ancient or modern.[63] Thus the length of skulls indicated a relationship to 'the long-barrow men of England', their brain capacity was similar to Europeans, the shape of the nose, the level to which the nose protruded from the cheeks, the flattening of the cheek-arches, thickness of neck, all pointed on the one hand towards the highly developed state of the Sumerian race, as evidenced in its relation to modern Englishmen, on the other hand to the relationship of the Sumerians to the modern Arab community of Mesopotamia/Iraq. While Keith quoted no comparative studies to support his arguments in 1927, he later had the opportunity

60 The skulls had been block-lifted by Woolley and sent to London where they were fully excavated by Keith and his associates. The poor conservation of human remains from other excavations presented similar challenges. Woolley 1930a, pp. 118–120. The anthropologists reporting on the human remains found at Kish were not only more explicit in stating their difficulties of measuring due to the poor state of the remains, they were further aware of the problematic statistical significance low numbers of specimens meant for analysis. L. H. Dudley Buxton, D. Talbot Rice, 'Report on the Human Remains found at Kish', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 61 (1931), 57–119, p. 67.

61 Arthur Keith, 'Report on the Human Remains' in *Ur Excavations. Volume I. A Report on the Work Carried out at Al-'Ubaid for the British Museum in 1919 and for the Joint Expedition in 1923–4*, by H. R. Hall, C. Leonard Woolley, with Chapters by C. J. Gadd and Sir Arthur Keith, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927), 214–240, p. 214 (emphasis added).

62 Keith 1927, p. 215. As explored by Christine Hanke in *Zwischen Auflösung und Fixierung: zur Konstitution von "Rasse" und "Geschlecht" in der physischen Anthropologie um 1900* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007), this was mainstream thinking in physical anthropology of the time.

63 The study was conducted before Woolley started working on the Flood levels. As the skulls from Ur all came from levels above this event, they were taken to be 'Sumerians'.

to examine the modern communities of southern Iraq through his work with Henry Field to test these assertions.[64]

In his chapter on the physical – and intellectual – characteristics of the people living near Kish, Keith built on his theory of the degrees of distinctiveness of races: from micro- to pandiacritic. This he had outlined in 1928, in the Huxley Memorial Lecture, delivered to the Royal Anthropological Institute.[65] Based on Huxley's research into the number of human races he had concluded that there were four basic races: 'the Xanthochroid, or fair type', and the Mongoloid, Negroid, and Australoid types. Every kind of intermixture of these races was possible, resulting in intermediate types, which were distinguishable to the 'expert' to various degrees, based on external traits, such as colour of skin and texture of hair, as well as 'the significant traits of the face, which are so hard to measure but which are so apparent to all'.[66] Keith continued by describing the various stages of evolution the four main races had attained and concluded that the Australoid race was the least evolved, due to its dark pigmentation but also its 'primitive' social structure.[67]

What this line of argument ultimately served was to explain 'race-feeling', by which Keith meant an inherent human trait of prejudice against members of a group different from one's own, which had its biological significance in helping to safeguard the purity of a race or tribe.[68] Man's basic human need to defend his group or tribe's territory and to distinguish himself from others had been lost since the spread of agriculture from the Middle East westwards, which had led to a blurring and destruction of tribal boundaries in Europe, and 'civilization ha[d] everywhere in the Caucasoid area queered Nature's plan of Evolution.'[69] But human nature will out and the recent Great War was thus, just like the call for self-determination of several peoples or nations, a recrudescence of this instinctual and innate 'race-feeling'. Ultimately, nature compelled humans to form new races, i.e., nations, and 'the races

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64 Henry Field, *Arabs of Central Iraq: Their History, Ethnology, and Physical Characters* (Chicago: Field Museum Press, 1935). Field was connected to the Kish excavation through the Field Museum's sponsorship of the Kish excavation. https://www.peabody.harvard.edu/node/2132 [accessed 26 November 2019].

65 Arthur Keith, "The Evolution of the Human Races', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 58 (1928), 305–321

66 Keith, 1928, p. 309. As Stephen Jay Gould has pointed out: 'Few arguments are more dangerous than the ones that "feel" right but can't be justified.' Gould, 1981, p. 157.

67 Keith 1928, pp. 312–314. This had a different origin than the pigmentation of other races and was a relic of the ancestry humankind shared with apes.

68 Keith 1928, p. 316. See also Amanda Rees, 'Stories of Stones and Bones: Disciplinarity, Narrative and Practice in British Popular Prehistory, 1911–1935', *British Journal for the History of Science* 49/3 (2016), 433–451.

69 Keith 1928, p. 318. Apparently this had taken effect only in Europe. See also Adam Kuper, *The Reinvention of Primitive Society. Transformations of a Myth*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 2017).

with which politicians have to deal are usually imperfectly differentiated races, but they are none the less biological races in the full sense of that term.'[70]

Keith's work for Henry Field on living Iraqis only convinced him even more that

> the Arab as a branch of the stock which occupies southwestern Asia and southern Europe… is an imperfectly differentiated member – imperfect in a physical sense – of the great Caucasian stock. In my system of nomenclature, the Arab is a mesodiacritic race, a race differentiated to the extent that from 40 to 60 per cent of its members can be recognized at sight in any cosmopolitan crowd.[71]

He continued by asking the reader whether 'our modern way of living – our modern civilization – was initiated by a people or peoples living on or near the frontier of northern Arabia.' Was it possible that 'the pioneers of civilization [were] really Arabs (Semites)? Or were they of the less deeply pigmented Caucasian stock farther to the north?'[72] Already in 1927, Keith had thought it 'highly probable' that the modern Arabs were 'not the equals' of their ancestors. Bending evolution to allow for his 'inference to the best explanation', he stated that 'selection has favoured the survival of more persistent but less intellectual strains; but nevertheless their racial nature, as measured by anthropologists, has not changed.'[73] It was inconceivable for Keith that the founders of 'civilization' might have been of a race not related to modern Europeans, yet equally inconceivable that their descendants in the region would be on the same intellectual level.[74]

'Evolutionary theory,' Graham Richards writes, 'had already raised the specter of the savage "beast within".' In Keith's case, it was not only evolutionary theory, but

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70 Keith 1928, p. 319. Paul Rich ultimately dismisses Keith as 'more a legacy indeed of Victorian liberalism and anti-imperialism than anything else'. He concludes that Keith's 'vision of tribal struggle at the root of national identity was out of keeping with the general mood of pacifism in the inter-war years and the hope for a new era of world peace based upon the League of Nations' (Rich 1984, pp. 9–10). Pacifism, however, was equally just one of several possible political and philosophical viewpoints to adopt in the interwar period. Marianne Sommer, '(Net)working a Stone into a Tool. How Technologies of Serial Visualization, Arrangement, and Narration Stabilized Eoliths as Archaeological Objects', in Eberhardt and Link 2015, 15–45, p. 34.

71 Arthur Keith, 'Introduction' in *Arabs of Central Iraq: Their History, Ethnology, and Physical Characters*, by Henry Field (Chicago: Field Museum Press, 1935), 11–77, p. 14.

72 Keith 1935, p. 76.

73 Keith 1927, p. 215. Ullmann-Margalit 2006, p. 64. 'Somehow everything, anything, said about Arabs hung together in a logic of contraries that needed no validation outside its own circle of meaning.' Linda Steet, *Veils and Daggers: A Century of National Geographic's Representation of the Arab World* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), p. 91.

74 There is, however, an interesting counter-argument to be made following Susan Bayly who explores the dynamism and momentous change through the 'forces of modernity' perceived by *fin de siècle* intellectuals and activists both from the colonising as well as colonised nations. Susan Bayly, 'Racial Readings of Empire: Britain, France, and Colonial Modernity in the Mediterranean and Asia', *Modernity and Culture. From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, ed. by Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C. A. Bayly (New York, Columbia University Press, 2002), 285–313. P. 286.

also the Great War which had brought out the savage and, as Richards goes on to say, 'rendered the over-rational white male ego increasingly insecure in the face of what was widely perceived as a rising tide of "degeneration".'[75] Keith's views of the intellectual and cultural achievements of the Middle East's living and ancient 'races' and of an innate 'race-feeling' were thus part and parcel of an intellectual milieu, producing similar (intellectual) anxieties and informed by archaeological fieldwork and his collaboration with its practitioners.[76]

Physical anthropology, as performed by Keith and others, focused on the male body, be it ancient or modern.[77] While the scarcity and poorly preserved state of the skeletons excavated by Woolley forced Keith to take female remains into account, he was not hampered by such considerations for his assessment of Henry Field's measurements of the modern community.[78] Field had limited himself to male members of the local community and had had the further good fortune to be given access to recruits stationed near Kish.[79] As remarked at the outset of this chapter, woman's contribution to society and civilization (defined as progress by technological means) mattered very little to scholars concerned with the ancient and modern Middle East. Apparently so did her physiognomy. Yet, as Woolley maintained in 1928, 'one of the criteria by which a society can fairly be judged is the position which it accords to women.'[80]

Women, ancient and modern

Archaeologists – and wider Western society – looked for models and structures they were familiar with in order to comprehend ancient societies. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had made the creation of nation states, capitalist economy and imperial expansion the seemingly most successful model of socio-political organisation. Many scholars – like Keith – assumed that humans had always lived in groups or

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75 Richards 2000, p. 205.

76 Keith's place in British science remains understudied, perhaps, as James J. Harris has recently stated, due to his role in authenticating the Piltdown man forgery in 1912. James J. Harris, 'The "Tribal Spirit" in Modern Britain. Evolution, Nationality, and Race in the Anthropology of Sir Arthur Keith', *Intellectual History Review* (2019), n.p.; Keith Stewart Thomson, 'Marginalia: Piltdown Man: The Great English Mystery Story', *American Scientist* 79/3 (1991), 194–201; Bradley W. Hart, *George Pitt-Rivers and the Nazis* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

77 This was the established 'method' in physical anthropology at the time. Hanke 2007, p. 65–66.

78 Woolley had to select the best-preserved skeletons for shipping. He emphasised in the final report on the cemetery that in the pits 'most of the bones were so completely decayed, reduced in fact to a layer of brownish powder'. In addition, the great number of remains and their arrangement meant that 'there was consequently much difficulty in attributing to the right bodies some of the more outlying objects…'. Woolley 1934a, pp. 65; 120.

79 Keith 1935, p. 11.

80 Woolley 1928a, p. 100.

communities that defined themselves against what and who they were not and that therefore warfare was part of human nature; that is *man's* nature. As explored in detail by Nancy Stepan and others, European man also defined himself not only against other races but also against the other sex. Stepan traces how perceived physical and mental characteristics of women and 'lower races' came to be conflated and used almost interchangeably in science.[81] As Christine Hanke further elaborates, this not only led to women being seen as incompletely evolved, it also equated women and non-white peoples with children, and men with adults.[82]

Women do not feature often in interwar histories of ancient Mesopotamia and were frequently not deemed distinctive enough to merit inclusion in studies of physical anthropology.[83] This reflects well the marginal role they were assumed by many male writers to have played in the progress of civilization, based as this was on the assumption that this was driven by technological invention—to which women did and could not contribute due to their inferior mental capacity. Therefore, before discussing how the Ur excavations contributed to interwar ideas of ancient and modern women, it is necessary to widen the scope both temporally back to the Neolithic period, as well as intellectually, to open the borders of the core-set to include archaeologists working outside the Middle East.

As a professed Marxist, V. Gordon Childe's (1892–1957) political leanings are easier to detect in his work than those of less politically outspoken archaeologists like Woolley.[84] His politics influenced his interpretation of the past and, in coining the term 'Neolithic Revolution' (to parallel the term 'Industrial Revolution') his influence on archaeological theory is felt to this day. Childe was also a very successful popularizer of archaeology (but perhaps less well remembered today than Woolley) and in his popular account of *What Happened in History*, he laid out the theory that women had once been a much greater force in human progress; that they had contributed to the invention of agriculture and pottery and had thus initiated a crucial stage in human development.[85]

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81 Nancy Leys Stepan, 'Race and Gender. The Role of Analogy in Science', *Isis* 77/2 (1986), 261–277.

82 Hanke 2007, 81.

83 Although the connection between race and gender is only really explicit in the work of Keith (among the scholars explored in this thesis), I would tentatively posit that this analogy – of the 'lower' races with the female sex – erased the need for an in-depth exploration of male and female roles in ancient society by archaeologists. Lorna Duffin expresses a similar thought (without following it further) when she writes that 'the competition between individuals which was a cornerstone of evolution was replaced by the competition between groups or races in order to exclude the possibility of competition between men and women.' Lorna Duffin, 'Prisoners of Progress. Women and Evolution' in *The Nineteenth-Century Woman. Her Cultural and Physical World*, ed. by Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin (London: Croom Helm, 1978), 57–91.

84 Bruce G. Trigger, *Gordon Childe. Revolutions in Archaeology* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980);

85 V. Gordon Childe, *What Happened in History,* revised edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., [1954] 1978), p. 55.

The invention of the plough and the potter's wheel (presumably by male inventors), however, took these tasks out of women's hands and confined them to their place in the domestic sphere. The Neolithic Revolution was thus essentially man's revolution. Moreover, having become sedentary, society was bound to a defined and limited territory that had to be defended against incursions from other groups or tribes. This in turn necessitated the development of weapons, and thus, essentially peaceful hunter-gatherer societies, in which women played an important role, became male-dominated and urbanized civilizations.

The view that woman was gradually ousted from her place as man's equal to become his complement, and that this was part of an evolutionary and thus *natural* process, brings together various strands of philosophical, anatomical and sociological enquiry as explored by Londa Schiebinger.[86] She traces the idea of complementarity through the development of anatomical studies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries until, by the nineteenth century, 'women were not to be viewed merely as *inferior to* men but as fundamentally *different from*, and thus *incomparable to* men' (emphases original).[87] This long development happened in parallel to a shift in viewing the world as governed by supernatural and/or divine forces to a 'scientific' view, which sought to explain the world based on discoverable and regular laws of nature. This rapprochement towards rationality and objectivity, however, emphasised man's role as the main rational being, as 'the image of woman as sexually innocent and passionless became not a truth of nature but a social and moral necessity.'[88] While women (of a certain class) ideally remained sexually inexperienced until marriage, womankind was meant to – due to her inferiority and her role as keeper of the domestic sphere – serve man in all his needs. Joanna de Groot describes how women and the 'lower' races and their relationship to men and their colonisers became equated on the one hand with children who needed protection and on the other with servants. This 'provided models and metaphors blending the unquestioned subordination, physical closeness, and servicing of personal needs involved in the role both of woman towards men and of "natives" to imperial superiors.'[89]

86 Londa L. Schiebinger, *The Mind has no Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1989);

87 Schiebinger 1989, pp. 216–217. Stocking 1996, pp. 197–208. See also Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995). Luisa Passerini in *Europe in Love, Love in Europe. Imagination and Politics in Britain Between the Wars* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998) explores how this aggregate originated with the medieval concept of courtly love.

88 Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall, 'Introduction' in *Sexuality and Subordination. Interdisciplinary Studies of Gender in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by *eadem* (London/New York: Routledge, 1989), 1–17, pp. 8; 10.

89 Joanna de Groot, '"Sex" and "Race": The Construction of Language and Image in the Nineteenth Century', in Mendus and Rendall 1989, 89–128, p. 97.

This identification of women with the racial Other has a long history both within Orientalism and its critique, especially within the history of art, to which de Groot devotes a large part of her chapter. While orientalist painting and literature and its interdependence on archaeological and other exploration of North Africa and the Middle East are outside the scope of this thesis, the influence such works of art and novels had on travellers to the Orient and their subsequent descriptions of the peoples encountered there must not be neglected.[90] Thus, as de Groot argues, women's 'characteristic' irrationality and emotionality overlapped with and eventually came to be equated with similar traits perceived to be typical of the 'Oriental' races.

When Woolley first introduced women in his chapter on Sumerian society (in *The Sumerians*), he presented them as having had mainly two trajectories available in life: wife or temple prostitute.[91] While the occasional female ruler or priest found her way into Woolley's account, this exclusion of women from public life had, according to Ann Towns, become 'not only standard policy in Europe … it had become a conscious if informal standard of civilization'.[92] However, as only primitive societies accorded women a place in political affairs (widely defined) the gradual repression of these rights was seen as progress (and Sumerian society thus fairly advanced).[93] The operative word here as well as in Woolley's quote about the place of women in a society is *to accord*. By assigning society the power to bestow a position upon women they were implicitly positioned outside of its borders and its decision-making processes. The Royal Cemetery, however, put this interpretation into question, as the following discussion of two women from this burial ground will show.

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90 Stephanie Moser, 'The Ephemera of Art. Framing Knowledge through Backgrounds and Accessories' in *Görme biçimleri / Ways of Seeing*, ed. by Sam Bardaouil, Süreyya Evren and Till Fellrath (Istanbul: Arter, 2017), 140–147.

91 Woolley 1928a, pp. 90–106. There is no space here to explore the persistent myth of sacred or temple prostitution. See Stephanie Lynn Budin, *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Julia Asher-Greve, *Frauen in altsumerischer Zeit* (Malibu: Udena Publications, 1985); *eadem*, 'From "Semiramis of Babylon" to "Semiramis of Hammersmith"' in *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*, ed. by Steven W. Holloway (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 322–373; Jerrold S. Cooper, 'The Job of Sex. The Social and Economic Role of Prostitutes in Ancient Mesopotamia', in *The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East*, ed. by Brigitte Lion and Cécile Michel (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 209–227.

92 It is of course important to note that indeed not a great deal was known about wider Mesopotamian society of most periods during the interwar period as archaeologists focused on excavations of temple and palatial complexes and burials. In excavating the residential quarters of the early second millennium BC at Ur, Woolley's project contributed significantly to a better understanding of this and other periods of the Mesopotamian past. Ann Towns, 'The Status of Women as a Standard of "Civilization"', *European Journal of International Relations* 15/4 (2009), 681–706, p. 686.; de Groot 1989, p. 99. Hanke 2007, p. 65–66.

93 Towns 2009, p. 699.

The 'Royal Cemetery' was part of a much larger burial ground discovered near the temple precinct, originally in 1923. Properly excavated from 1926 onwards, Woolley and his team recorded circa 2000 burials over the course of the excavations, sixteen of which were deemed 'royal' due to their construction, grave goods and funerary rituals. These date to the Early Dynastic III period (mid-3rd millennium BC).[94] The tombs consisted of an entrance ramp, a large pit, and the actual burial chamber, which contained the main deceased. In the pit and on the ramp the excavators found additional bodies of people and animals who appeared to have been sacrificed in order to follow the person in the burial chamber into the afterlife. Some pits, such as the 'Great Death Pit', could not be associated with a burial chamber due to the complex stratigraphy of the cemetery. Other contexts did not appear to contain any human remains at all (see Chapter Three), but this might also have been due to the acidic soil of southern Iraq, which dissolves most organic matter.

The lavish funeral goods made of precious metals and stones and evidence of large-scale human sacrifice roused enormous public and press interest in these discoveries. In the almost hundred years since its discovery much has been written about the Royal Cemetery, and our understanding of third-millennium BC Mesopotamian society, religion and culture has been greatly expanded by further excavations and reassessments of the evidence unearthed by the core-set.[95] I will not discuss here which of the skeletons excavated at Ur are currently considered to be of female or male sex but rather how interwar ideas of the role of women of different classes influenced the interpretation of the finds. In order to understand and contextualise the way in which particularly the women in the Royal Cemetery were interpreted by interwar archaeologists, it is important to take contemporary ideas of gender, class and race into account. To illustrate this we will turn to two women from the Royal Cemetery, Queen Puabi and body 69 from the 'Great Death Pit'.[96]

The queen's burial (PG/800B) was associated with the 'death pit' PG/800, which contained a large number of objects made of precious metals, semi-precious stones and organic materials (such as wooden lyres, a chariot or sledge, and a wooden chest), and animal and human remains indicating a sacrificial ritual to provide for the

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94 As noted in Chapter One, the term 'Early Dynastic' was only coined by Henri Frankfort in c. 1930. Woolley therefore did not use it in his preliminary reports or *The Sumerians*. He referred instead to either 'pre-Sargonic' or 'Sumerian' periods. The cemetery was published as Volume II of the final excavation reports; Woolley 1934a.

95 For an overview see Crawford 2013.

96 The queen's name was originally read as Shub-ad. Gianni Marchesi, 'Who Was Buried in the Royal Tombs of Ur? The Epigraphic and Textual Data'. *Orientalia* 73/2 (2004), 153–197.

buried queen's afterlife.[97] Woolley sent Queen Puabi's skull to Arthur Keith for anthropological study, and the identification of the skeletal remains as female relied as much on his work and the discovery of a cylinder seal with the queen's name and title in close proximity as on the interpretation of her personal adornment as typical for a female burial.[98] As 'only a few minute fragments of her face' were preserved, Keith was unable to assign Puabi to her race with certainty, but 'justly infer[red]' that she belonged to the 'Proto-Arab' race, similar to the people of al-'Ubaid (which were at that time judged to be 'Proto-Sumerians'). What struck him most about the queen's bones, however, was their 'modernity' and thus their similarity to the Caucasian race.[99] As explored above, making this connection was vital for Keith in order to be able to come to terms with the skeletal evidence. Thus, as Cathy Gere has argued (in discussing Judith Butler's theory of the performativity of gender), 'sexing practices always invoke the boundaries of racial distinctions' and that 'the sexing of bones is always racialised'.[100]

Queen Puabi as one of the few individuals from the Royal Cemetery to be assigned a name, her status as a member of the ruling class, and the wealth displayed in her burial made her exceptional. Woolley's meticulous excavation revealed that the queen's upper body was adorned by a garment consisting of strings of beads, finishing in a belt concluded by golden rings. She wore rings on her fingers, a 'choker' necklace, large lunate-shaped gold earrings and a headdress. This consisted of gold leaves, golden rings falling over her forehead, and strings of lapis lazuli and carnelian beads, topped by a comb decorated with golden flowers. This construction was kept in place by gold

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97 William B. Hafford and Richard L. Zettler, 'Magnificent with Jewels: Puabi, Queen of Ur', in *From Ancient to Modern, Archaeology and Aesthetics*, ed. by Jennifer Y. Chi and Pedro Azara (New York: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World/Princeton University Press, 2015), 84–115. Marchesi addresses the question of whether Puabi's title was indeed 'queen'. I use the term here as it was employed during the interwar period.

98 The seal was not found immediately on or near the queen's body. The question whether these names (found on objects only loosely associated with the actual skeletons) did indeed belong to those deceased is outside the scope of this thesis. Richard L. Zettler, 'The Royal Cemetery of Ur', in *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*, ed. by Richard L. Zettler and Lee Horne (Philadelphia; University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998), 21–32, pp. 24–25.

99 Keith 1934, p. 400.

100 Cathy Gere, 'Bones That Matter: Sex Determination in Paleodemography 1948–1995'. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological & Biomedical Science* 30/4 (1999), 455–471, p. 459. Theya Molleson and Dawn Hodgson, 'The Human Remains from Woolley's Excavations at Ur', *Iraq* LXV (2003), 91–130 for a reassessment of Keith's work. Molleson and Hodgson agree with most of Keith's and Woolley's sexings. But see Massimo Vidale, 'PG 1237, Royal Cemetery of Ur. Patterns in Death', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 21/3 (2010), 427–452, for a differentiated discussion of sexing skeletons based on their accoutrements. See also Joanna Sofaer, Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, 'Death and Gender', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, ed. by Liv Nilsson Stutz and Sarah Tarlow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), n.p.

bands and hair rings, possibly supported by a wig.[101] As she had been buried in a burial chamber (and was thus not as crushed by the soil as the bodies in the pits), the grave goods associated with her were better preserved than many others. The careful excavation of the body made it possible for Katharine Woolley to reconstruct the queen's head by using a female skull of the same period as a model. Advised by Keith, she reproduced 'as exactly as possible the physical type of the original' (Figure 2.4).[102]

This image has been removed due to copyright reasons

Figure 2.4. Queen Puabi's reconstructed head and headdress on the front page of *The Illustrated London News*, 30 June 1928
© Illustrated London News (ILN) Limited

Exceptional due to her socio-economic status in combination with her sex, the queen was singled out for display to the modern gaze at the annual exhibition of finds in the British Museum and the reading public.[103] The person to whom the skull at the bust's core had belonged (perhaps from one of the death pits, but Woolley never specified the source) remained unknown.

The richness of the Royal Cemetery and the skill displayed in the creation of the grave goods called for special treatment when it came to publication. Volume II of the final excavation reports was published in 1934 and the striking visual material created for it by Mary Louise Baker (1872–1962) has found its way into many archaeological and popular publications since. Baker had been working for the University Museum in Pennsylvania since 1908, where her first project was the Museum's Nubian expedition (which was led by David Randall-McIver and his then assistant Leonard Woolley).[104] She became a highly distinguished and valued artist for the University Museum as well as other institutions in the US, travelling abroad to draw objects on their behalf or for private collectors, mainly in Central America. In 1931 Leonard Woolley specifically requested her cooperation for the Ur publications. Baker spent six months in Baghdad

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101 The reconstruction has undergone a number of reassessments over the years. The grave goods were allocated to the University Museum. https://www.penn.museum/collections/highlights/neareast/puabi.php [accessed 2 December 2019].

102 Woolley 1928a, caption to plate 3, between pp. 8 and 9. In addition to the cover image, the *ILN* published a colour photograph on 11 August 1928 (p. 257).

103 Headdresses of attendants were also displayed but none with a reconstructed head. See for example the arrangement of various objects in the British Museum, e.g. object numbers 122302, 12230–122309, 122311–122313 122315, 122317, 122318, 122411. https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx [accessed 3 January 2020].

104 Elin C. Danien, *Paintings of Maya Pottery. The Art and Career of M. Louise Baker*, 2006.

and London drawing and painting finds from the Royal Graves for Volume II.[105] She was not always able to draw from the original object, however, either due to time constraints, problems with her eyes, the condition of objects or their location after the division. Sometimes, as Woolley explained in his introduction to Volume II, the 'minute accuracy of detail' made it necessary for Baker to 'paint over a photographic base'.[106] He went on to explain that the photographs in Volume II were either made of objects directly or of Baker's drawings, thus creating an intermedial circle of object to photograph, to drawing, and back to photograph into print. Woolley highly valued Baker's work and used many of her illustrations in his later books (see Chapter Five), with one exception: her drawing of the queen's head as reconstructed by Katharine. In a letter to Horace Jayne (George Byron Gordon's successor as director of the University Museum), he complained that it was 'quite a parody of the original and instead of representing the true physical type gives something quite different – e.g., the nose is made straight and thin, whereas the peculiar quality of the nose on the skull was its width'.[107] The queen's adornments and the unknown skull at the bust's core were thus amalgamated into a composite conflating individual woman and racial 'type'.

This uncomfortable ambivalence of interpretation was also due to Puabi's position as a member of a ruling class, which could apparently command the sacrificial death of dozens of servants.[108] The lack of textual or other evidence for the rituals of human sacrifice made this an uneasy subject in a country ruled by an (albeit constitutional) monarch, which was furthermore still dealing with the 'sacrifices' made during the Great War.[109]

The unease over the sacrifice of the retainers (male and female) in the pits was perhaps alleviated by the idea that they had gone to their death voluntarily by ingesting a soporific drink prior to being buried. After initially assuming a violent death involving physical injury, Woolley eventually settled on this explanation (which had been suggested to him by Katharine) in his final report and his later writings.[110] Modern

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105 Danien 2006, p. 24. Woolley 1934a. Woolley donated many of Baker's watercolours to Birmingham Museum Trust in the 1950s while moving to a new house. BMAG Archives, C. Leonard Woolley to Adrian Oswald, 21 December 1956.

106 Woolley 1934a, n.p. The difference is recorded in Baker's abbreviations of 'pix[it]' or 'del[ineavit] on the plates in Volume II.

107 BMCE WY1 15/63, C. Leonard Woolley to H. Jayne, 4 September 1933.

108 Glenn M. Schwartz, 'The Archaeological Study of Sacrifice', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 46 (2017), 223–240.

109 The connection between the funerals of British and Ur kings and queens was not made in print, and would probably have been deemed highly inappropriate. Yet, the funerals of Queen Victoria in 1901 and Edward VII in 1910 with their pomp and elaborate ritual were within living memory. See James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 2000).

110 Susan Pollock, 'Of Priestesses, Princes and Poor Relations: The Dead in the Royal Cemetery of Ur'. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 1/2 (October 1991), 171–89. Woolley 1934a, p. 36.

technologies such as MRI and radiography have enabled Aubrey Baadsgaard *et al.* to reassess the evidence and I do not intend to criticise Woolley for not having these at his disposal.[111] Yet I would argue that it was easier and more comfortable for Woolley to assume voluntary participation by mostly 'female' servants, who were assumed to have been in their twenties, thus conflating interwar ideas of young women and their place in society with the servile 'nature' of women and non-white races. This has shaped our interpretation of the evidence from the Royal Cemetery to this day.

The 'Great Death Pit' (PG/1237), excavated in the 1928–1929 season, was one of the most challenging areas of excavation for Woolley and his team. This pit, named thus for the 74 skeletons found therein, could not be associated with a royal or elite burial chamber. Its purpose therefore remained unclear to Woolley. Most of the skeletons and objects had deteriorated heavily and the position of the skeletons in close proximity to each other and often overlapping made it difficult to distinguish between the various dead.[112] Most of the deceased were presumed to be female, due to the jewellery and gold and silver headdresses found with the skeletons. While usually only a film, or in worst cases, a discoloration of the soil or the skull remained of the silver headdresses, in one case the excavators had more luck. In his 1929 book *Ur of the Chaldees* Woolley described how he realised they had found a complete, rolled up silver hair ribbon when he was cleaning what he thought was a small circular box associated with body 69 (Figure 2.5).[113] Its relatively good state of preservation was due to the fact that it had never been worn, as it was found near the skeleton's waist, presumably in a pocket (the textile did not survive). On musing what could have been the reason for this, Woolley wrote that 'perhaps she [the presumed wearer of the headdress] was late for the ceremony and had not time to dress properly'.

111 Baadsgaard, *et al.* 2011. The authors provide conclusive evidence of physical trauma on the skulls examined.

112 In *Ur of the Chaldees* Woolley described how they cleared the pit one small section at a time (p. 61).

113 Woolley 1929a, pp. 62-63.

Figure 2.5. Rolled up silver hair ribbon
Courtesy of the Penn Museum, object number 30-12-611

The idea that a young woman would be late to her own sacrifice seemed to go down well with commentators in the daily and weekly press (see Chapter Three). The post-war generation of women was often characterized as flighty and promiscuous. The 'flapper' wore trousers, make-up, short hair, and cared little for the 'serious' concerns of the day, such as politics or economics.[114] While the Woolleys were working on the Royal Cemetery, some British daily papers agitated against the extension of the franchise (the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act 1928) to all women over the age of twenty-one, arguing that the 'flapper' was undeserving of a vote because she was irresponsible and unreliable.[115] Some even argued that there was a 'surplus' of young women due to the great losses of young men in the First World War.[116] While these voices did of course not call for human sacrifice (but instead encouraged emigration), the perceived disposability of contemporary young women was reflected in archaeological thinking and writing. Assigning sex and gender on the basis of grave goods and contemporary ideas of personal adornment led archaeologists to infer a greater number of 'disposable' young women at Ur than men.

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114 Linda Simon, *Lost Girls. The Invention of the Flapper* (London: Reaktion Books, 2017).

115 Adrian Bingham, 'Stop the Flapper Vote Folly: Lord Rothermere, the Daily Mail, and the Equalization of the Franchise 1927–28', *Twentieth Century British History* 13/1 (2002), 17–37; Vicky Long and Hilary Marland, 'From Danger and Motherhood to Health and Beauty. Health Advice for the Factory Girl in Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *Twentieth Century British History* 20/4 (2009), 454–481.

116 Virginia Nicholson, *Singled Out: How Two Million British Women Survived Without Men After the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 22–27.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored some of the key themes that occupied the core-set in the interwar period. Tracing the importance of the idea of race in Leonard Woolley's and Arthur Keith's work on Ur illustrates how archaeology and anthropology interacted with and were interdependent on contemporary interpretations of ancient and modern society as well as the possibilities afforded to them through accessing ancient and modern bodies by the Mandate administration. While Leonard Woolley showed himself to be adaptable to changing information, others, like Arthur Keith, were ultimately unable to break free from the circles of interpretation they were stuck in, insisting on the inherent differences (and hierarchies) between the races. By assuming a racial conflict between the Sumerians and the Semites, mixed up with questions of the origins of civilisation, archaeologists judged ancient society by their own standards, in which 'Semites' were often perceived to be Western society's internal as well as external 'Other'.

As the period under consideration here drew to a close, the Assyriologist Thorkild Jacobsen dealt with 'The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History' briefly and succinctly. He concluded that

> the struggle supposed to form the keynote to Mesopotamian history would, if the accepted view were true, be at once a racial and a civil war. Yet we can comb the entire Sumero-Akkadian literature without finding a single expression of animosity, no "evil Semite," no "wicked Sumerian."[117]

The Sumerian Problem eventually lost its importance within Near Eastern archaeology and philology.[118] The Sumerians' origin, if it lay outside the Middle East, remains-unknown. Yet it took longer – and the process is far from complete – to dispel notions of superiority of some races over others, and of man over woman.

As this chapter has shown, race, sex and gender have become inseparable concepts in archaeology and anthropology. Exploring how archaeologists interpreted two 'female' bodies from Ur furthermore shows how interwar ideas of class and the place of women in ancient and modern society influenced the discipline. While Katharine had suggested the idea of voluntary sacrifice, it remains unclear how she, as one of a few women archaeologists working in the Middle East might have felt about

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[117] Thorkild Jacobsen, 'The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 59/4 (1939), 485–495, (p. 494).

[118] But see Becker 1985, pp. 259–270 for post-war reactions to Jacobsen's article and the slow demise of the myth of the Sumero-Akkadian conflict in archaeological – as opposed to philological – scholarship. In a recent article Annie Caubet still speaks of a Semitic language being 'imposed' all over Mesopotamia during the Akkadian empire, followed by a 'Sumerian renaissance'. Annie Caubet, 'The Historical Context of the Sumerian Discoveries', *Museum International* 61/1–2 (2009), 74–80.

the interpretations about women and their disposability it engendered. As the coming chapters will show, this interdependence of the past and the present contributed significantly to the intermedial potential of archaeology, guaranteeing the core-set's success in the press, on the airwaves and in the popular book market.

3. 'Woolley proves much of history': Archaeologists in the Press[1]

Introduction

Leonard Woolley is hailed as one of archaeology's great popularizers. This claim is usually supported by a nod to his books for the general reader and his numerous newspaper and magazine articles.[2] Yet there exists no substantial in-depth analysis of Woolley's engagement with the press, or for that matter, of any other British archaeologist working in the Middle East. In order to examine and qualify Woolley's reputation, it is necessary to place his work in its historical and disciplinary context by widening the scope of the core-set to include archaeologists working in other parts of the world. Due to the dearth of existing scholarship on archaeological writing in the press (as undertaken by archaeologists) most of the research presented here is of an exploratory nature. As I will continue to examine in this chapter, archaeology was a hugely popular subject in the interwar press, and archaeologists working in almost all corners of the globe were adept at writing about their discoveries. What does this mass – and it is a mass – of reporting tell us about popular interest in archaeology in interwar Britain on the one hand and the development of archaeology as a discipline on the other?

The aim of this chapter is not to compile a definitive bibliography of all articles written by archaeologists working in the Middle East. Rather I aim to provide a general view of archaeological reporting during the Twenties and Thirties and link it to developments of the discipline as explored in Chapters One and Two. To this end, I will consider articles authored by Woolley and other members of the core-set, that is, I focus exclusively on articles written by archaeologists themselves, leaving journalistic and other forms of reception to the side. As I have explored in Chapter One, communication in the public forum served the double function of communicating with the public and one's peers. I refine this analysis in the present chapter by exploring Woolley's press strategy vis-à-vis various publications, based on archival research conducted at the Ur archive as well as *The Times* (News UK) archive. A closer look at *The Illustrated London News* and *The Times* as the two publications that have yielded the most results offers the opportunity for an in-depth discussion of the quantity of articles published as well as the subjects they covered.

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1 The quote is taken from a headline in the *Daily Boston Globe* on 28 October 1931, p. 6. It reviewed a lecture Woolley had delivered the previous evening at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

2 See for example Hudson 1981, p. 91.

Historians have been interested in and made use of newspaper reporting for a long time, and the mass digitisation of historical archives has helped the newspaper historian immensely. As Adrian Bingham has noted, however, there is a danger in using online platforms complacently, as simple keyword search can pluck articles 'out of their context for the scholar to read'. He points out that 'newspapers were material objects that were bought, read and passed around', and that the location of an article within an issue must be taken into account just as much as accompanying images, illustrations and advertisements.[3] Paul Fyfe makes a similar point, detailing the historical developments preceding digitisation and some of the processes involved.[4] He remarks that scholars often do not acknowledge their use of these databases and are unaware of some of the problems involved: omitted multiple editions or supplements or intermediary forms such as microfilm.

In his research on celebrity in the tabloid press Ryan Linkof notes that mass newspapers played a crucial role in the development of photojournalism (influenced by developments in France and Germany) and that photography as a medium 'led to the "depoliticization" of journalism'.[5] The increased importance of photography, both in the tabloid and 'quality' press, has been noted and explored by media historians for some time.[6] Archaeology profited from this diversification of content and, as Linkof further remarks, when in 1923 – coinciding with the beginning of the excavations at Ur – even *The Times* began using a photographic page, 'it was clear that photography had spread far beyond its initial frontier'.[7] Online databases not only distance us from the material product they represent, they can also distort our results by standardising single

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3 Adrian Bingham, 'The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians', *Twentieth Century British History* 21/2 (2010), 225–231.

4 Paul Fyfe, 'An Archaeology of Victorian Newspapers', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 49/4 (Winter 2016), 546–577. I am grateful to Christina Riggs for this reference. See also Charles Upchurch, 'Full-Text Databases and Historical Research: Cautionary Results from a Ten-Year Study', *Journal of Social History* 46/1 (2012), 89–105.

5 Linkof, 2018, pp. 2; 6. Beegan 2007, p. 27. James Curran, Angus Douglas and Gary Whannel, 'The Political Economy of the Human-Interest Story', in *Newspapers and Democracy. International Essays on a Changing Medium*, ed. by Anthony Smith (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980), 288–347. Sarah Louise Newman, *The Celebrity Gossip Column and Newspaper Journalism in Britain, 1918–1939* (University of Oxford, unpublished PhD thesis, 2014).

6 Jason Hill and Vanessa R. Schwartz (eds.), *Getting the Picture. The Visual Culture of the News* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

7 Linkof 2018, p. 36. See also D. L. LeMahieu, *A Culture for Democracy. Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain between the Wars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 75–76, for the development of the picture page. Oliver Woods and James Bishop, *The Story of The Times* (London: Michael Joseph, 1983), pp. 231–233. Woods and Bishop as well as LeMahieu (p. 78) date the first picture page to 1922.

newspaper pages as the unit of display.[8] The single-page presentation of digitised databases (also noted by Bingham) poses a particular problem to researching archaeological reports in the interwar press.[9] Photographs were not always referenced within the articles and usually appeared on a designated 'picture page'.[10] This leads to a skewed result when only searching for authors or keywords as captions are often not individually indexed and search terms therefore do not deliver exact results. This separation of text and image, however, leads to particular problems in the digital age.

Despite these limitations, I have (had to) rely on newspapers and magazines available online, as platforms such as the *British Newspaper Archive, ProQuest Historical Newspapers* and *Gale Cengage* provide the opportunity for broad searches across a large number of publications. Initial research for this chapter thus indicates that archaeologists favoured – and were favoured by – *The Times* and *The Illustrated London News* (*ILN*), and I will explore archaeological reporting by the example of these two publications.[11] This, I am aware, is strongly biased towards London-based publications. My choice, however, is informed by the fact that searches via the *British Newspaper Archive* revealed almost no examples of articles written exclusively for regional newspapers by archaeologists working in the Middle East. Rather, articles in regional papers were often (abridged) articles previously published in a metropolitan publication, most often *The Times*.[12] Articles like these usually combined information on the site or

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8 Fyfe 2016, pp. 552–553; 577. Not forgetting the unacknowledged outsourcing of the actual digitisation work to the global South.

9 As Michel Frizot and Cédric de Veigy note, 'Since articles often stretched over two, three or four pages, the double-page spread became the standard unit of design …' *VU: The Story of a Magazine that Made an Era* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009), p. 18. See also Marianne Fulton (ed.), *Eyes of Time. Photojournalism in America* (Boston/London: Little, Brown, 1988).

10 In the nineteenth century this was due to the impossibility of printing images and text with one plate. With the development of the halftone process (a relieved plate) and subsequently rotogravure process (an intaglio or etched plate) over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries photojournalism (and book printing) was revolutionised. Gerry Beegan, *The Mass Image. A Cultural History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), Chapter 4; Thierry Gervais, 'Witness to War: The Uses of Photography in the Illustrated Press, 1855–1904', *Journal of Visual Culture* 9/3 (2010), 370–384; Michel Frizot, 'Sports Photomontage, France, 1916', in *Getting the Picture. The Visual Culture of the News*, ed. by Jason Hill and Vanessa R. Schwartz (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 44–47; Ryan Linkof, *Public Images* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).

11 I have consulted these either via the UCL library catalogue or via the *British Newspaper Archive*. More extensive searches were conducted using the paper and microfilm copies available in the British Library. Andy Stephens, Caroline Brazier, Phil Spence, 'A Case Study in National Library Innovation: Newspapers in the British Library', *IFLA Journal* 40/3 (2014), 206–212.

12 I have not compiled a list of my search results because I do not deem these to be exhaustive for the reasons outline above. For example, the *Belfast News-Letter* published an article 'by arrangement with *The Times*' reporting on a lecture Woolley had delivered on 5 March 1923 in Baghdad. 'Ur of the Chaldees. Remarkable Finds. Walls Built 2,300 Years Before Christ. Hoards of Ancient Jewellery', *Belfast News-Letter*, 2 April 1923, 6; The same report appeared under the headline 'Mysteries of Ur of

the excavation with a report on a recent lecture.[13] Furthermore, I am aware that my choice exhibits a class bias. Both publications were, by virtue of their policy and political affiliations as much as by their pricing, staunchly middle- and upper-class, essentially C/conservative papers. Attracting advertising played as important a role in these considerations as proprietors' varying levels of involvement with editorial decisions.[14] As Fyfe has pointed out, historians' bias towards using metropolitan, middle to upper class newspapers in their research is exemplified by the fact that *The Times* was the first British newspaper to be made available commercially as a digital resource.[15] Lower middle and working-class newspapers (and magazines) remain underrepresented on online platforms. My own use of these two publications is informed by my choice to focus on archaeologists as authors, something I have been unable to identify in initial surveys of, e.g. *The Daily Herald* (associated with the Labour movement).

Yet in the absence of reader surveys which included the working classes until circa 1936, actual estimates of class must be taken with a pinch of salt, as there were of course other ways of accessing papers one could not afford to buy.[16] Numbers of issues sold or printed have never equalled the number of readers, as newspapers were and continue to be passed on, left and picked up on a seat on the Underground or consulted in a public library. Also, archaeological reporting was not limited to the two publications which are the main focus of this chapter. Journalistic reporting on archaeological discoveries is everywhere in the interwar press landscape and many newspapers sent their own correspondents to excavations at home as well as abroad to get exclusive content. In addition, both Leonard and Katharine Woolley and many other archaeologists wrote articles for the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Manchester*

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the Chaldees. Ancient Jewellery Find. "Meeting-Place of Earth and Heaven"' in the *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 2 April 1923, 8.

13 The subject of public lectures given by Woolley and other archaeologists remains under-researched. Following the lecture circuit through newspaper reports or announcements would add substantially to our understanding of non-metropolitan engagement with archaeology. Some of Woolley's talks given at the end of the season in Baghdad are mentioned in correspondence in the Ur Archive: BMCA WY1 1/13, C. Leonard Woolley to F. Kenyon, 9 March 1925; WY1 2/28 C. Leonard Woolley to Gertrude Bell, 22 February 1926; WY1 2/58 Sidney Smith to C. Leonard Woolley, 5 January 1930. His 1929 lecture tour to the US was managed by Lee Keedick, a well-known American lecturing agent based in New York. See BMCA WY1 27/35/1–2; WY1 27/61/1–4; WY1 27/96; 27/103; 27/106; 28/1. Keedick had also managed Howard Carter's lecture engagements in the US in 1924. T. G. H. James, *Howard Carter. The Path to Tutankhamun* (London: Kegan Paul, 1992), pp. 269–270; 309–314; 320–321.

14 Peter Catterall, Colin Seymore-Ure, Adrian Smith (eds.), *Northcliffe's Legacy: Aspects of the British Popular Press, 1896–1996* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

15 Fyfe 2016, pp. 556–567. See also Adrian Bingham, 'Ignoring the First Draft of History?: Searching for the Popular Press in Studies of Twentieth-Century Britain', *Media History* 18/3–4 (2012a), 1–16; *idem*, 'Reading Newspapers: Cultural Histories of the Popular Press in Modern Britain', *History Compass* 10/2 (2012b), 140–150.

16 Curran *et al.*, 1980, p. 291.

Guardian and *The Observer*, as well as a whole host of illustrated magazines aimed at a wide range of audiences. Titles include *Britannia and Eve, The Graphic*, *The Sphere, Blackwood's Magazine*, *Discovery*, and *The Cornhill Magazine*, to name but a few.[17] The limits of this chapter make it impossible to give all these publications the careful treatment they deserve. Nor is it possible to make an international comparison, taking into account the influence of German and French photojournalism on British magazines, or exploring the American media landscape.[18] Looking at one daily newspaper and one illustrated weekly magazine will, however, provide a window into an under-researched world. As I have noted above, I consider the research and the resulting trends presented below to be exploratory, fully acknowledging the need for a more extensive approach.

Despite this plethora of material just described, the fleeting mention that archaeology (with the exception of the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun) usually receives, in both newspaper and general historiography of the interwar period, is surprising (see Introduction). While mummy stories, films and Egyptianizing fashion trends – to name but a few subjects – merit specialised research fields, scholars concerned with researching these themes often give little space in their work as to where writers, filmmakers or designers got their information from. And where indeed, if not ultimately from archaeologists? As laid out in the Introduction, there is an equal scarcity of disciplinary histories taking the popular side of archaeology into account. Amara Thornton's recent contribution to closing that scholarly gap shows the variety of formats in which archaeology was represented: from encyclopaedia entries, newspaper and magazine articles, books for the general reader to pamphlets.[19] This speaks to the popularity of the subject for readers as well as commissioning editors. It also shows the archaeologists successful in this market as astute publicists of their work, both with the aim to further the discipline and to inform the public. In addition, they were fully aware of the financial benefits to be gained from this work.

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17 Discussion of illustrated magazines (with the exception of the *ILN*) must unfortunately remain limited in this chapter due to restricted space. *The National Geographic* also featured some articles, for which see Steet 2000.

18 A comparison of foreign archaeologists' articles published in Britain and their home country (e.g., the French archaeologists Claude Schaeffer or André Parrot writing for *L'Illustration* or *VU*) is a further line of research I have not been able to include here.

19 Amara Thornton, *Archaeologists in Print. Publishing for the People* (London: UCL Press, 2018).

Woolley's Press Strategy

Perhaps the most famous case of archaeologists' interactions with the press is the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922.[20] Howard Carter (1874–1939), the archaeologist in charge of the excavation, and his funder, George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Herbert, 5th Earl of Carnarvon (1866–1923), famously signed a contract with *The Times* for exclusive rights to the story of the opening of the tomb and the subsequent removal and conservation of the objects. For their coverage of the event, *The Times* paid £5,000 up front and acquired the sole rights to worldwide syndication. The international and especially the Egyptian press were outraged by this, and tried to gain information at all costs, causing a veritable media frenzy.[21] While highly desirable for the archaeologists in terms of publicity and fame, the presence of the press and the numbers of curious visitors attracted to the site actually proved highly distracting, if not outright hindering to Carter and his crew. Egypt was, despite political and civil unrest, a popular tourist destination and traveling to the Valley of the Kings was relatively easy. As the *ILN* reported repeatedly, the attraction of Tutankhamun's tomb was such that tourism was expected to double from 10,000 visitors in 1925 to 20,000 in 1926.[22]

When *The Times* approached Woolley regarding an arrangement similar to the one with Carter, he turned them down. The Ur Archive at the British Museum contains a number of letters between Woolley and the directors of the two funding museums regarding their engagement with the press, and Woolley outlined his strategy to George Byron Gordon in 1927 as follows:

> [A]lthough the results of each month's work would be communicated to the Press as a whole in England and in America, yet I would agree to give the "Times" a specially written article on those results which should be exclusive to them in the United Kingdom; this is the longer of the two articles which I send regularly to you and you have reproduced sometimes in the Press, sometimes in the Museum Journal. For this article, of which the substance is of course given to the other papers, the "Times" pays

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[20] A less well known precedent is George Smith's expedition in 1873, funded by the *Daily Telegraph*, to find further cuneiform tablet fragments containing the story of the flood. David Damrosch, *The Buried Book. The Loss and Rediscovery of the Great Epic of Gilgamesh* (New York, H. Holt, 2007).

[21] Valentine Williams, 'My Best News Story. The Secret of Tutankh-Amen's Tomb', *The Listener*, 2 June 1938, 1161–1163; Paul Collins and Liam McNamara, *Discovering Tutannkhamun* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2014), p. 63; Christina Riggs, *Photographing Tutankhamun Archaeology, Ancient Egypt, and the Archive* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 178–180.

[22] 'The Suggested Pharaoh of the Exodus Causes an Influx into Egypt: Tutankhamen Attracts Tourists', *Illustrated London News*, 10 February 1923, p. 196–197. The literature on tourism and Egypt is vast, usually starting with the beginnings of Western tourism after the Napoleonic Wars, and, for the British case, Thomas Cook's first organised trip up the Nile in 1869. See Nicholas Lanoie, 'Inventing Egypt for the Emerging British Travel Class. Amelia Edward's *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40/2 (2013), 149–161; Mairs and Muratov 2014)

me ten or twelve guineas: (they would give fifty for exclusive news!).[23]

The two museums had agreed to publish results simultaneously and Woolley thus sent his articles to the British Museum, which forwarded them to Philadelphia, along with any illustrations or photographs. Woolley generally sent out three press releases, each clearly marked either 'Times', 'Illustrated London News' or 'Press Agency' or 'General Press'. Not only did he therefore take a range of audiences into account by adapting his tone or style, he was also aware of various editorial deadlines he would have to keep in order to make it into an issue. In a letter he informed Bruce Ingram, the editor of the *ILN*, that he had sent a special article for him to the British Museum and Ingram 'had better get on to [Frederic] Kenyon and ask him to let you have it so that you can get your illustrations done in good time'.[24] Kenyon, he went on, had a selection of photographs exclusively reserved for the *ILN*. Woolley thus tailored his visual as well as his textual output carefully to each publication.

Before discussing Woolley's (and other members of the core-set's) articles in greater detail later in the chapter I will first look at the two publications mentioned frequently in the Ur archive: *The Illustrated London News* and *The Times*.[25]

The Illustrated London News

One of the earliest pictorial magazines, the *ILN* was founded in 1842 by Herbert Ingram (1811–1860).[26] The *ILN* made archaeological and antiquarian reporting one of its mainstays early on in its history, being unable to keep up with the competition from the cheaper daily newspapers, and focused instead on high-quality illustrations and engravings, to which archaeology, and specifically prehistory, lent itself

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23 BMCA WY1 7/29, C. Leonard Woolley to George Byron Gordon, 6 February 1927. A detailed study of archaeological reporting in the US press is outside of the scope of this thesis. For Ur see William B. Hafford and Richard L. Zettler, 'Magnificent with Jewels: Puabi, Queen of Ur' in *From Ancient to Modern. Archaeology and Aesthetics*, ed. by Jennifer Y. Chi and Pedro Azara (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 84–105. A cursory search on the ProQuest Historical Newspapers platform [accessed 27 November 2018] resulted in only two articles authored by Woolley: 'Excavating at Ur', *Boston Daily Globe*, 20 February 1925, A16 (reproduced from *The Times*, 23 December 1924, 13), and 'Tells Discoveries at Ur of Chaldea', *The New York Times*, 8 May 1923, 26 (reproduced from *The Times*, 14 May 1923, 13). No Philadelphia newspapers are available digitally in the UK.

24 BMCA WY1 5/16, C. Leonard Woolley to [Bruce] Ingram, 2 January 1929.

25 Stanley Morison, *The History of the Times*. 4 volumes (London: The Times, 1935–1952); The *Illustrated London News'* business records have not survived (Andrew Small, Illustrated London News Ltd., pers. comm.).

26 Surprisingly, no history of the *ILN* has ever been written. An overview of its development can be found in James Bishop, 'The Story of the *ILN*', *The Illustrated London News*, Anniversary Issue, 14 May 1992, 29–34, and the essays on The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842–2003, http://find.galegroup.com/iln [Accessed 21 November 2018]; Isabel Bailey, 'Ingram, Herbert (1811–1860)', online edition, *ODNB*, 2004.

admirably.[27] Not only the objects unearthed but the imagined or reconstructed contexts of their use soon became integral to archaeological reporting in the *ILN*. As an illustrated weekly the *ILN* took great pride in the range and quality of its visual material, which included photographs, drawings and other forms of illustration.

Herbert Ingram's grandson, Bruce Stirling Ingram (1877–1963), continued his grandfather's interest in archaeology upon his succession to the family business.[28] During his long tenure as the *ILN*'s editor (1900–1963), the magazine featured over two thousand articles on archaeology.[29] A large number of those appeared during the interwar period (1918–1939). For the purposes of this thesis I have only considered articles explicitly authored by archaeologists. In addition to the problems relating to database searches outlined above, the *ILN* poses further challenges. Some articles were edited, in that an introductory or concluding sentence explained the author's occupation or position on an excavation and referred the reader to other relevant pages within the same or preceding issues. An author's name was sometimes only given within the text itself or in the standfirst. Occasionally it appeared at the bottom of the page, in a byline. In these cases, keyword searches for contributor/author do not always render accurate results. It is thus difficult to decide how much editing was done and whose authorial voice is speaking. The variety of images used in the *ILN* poses yet another methodological problem. Picture pages usually appeared under a different headline than the main articles and are therefore rendered as individual articles on the online database. Varying layouts meant that the article text sometimes continued in a box underneath the images or that a picture spread (consisting of two pages) interrupted the text. As the images (and probably the captions as well) were supplied by the archaeologists or their funding institutions, I have counted these picture pages as part of the article. In order to capture the extent of archaeological reporting I have therefore viewed all *ILN* issues page by page for the period January 1918 to March 1940.[30]

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27 My focus here lies with the historical or at most pre- and proto-literate periods of the Ancient Near East. For depictions of (early) hominids see Stephanie Moser, *Ancestral Images. The Iconography of Human Origins* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

28 S.n., 'Ingram, Sir Bruce Stirling (1877–1963)', online edition, *ODNB,* 2004.

29 In light of my research discussed below, I suspect this number to be much higher. It is, however, given in James E. Phillips, '"To Make the Dry Bones Live": Amédée Forestier's Glastonbury Lake Village', in *Envisioning the Past*, ed. by Sam Smiles and Stephanie Moser (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 72–91, p. 75. Phillips does not distinguish between those articles authored by archaeologists and others and does not explain how he arrived at this number. Edward Bacon, *The Great Archaeologists. The Modern World's Discovery of Ancient Ruins as Originally Reported in the Pages of the Illustrated London News from 1840 to the Present Day* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1976).

30 A list of all articles counted for this analysis is given in Appendix 8.1. Picture pages (either spreads or single pages) without an accompanying article (i.e., more than a caption) have been excluded from the count, as the emphasis here lies on the narrative element of archaeological reporting.

I have analysed articles geographically rather than by period (Figure 3.1).[31] Most subsets therefore range from articles on fossil human remains to mediaeval sites.[32] I believe this better represents the breadth of archaeological fieldwork (and it is almost exclusively fieldwork that is reported) during the period than a distribution following either ancient or modern cultural, imperial or nation-state borders. Archaeology, as reported in the pages of the *ILN*, was thus a global phenomenon and archaeologists working in Mesopotamia (foremost of all Leonard Woolley with 25 articles out of 88) were leading the field.[33]

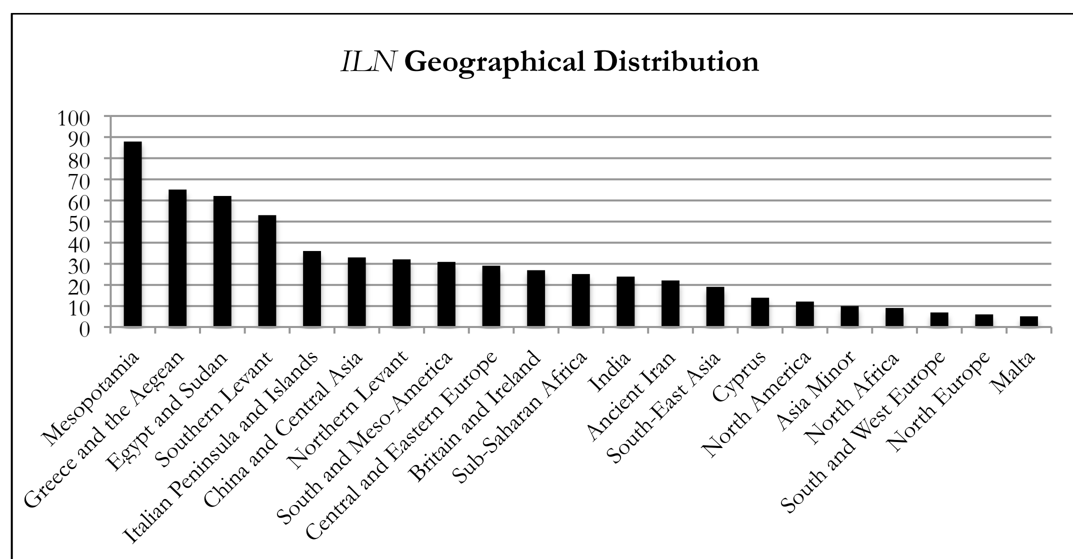

Figure 3.1. Geographical distribution of *ILN* articles

The reasons for this prominence of Mesopotamian and mainly Iraqi sites in the pages of a British magazine lie as much in the political as in the disciplinary circumstances of the time. The Mandate administration of Iraq attracted mainly British-funded projects but Gertrude Bell (the first honorary director of the antiquities service until her death in 1926) had made it her policy not to exclude other nationalities. While British, American or joint expeditions featured more frequently, most directors or

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31 Mesopotamia is understood to encompass sites situated along or east of the Euphrates River and west of the Zagros mountain range. This encompasses parts of modern-day Iraq, Syria and Turkey. See Augusta McMahon, 'Asia, West. Mesopotamia, Sumer, and Akkad', in *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, online edition, ed. by Deborah M. Pearsall (New York: Academic Press, 2008), 854–865. Sites to the west of this waterway are divided between the Northern and Southern Levant, i.e., roughly modern-day Syria, Lebanon and parts of Turkey, and modern-day Israel, Palestine and Jordan respectively. Suzanne Richard, 'Asia, West. Archaeology of the Near East: The Levant', in ibid., 834–848.

32 I have deliberately taken a broad view of archaeology to encompass what are now quite distinct disciplines to allow for the fact that, e.g., palaeoanthropological research was often conducted by archaeologists working on later periods as well. This was the attitude of the *ILN* itself as it celebrated 'Archaeologists Whose Discoveries Have Made the Past Live Again in the Pages of "The Illustrated London News": Recent Contributors, from Many Countries', *The Illustrated London News*, 26 December 1953, 1052–1953.

33 The exception are the Antipodes and the South Pacific which were rather the focus of anthropology.

leaders of large excavations published at least one article in the *ILN*. British and American teams similarly dominated research in the Southern Levant (largely overlapping with the British Mandate for Palestine), with a heavy American focus on Biblical archaeology, while the Northern Levant (encompassing the French Mandate) attracted mainly French archaeologists.[34]

It might seem surprising that Egypt and Sudan only rank third, behind Greece and the Aegean. This was probably due to the fact that the tomb of Tutankhamun overshadowed much of the work going on in Egypt at the time but was only reported on in the *ILN* (in articles written by archaeologists themselves) some years after the initial discovery in 1922, due to the excavators' exclusive deal with *The Times*. Work in the Greek, Minoan and Mycenaean world and Roman archaeology in modern-day Italy had long been dominated by the various foreign schools, institutes and societies established in Greece and Italy.[35] As these countries were independent nation states and not Mandates or Protectorates dependent on Britain politically or financially, non-British archaeologists working there perhaps felt less obliged to, or saw less gain in publishing their findings in the British press. The increase in nationalist feeling during the period furthermore drew archaeology ever closer to becoming a tool of authoritarian and particularly fascist regimes and their nationalist agendas.[36]

A further striking feature of this geographical distribution is the relatively low number (27) of articles on archaeology in Britain and Ireland. While the *ILN* covered aspects of British politics, society and economics in great detail, when it came to reporting on the past, the geographically remote seems to have been of much greater interest. This may seem surprising, as archaeology was alive and well in Britain during the interwar years, and the archaeologists working during the 1920s and 1930s have

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34 At least until 1934, when the renewed and stricter post-Mandate Iraqi Antiquities legislation loomed on the horizon and many archaeologists, including the Woolleys, moved to the more accommodating French Mandate. There was hardly any archaeological research during the 1920s in the newly founded Republic of Turkey (here rendered as Asia Minor), due to continued civil and international conflict.
The high number of articles on South and Mesoamerica (31) should be read with caution. I have not explored these in greater detail but most articles seem to fuse archaeological exploration with corporate aims and political or intelligence work. See Colin Wallace, 'Reconnecting Thomas Gann with British Interest in the Archaeology of Mesoamerica: An Aspect of the Development of Archaeology as a University Subject', *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 21/1 (2011), 23–36; Jeb J. Card, *Spooky Archaeology. Myth and Science of the Past* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2018), pp. 168–197.

35 'Greece and the Aegean' and 'Italian Peninsula and Islands' (i.e., Sicily and Sardinia) respectively in Figure 3.1. Frederick Whitling, *Western Ways. Foreign Schools in Rome and Athens* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018); Marchand 1996; 2009. Whitling points out that from 1922 foreign schools in Greece were restricted to three projects at a time (p. 82), and that there were no foreign-led excavations permitted in fascist Italy (p. 95).

36 The literature on archaeology and nationalism and archaeology is vast, see Introduction for further reading. For Italy see, e.g., Cristian Olariu, 'Archaeology, Architecture and the Use of the *Romanità* in fascist Italy', *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 18/1 (2012), 351–375.

even been called the 'golden generation'.[37] The most gilded was surely Mortimer Wheeler. Like Leonard Woolley, he is often cited as one of archaeology's most successful popularizers. Wheeler co-founded the Institute of Archaeology at the University of London in 1936 and his influence on archaeological method and teaching is considerable to this day.[38] From early on in his career Wheeler actively promoted public interest in archaeology by opening his excavations to visitors, soliciting donations and contributions by selling souvenirs at the site, and he recognised the importance of the public as well as private donors, institutions and the (local) government as funding sources.[39] He was also well aware of the power of the press. In 1924, taking his cue from Carter and Carnarvon, he made an exclusive contract with the *Daily Mail* for his excavations of the Roman amphitheatre at Caerleon.[40] This meant, however, that he did not publish in the *ILN* and, perhaps following his example, neither did many of the other archaeologists active in Britain in the period.[41] In addition, the younger set of this golden generation (defined by Díaz-Andreu *et al.* as those born around the turn of the century) were then at the beginning of their careers and perhaps more concerned with the kind of boundary-work explored in Chapter One.[42] The breadth of archaeological writing as evidenced in the *ILN* also demonstrates the necessity for a much more in-depth analysis of archaeological content in this and other illustrated magazines and newspapers. The articles collected in Appendix 8.1 thus show the important place archaeological writing held in the pages of the *ILN*. Each region, including those not or minimally represented, stands for another core-set of practitioners awaiting in-depth exploration. Yet exploring the global coverage of

37 Margarita Díaz-Andreu, Megan Price, and Chris Gosden, 'Christopher Hawkes. His Archive and Networks in British and European Archaeology', *The Antiquaries Journal* 89 (2009), 405–426, p. 417. See also Chapter Four.

38 Jacquetta Hawkes, *Mortimer Wheeler. Adventurer in Archaeology* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982); Lydia Carr, *Tessa Verney Wheeler. Women and Archaeology Before World War Two* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

39 Gabriel Moshenska and Tim Schadla-Hall, 'Mortimer Wheeler's Theatre of the Past', *Public Archaeology* 10/1 (2011), 46–55; Gabriel Moshenska, 'Beyond the Viewing Platform. Excavations and Audiences', *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 24/1 (2009), 39–53.

40 R. E. M. Wheeler, *Still Digging* (London: Pan Books, Ltd., 1958), p. 64. He also had a deal with British Pathé to cover his work at Verulamium. Some of the clips are available at http://www.aparchive.com/[accessed 20 December 2018]. Neal Ascherson, 'Archaeology and the British Media', in *Public Archaeology*, ed. by Nick Merriman (London: Routledge, 2004), 145–148, p. 156. Wheeler's TV appearances on *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* (1952–1959), *Armchair Voyage* (1958), *Buried Treasure* (1954–1959) and other programmes brought archaeology to many British living-rooms after the Second World War and even led to his election as TV personality of the year in 1954. Shula Subramaniam, 'Aboard the Armchair Voyage', *History Today* (January 2018).

41 For a list of all articles included in the statistical analysis presented in Figure 3.1 see Appendix 8.1.

42 Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2009, p. 417. Pamela Jane Smith, '"The Coup": How Did the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia Become the Prehistoric Society?', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 65 (1999), 465–470; *eadem*, *A "splendid idiosyncrasy": Prehistory at Cambridge 1915–50*, BAR British Series 485 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009).

archaeology in the *ILN* also shows us the limits of the concept of the core-set, which calls for a more fine-grained approach to a smaller set of practitioners rather than a global approach.

Looking at the position of articles within issues of the *ILN,* archaeology – as indeed any other subject – was not confined to a specific section. Archaeological discoveries, mostly single objects, frequently made it to the front page.[43] The articles considered for this chapter ranged from one to four pages, and the longer ones generally had one to two pages dedicated to illustrations. But before we consider these in greater detail, a comparison to the coverage in *The Times* and the subjects archaeologists wrote about will provide a broader base for analysing individual articles.

The Times

Due to the issues outlined in the introduction to this chapter, time constraints have made it impossible for me to conduct an issue-by-issue investigation of *The Times* to capture all of archaeological reporting between 1918 and 1940. Results discussed within this section are therefore of an even more exploratory nature than the considerations on the *ILN*. I have used *The Times Historical Archive* online to search by contributors, cross-referencing with the *ILN*, and have here focused on archaeology in Mesopotamia as defined above. While there are a large number of articles authored by archaeologists, contributions to archaeological reporting in *The Times* often took the form of letters to the editor. As explored in Chapter One, archaeological reporting in newspapers served a double function, of which the letters are the most obvious expression. In addition to calls for greater organisation, they often announced discoveries or planned work (sometimes asking for public contributions) in an abbreviated form, or they drew attention to issues regarding policies affecting fieldwork or ancient monuments in Britain as well as abroad.[44] They were, then, often more commentary than article, and I have not included them in the analysis below.[45]

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43 I have counted ten front pages for Mesopotamian, six for Egyptian, five for Levantine (north and south) and two for Greek sites. Discoveries in the Americas, Africa or Asia featured less frequently. The actual first pages being given over to advertisements, the front page here refers to the page on which the masthead appeared and which always showed one large picture (either photograph or illustration) with a short caption.

44 For example, when Leonard Woolley protested against the new antiquities legislation in Iraq in 1934. C. Leonard Woolley, 'Excavations in Iraq', *The Times*, 12 December 1934c, 10. See the introductory remarks in Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, 'Participation Through Letters to the Editor: Circulation, Considerations, and Genres in the Letters Institution', *Journalism* 11/1 (2010), 21–35. Letters by archaeologists fall neatly in Nielsen's categorisation as letters of storytelling, criticism or appeal.

45 Cross-referencing authors with the *ILN* it is striking that quite a few archaeologists who wrote articles for the *ILN* featured only in the 'letters to the editor' section of *The Times* and did not pen any articles. The *ILN* did not have a letters section, making a direct comparison impossible.

Taking a closer look at archaeology in Mesopotamia, Leonard Woolley towers over the other members of the core-set with fifty-eight articles over the course of twelve seasons. While the Ur excavations lasted longer than any other project, the differences are still striking: Henri Frankfort and Reginald Campbell Thompson published four, Ernest Mackay and C. J. Gadd one article each.[46] Cross-referencing with contributors to the *ILN* gave no results for other archaeologists active in Mesopotamia at the time (Pinhas Delougaz, Harry Reginald Hall, Julius Jordan, Gordon Loud, M. E. L. Mallowan or André Parrot).[47] I believe that these results are only meaningfully interpreted in a much wider look at archaeology in *The Times*, taking other regions into consideration. The reporting on the tomb of Tutankhamun and Woolley's contributions do, however, indicate a strong and long-lasting interest by the editors as well as the readers of *The Times* throughout the period.[48]

In his letter to Gordon cited above Woolley identified some of the key themes he wrote about for *The Times*. In addition to excavation results he contributed 'popular' articles, putting his work in a broader context. As he explained, these articles did not necessarily deal with the latest discoveries or results, but

> such things as the methods of work, the workmen, house-building, and archaeological essays on minor points; three such have already gone in this season. These articles are of such a nature that I felt fully justified in making a private arrangement about them – and of course they do give extra publicity to the excavations, and I am always careful to bring in the title of the Joint Expedition… [49]

This material was exclusive to *The Times,* as is indeed confirmed by a comparative analysis with the *ILN* (Figure 3.2). While Woolley's reporting in both papers was dominated by objects, graves and the architecture of the sacred precinct, I have found no articles in the *ILN* with a distinct focus on either the practical, methodological or social side of archaeology (but then again, Woolley published more than twice as many articles for *The Times* (58) than for the *ILN* (25)).

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46 All thirteen of Stephen Langdon's contributions about Kish were letters to the editor.

47 Searches by contributor were supplemented by searching for site names (in a variety of spellings where necessary), which did not alter the results.

48 Woolley's last article on Ur appeared in 1936, and he continued to write articles about his later excavations at Tell Atchana.

49 BMCA WY1 7/29, C. Leonard Woolley to George Byron Gordon, 6 February 1927.

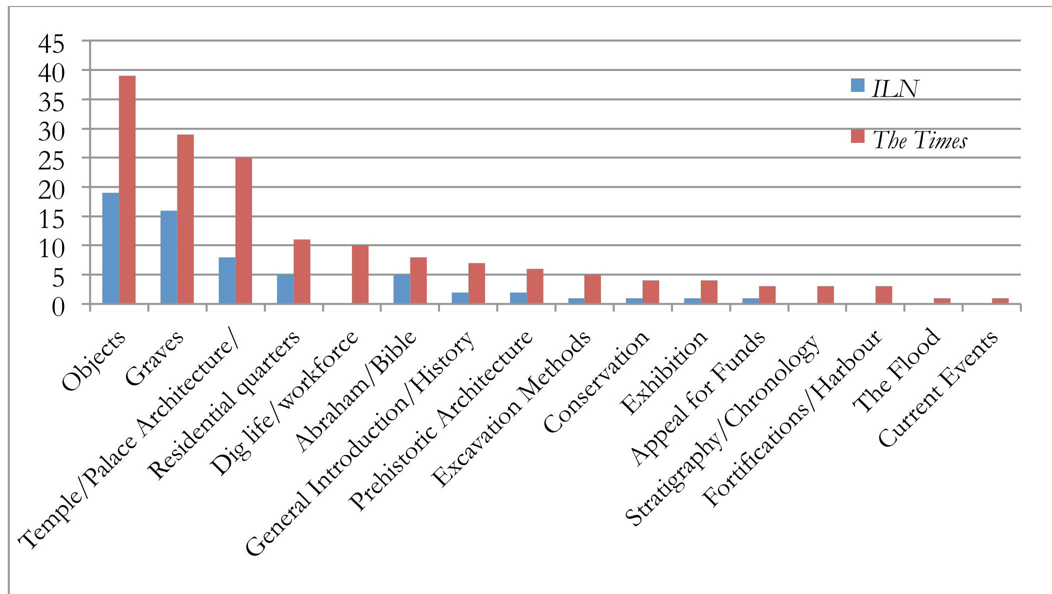

Figure 3.2. Themes in Woolley's *ILN* and *The Times* articles

Whether this divergence in numbers was also to do with remuneration must remain unclear in the absence of any surviving archives of the *ILN* or related correspondence in the Ur archives. A note from *The Times*' accountant, however, details payment for Woolley's contributions in April 1934: a total of £13.0.0 was made up by £10.0.0 for contributions published in *The Times*, £1.10.0 for illustrations, £1.0.0 for a contribution to the Weekly Edition, and 10s. for a contribution to the Educational Supplement.[50] In addition, copies of issues kept in the archives of News UK reveal the fees archaeologists received for their contributions.[51] Woolley supplied *The Times* with one (1923), and more often four to seven articles per year, resulting in the following estimated fees for the years 1924 to 1934: four articles in 1924: £15; six articles in 1925: £56; six articles in 1926: £49; six articles in 1927: £46; four articles in 1928: £53; four articles in 1929: £51; six articles in 1930: £47; five articles in 1931: £38; four articles in 1932: £29; two articles in 1933: £20; two articles in 1934: £19.[52]

50 BMCA WY1 25/12, Accountants, *The Times*, to C. Leonard Woolley, note accompanying cheque, 7 May 1934. I have included neither the weekly edition nor the supplements in this analysis of themes. The items listed in the note refer to the article Woolley published in *The Times* on 13 April 1934b, 'Riches of Ur. Twelfth Year of Research', 13; with pictures on p. 18. It was reprinted in the Weekly Edition on 19 April 1934 (p. 470, pictures on p. 467). One of the pictures appeared in the Educational Supplement on 21 April 1934, p. ii.

51 I have viewed this information on microfilm at the News UK archive facility, focussing on members of the core-set working in Iraq.

52 Fees for images were calculated separately. The microfilm copies show that photographs were priced at £1.0.0 or £1.1.0. These fees are not included in the above estimates, as not every article was accompanied by photographs. These numbers further leave out reprints in weekend editions or supplements. Taking all these additional payments into account, I would estimate that the fees calculated for each year would in most cases almost double. It is notoriously difficult to convert currency into an equivalent meaningful for the present-day reader. https://www.measuringworth.com/index.php [accessed 6 December 2019].

This information must, for the moment, stand alone in the absence of other archives with similar information (but see Chapter Four for Woolley's BBC fees). Nevertheless, I offer it here as an indication of the additional income archaeologists could generate by writing for the popular press. As outlined in the Introduction, the Ur excavation project suffered from frequent funding shortages, and the correspondence in the Ur archive is rife with Leonard Woolley negotiating for more money for the work as well as salary increases for Katharine and himself.[53] Not enough is known about the Woolleys' financial circumstances but they were both employed by the two funding museums on an annual basis. The project's continuance, and thus their employment, depended on larger-scale economic factors influencing the museums' decisions (which became a significant problem for the University Museum during the economic downturn in the early Thirties), political developments in Britain, the United States and Iraq and the excavation work itself. After Iraq's independence, the Woolleys often did not know whether they could continue their work even a couple of weeks before their planned departure date as changes in antiquities legislation seemed imminent.[54] Woolley was thus very much aware of the importance of publicising the Joint Expedition's work in the press and the contributions this could provide to their income.[55]

Archaeologists' lives are thus more than the sum of their work output. They were worried about living arrangements during the archaeological off-season in the summer, paying for travel, reimbursement for money spent on material, probably saving for unplanned periods of unemployment, and many other issues. Chapter One has explored the social aspect of archaeological work in the field, but of course post-excavation processing of finds, publication and exhibition created almost as much work as the field seasons. Communicating with peers at conferences and writing articles, books, speaking on the radio or lecturing circuits all had to be crammed into the months between March or April and October. Upon their return to London, the Woolleys were busy with the restoration and conservation of objects, the division of finds between the two museums, setting up the temporary exhibitions at the British Museum, writing articles and books, preparing radio talks and, at the height of their fame and popularity, presumably attending a number of social occasions during the

53 See Millerman 2015 for further details.

54 BMCA WY1 21/4, C. Leonard Woolley to Julius Jordan, 2 October 1933. This must have also made it difficult for them to rent accommodation in Britain during the summer.

55 It is impossible to ascertain whether the fees for individual articles ultimately ended up in Woolley's pocket or contributed to the excavation fund. In either case, Woolley wrote the articles in his capacity as director of the Joint Expedition and was, as he pointed out to Gordon, careful to mention both the project and its funding institutions in all his articles.

London season.[56] This pace of work influenced Woolley's creative output in one very significant respect: he often repeated himself. He is of course no exception to the rule. It is obvious to all of us who write scholarly work that some aspects of our research are of more significance to a specific kind of audience than others and that we must tailor our approach to our readers. We present similar information at conferences, use it in teaching, book reviews, journal articles and books or in media appearances, and adapt it in each case to whom we want to communicate with. Woolley was an expert in this intermedial work of communicating with a wide-ranging audience, as the following overview will show.

Archaeology in the interwar media landscape

As I noted at the outset of this chapter, archaeological reporting was not limited to *The Times* and the *ILN*. While I have focused on these two publications in the preceding pages to provide a detailed look at how the members of the core-set communicated their work there, I now widen the focus to provide an overview of where else discoveries (here again with a focus on excavations in Mesopotamia) appeared in print. Simple keyword searches on various online platforms have revealed a substantial interest in archaeology in the daily and weekly press in the interwar period.[57] The *Daily Mail,* the *Daily Telegraph, The Manchester Guardian* and *The Observer* all reported widely on archaeological work and published articles written by archaeologists.[58]

The number of articles authored by archaeologists in these papers is, however, substantially lower than in either *The Times* or the *ILN*. Woolley's press releases often appeared in abbreviated form and I have found only three articles published under his name in the *Daily Mail*, while Katharine Woolley published five.[59] The *Daily Telegraph* seems to have been Stephen Langdon's publication of choice; he published eight articles on his and his collaborators' work at Kish.[60] Apart from Leonard Woolley (two

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56 It is unfortunately outside the scope of this thesis to explore the Woolleys' personal life in Britain more closely. That they were popular or at least fashionable can be gleaned from their occasional mention in the society pages of the press. 'People and Their Doings', *Daily Mail*, 1 February 1930, 6.

57 I have consulted the *British Newspaper Archive*, *ProQuest Historical Newspapers* and *Gale Cengage* for this preliminary analysis.

58 This is not a conclusive analysis and is merely intended to illustrate further avenues for research.

59 C. Leonard Woolley, 'Golden Hoard of 3,500 B.C. Dramatic Finds at Ur', 12 April 1927, 8; 'Golden Marvels of a Royal Pair's Grave', 3 March 1928, 10; 'Looking for a Pre-Flood City', 25 September 1929, 12. Katharine Woolley, 'How Women cooked 5,000 Years Ago', 9 October 1929g, 12; 'A Woman in the Desert', 9 January 1930a, 8; 'Looking for the Pre-Flood City', 19 March 1930b, 10; 'Women before Noah', 31 March 1930c, 12; 'Ur once an Eastern Venice', 21 July 1930d, 6.

60 'An Inundated City. Signs of Flood of Long Duration', 18 March 1929c, 11; 14; 'The Royal Tombs of Ancient Kish. More Remarkable Finds. Tablets and Ornaments Five Thousand Years Old', 21 March 1929d, 12; 16; 'Man Six Thousand Years Ago. Painted Head that may Revise Story of Civilization', 13 December 1929e, 10; 'Lost Babylonian City. Excavator's Story of First Clues to Ancient Agade's Site. Temple Nebuchadnezzar Destroyed', 23 June 1930, 10; 14; 'New Light on Persian Art. Well-

articles), none of the other archaeologists working in the Middle East published here.[61] *The Observer* published one article by Leonard and Katharine Woolley each but again none by other members of the core-set.[62] Nevertheless, this supplemental information indicates that scholarly boundary-work as well as popularization took place in a vast array of formats, crossing both the scholarly/popular boundary as easily as the one between newspapers, broadcasts and books.

The interwar period was moreover a productive period for illustrated magazines with important developments in photojournalism, layout and printing technology.[63] Limited space prevents me from exploring the full range of publications but an overview will indicate the wide diffusion of archaeological reporting. In 1929 Katharine Woolley penned a series titled 'Digging Up Bible History' for *Britannia and Eve*.[64] Katharine Woolley introduced the reader to a number of themes corresponding to those explored in Chapter One; namely fieldwork processes, teamwork, interactions with the local population and the workforce. I have not been able to find any other articles by Katharine Woolley but other pictorial or perhaps more specifically women's magazines might offer further results.[65] Leonard Woolley wrote two articles for *Discovery*, a popular science magazine. He was in good company, as many other archaeologists published here as well, attesting to the status of archaeology as a developing scientific discipline.[66]

Preserved Palace Discovered at Kish in Iraq. Reliefs with Brilliant Colouring', 9 February 1931a, 12; 14; 'Worlds Oldest City. Fresh Discoveries in the Ruins of Kish', 13 February 1931b, 10; 14; 'More Discoveries at Kish. A Cathedral-Like Palace. Light on Ancient Civilisations', 25 May 1931c, 4; 12; 'Oldest City in the World. 5,000 Years' History of Kish. Fresh Discoveries by Excavators', 1 September 1931d, 8; 14.

61 C. Leonard Woolley, 'Treasures of Ur. Ancient Works of Art. Schoolboy's Exercises', 5 January 1926b, 13; 'The Nameless Kings of Ur. Second Dynasty Tombs Found', 18 March 1932b, 14.

62 C. Leonard Woolley, 'The People of the Flood: How They Lived and Worked Reed Houses and Flint Ploughs Antediluvian Art Latest Discoveries at Ur', 25 May 1930d, 13; Katharine Woolley, 'Ur's Great Tower of Babel: The Story of the Centuries. Important New Work Opens', 14 February 1932, 9.

63 Tom Gretton, 'Signs for Labour-Value in Printed Pictures After the Photomechanical Revolution: Mainstream Changes and Extreme Cases around 1900', *Oxford Art Journal* 28/3 (2005), 371–390.

64 *Britannia and Eve* ('a monthly journal for men & women') was published from 1929–1957. https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/britannia-and-eve [accessed 7 January 2019]. The Bible was not mentioned even once in these articles. KWoolley 1929b, 24–27; 25 January 1929c, 210–212; 15 March 1929d, 408–410; 5 April 1929e; 556–557; 12 April 1929f, 597.

65 Catherine Clay, Maria DiCenzo, Barbara Green, Fiona Hackney (eds.), *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1918–1939: The Interwar Period* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2018).

66 For *Discovery* see Bowler 2013. C. Leonard Woolley, 'The Discoveries at Tell el-Obeid', *Discovery* V/57 (September 1924a), 191–195; *idem*, 'The Excavations at Ur', *Discovery* V/58 (October 1924b), 252–256, Harry Reginald Hall and C. Leonard Woolley, 'The Shrine of the Moon-god, and other Recent Discoveries at Ur', *Discovery* IV/46 (October 1923), 255–260. Contributors include Stanley Casson, V. Gordon Childe, O. G. S. Crawford, E. N. Fallaize, W. M. Flinders Petrie, C. J. Gadd, Christopher Hawkes, M. E. L. Mallowan, T. E. Peet, A. J. B. Wace, and Mortimer Wheeler. Other magazines I have viewed include the *Wide-World Magazine*, *The Sphere* and *The Graphic*, all of which often carried articles by archaeologists.

Themes and Stories in Archaeological Reporting

Having explored the quantity and distribution of archaeological reporting in the interwar press landscape I would like to turn to examining how Woolley and his peers wrote about their discoveries and which aspects of their work they emphasised. As I have shown in Chapter One, archaeology as a discipline was evolving, and processes and methods of fieldwork, professional and personal connections and networks were slowly shifting to create the academic field we know today. These processes formed an important complex in archaeologists' communications with the public as much as in scholarly discussion. The analysis of subjects covered in Woolley's articles (Figure 3.2) has revealed a difference compared to his (and other archaeologists') books as explored in Chapter Two. As Woolley's letter to Gordon illustrates, the practical and social aspects of archaeology lent themselves much better to the shorter format of articles as the following examples of some of the core-set's articles illustrate. The complex issue of chronology and migrations, the Sumerians as the originators of civilisation and how their anatomy and intellect connected them to Western Europeans found very little mention in newspapers or magazines. Instead, archaeologists brought their concerns about race and gender into the context of their work with the communities they were working with.

The Golden Spear

Within the larger context of the Royal Cemetery, the burials of Queen Puabi (PG/800) and of Meskalamdug (PG/755) made the greatest impression upon the public. Perhaps this was to do with the fact that they were the only dead who could with certainty be given names and thus appeared less anonymous among the multitude of nameless human sacrifices. Yet it was the discovery of a cache of objects (PG/580 in the final excavation report) that offered Woolley the opportunity to adapt a compelling story to different readers. Excavated at the very end of the 1926–1927 season, this context came to light at the beginning of the work on the Royal Cemetery and proved a good indication of further discoveries of rich graves.

On 12 April 1927 both the *Daily Mail* and *The Times* published Woolley's accounts of the discovery of this burial.[67] His two descriptions differ significantly from one another and reflect Woolley's press strategy as he had explained it to Gordon. The story as told in *The Times* is a sober account of excavation, starting with the lack of funds, which had led to the early end of the season. After giving some chronological

[67] C. Leonard Woolley, 'Treasures Of Ur. Goldsmith's Work 5,500 Years Ago', *The Times*, 12 April 1927a, 10; 20; *idem*, 'Golden Hoard of 3,500 B.C. Dramatic Finds at Ur', *Daily Mail*, 12 April 1927b, 8.

background with references to other periods and previous discoveries at Tell al-'Ubaid, Woolley described how grave goods were 'but laid between two mats with earth heaped above'. He explained how the weight of the soil and chemical reactions had destroyed most of the organic materials. Then,

> [a]t a depth of 18ft. we came on a hoard of copper tools and weapons lying between two of the filmy streaks of white which indicate matting; there were complete sets of chisels and bundles of heavy spearheads and with these two chisels and a spearhead of bright gold.

There followed a list of other grave goods, emphasising the precious materials used (illustrated by a photograph of a dagger on the picture page).

In the *Daily Mail*, by contrast, Woolley began his article by praising the readers of the newspaper who had 'come forward with subscriptions which made possible another fortnight's work'.[68] His description of events then took a dramatic turn:

> Presently Hamoudi, my Arab foreman, sent for me to see some unusually fine weapons, a set of 11 long copper spearheads lying together; they were rarities, and I expressed my satisfaction, but not strongly enough for his taste. "You told me you wanted a spear," he said indignantly, "and I give you 11; what more do you ask? Am I to produce spears of solid gold?"
> Laughingly, I said, "Yes," and Hamoudi, who had carefully led up to the point, with a groan of pretended disgust swept away the loosened earth and showed a great spear of shining gold!

Woolley thus created two very different narratives for his readers, one detached and descriptive and the other emotional and dramatic. Ending his *Daily Mail* article by once again congratulating the paper's readers for making this discovery possible with their donations, he furthermore gave them a sense of personal involvement.[69] Writing about his workforce enabled him to introduce a human-interest angle for the *Daily Mail*, but it also provided information about the processes of fieldwork, such as the reliance on local labour. This is most evident in Woolley's own words. As he was only called to the discovery once it had already been excavated by the workforce and assessed by

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68 The Ur archive contains a number of lists of contributors who donated small or larger sums to the excavation (BMCA WY1 13/72; WY1 23/89–91). In return, they received a personalised letter by Woolley thanking them for their contribution which crucially also included a 'souvenir' from the excavation; some beads or pottery (BMCA WY1 4/41; 12/10; 12/12; 13/70; 25/1.) This practice was reported in the press, see, e.g., 'Presents from Ur of the Chaldees', *Gloucestershire Echo*, 19 July 1926, p. 3; 'Ur Relics at British Museum', *The Manchester Guardian*, 29 July 1927, 10; 'Genuine Antiques', *Daily Mail*, 21 February 1927, 8.

69 For more on the find context see C. Leonard Woolley, 'Excavations at Ur, 1926–7. Part II', *The Antiquaries Journal* 8/1 (1928b), 1–29, p. 15. He interpreted it as a 'death-pit', due to the animal remains and objects it contained, even though no human remains were found. Woolley 1934a, pp. 46–53.

Sheikh Hamoudi, Woolley demonstrated the trust he put in his foreman to oversee work and thus contribute to archaeological fieldwork.

'They will lie, thieve and murder, but they are very decent fellows'[70]

Excavations in the Middle East traditionally employed large numbers of local workers as cheap, but often expert labour.[71] Archaeologists displayed a wide range of opinions on working with 'natives', and while colonial, condescending and downright racist attitudes abounded, the picture is far more complex than is sometimes assumed. Most archaeologists worked in Egypt or the Middle East for many decades and formed long-lasting relationships with the local community. Like most people living and working abroad over a long period of time they came into contact with good and bad aspects of the life and people they encountered. Most of the men who worked seasonally on excavations in Iraq and Syria came from poor, Bedouin backgrounds. The foreign projects thus presented an important additional income to these communities and employment was eagerly sought after (see Chapter One), but overseeing such a large workforce could prove challenging for archaeologists.

There were a number of positions available for the men, depending on their skill and experience, either working with a pick-axe or simply shifting the soil to the dump heaps. In addition to a weekly wage workers could also earn extra money by reporting objects found, either as they were unearthed, sifting through the excavated soil, or even just walking over the site. A workforce of usually at least 200 men (not counting any children roaming the site) was too large to supervise effectively by the small Western teams. Archaeologists were aware of the temptation to pocket precious objects and found a range of methods to counter theft which was assumed to be a natural impulse for most of the workers. Woolley made it his policy to pay the local antiquities market rate for objects reported to him, thus making it more attractive for the workers to be honest than to be found stealing. In areas of mixed populations, archaeologists like Claude Schaeffer (1898–1982), working at Ras Shamra/Ugarit in Syria made sure their teams consisted of a combination of ethnicities or religions to monitor each other.[72] In his long article for *The National Geographic Magazine* Schaeffer

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[70] C. Leonard Woolley, 'Excavating at Ur of the Chaldees. The Men Who Do the Work', *The Times*, 23 December 1924c, 13.

[71] Woolley 1934, 8–11.

[72] Claude F. A. Schaeffer, 'Secrets from Syrian Hills. Explorations Reveal World's Earliest Known Alphabet, Deciphered from Schoolboy Slates and Dictionaries of 3,000 Years Ago', *The National Geographic Magazine*, July 1933, 97–126. 'Planted among the other workers, these Turkomans, I felt sure, would report to me any theft made by their religious enemies [the Alawis]' (p. 100).

explained how his divide-and-rule approach was supported by creating a panoptic view of the excavation (Figure 3.3).[73]

Standing on a tall triangular wooden tower, Schaeffer kept a close watch on his workforce. As the caption to the photograph explained,

> though the 250 native workers, soldiers, and prisoners displayed habitual good humor, constant diligence was needed to prevent careless handling of precious ancient objects unearthed. From this "eye," photographs of the excavations were made.[74]

The surveying colonial gaze was thus interconnected with innovations in archaeological method. Photographs taken from a perpendicular angle were a fairly new development in archaeology and not easy to achieve for the large areas exposed during excavation.[75] Schaeffer's work as a French archaeologist in Mandate-period Syria was made possible by the same kind of old boy's network as that which enabled Woolley's work in Iraq. Schaeffer did not explain where the prisoners came from and whether they were paid for their work, nor how much the more than 250-strong workforce received. While he probably profited from having large numbers of men available, there was no way to adequately train them, nor was this deemed necessary. Alluding to their inherent good humour speaks to the infantilization of 'Oriental' races explored in Chapter Two, which made them appear incapable of fully understanding their situation as colonised or prisoners in constant need of supervision.

Figure 3.3. Claude Schaeffer on his panoptic tower at Ugarit, circa 1933
© Fonds Schaeffer, Collège de France

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73 On Schaeffer see Jean Vercoutter, 'Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Claude Schaeffer-Forrer, membre de l'Académie', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 133/1 (1989), 178–188. In his autobiography *L'aventure archéologique* (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1979), Parrot recounts a similar approach to Schaeffer's during his work at Tello/Girsu, which he called 'bakchich et surveillance' (p. 73). Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976); *idem*, *Archaeology of Knowledge,* transl. by A. M. Sheridan (London: Routledge, 2002).

74 Schaeffer 1933, p. 126.

75 See the contributions in Scott Redford (ed.), *Antioch on the Orontes: Early explorations in the city of mosaics = Asi'deki Antakya: mozaikler şehrinde ilk araştırmalar* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2014).

The Silver Ribbon

The non-white races were not only often deemed less intelligent, but, as Chapter Two has shown, were equated with the female sex as servile to the male. The Oriental races, as Keith's research had indicated, furthermore never changed. This trope of the unchanging yet simultaneously decaying Orient as a subject of the male gaze is thus exemplified by the image of the ancient and contemporary woman.[76] Commentators readily took up Woolley's account of the silver ribbon, introduced in Chapter Two. While I have generally focused on material created by archaeologists the story around this object neatly illustrates the appeal archaeology had for commentators in a range of media.

Woolley's thoughts on the young sacrificial flapper inspired an anonymous contributor to *Punch* to compose a poem, entitled 'The Silver Ribbon'.[77] The main protagonist, a young maid, is about to be married when the Queen dies. 'Little Moon' is unsure whether she should join the other maidens, yet 'Her Queen's appeal, her playmates' call/compel her to the temple hall'. Putting on 'the scarlet gown, but not the ribbon crown', she takes the 'poppy passport to the land of stars' and falls asleep, 'still nursing in her hand/a coil of silver band.'[78] This story of flighty maidens, late for their own sacrifice, fed into to interwar ideas of the 'flapper'.[79] Many more press articles focused on the discovery of make-up in the graves, the masses of jewellery and other items of personal adornment. They painted a picture of unchanging female behaviour characterised by fickleness and vanity, combined with an 'Oriental' propensity for violence and debauchery as evidenced by the practice of human sacrifice.[80]

In addition to the *Punch* poem, Woolley's story crossed over to yet another medium: the cartoon. This brings in once again the intermedial character of

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[76] Linda Nochlin, 'The Imaginary Orient', in *The Politics of Vision. Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 33–59.

[77] 'The Silver Ribbon', *Punch*, 20 August 1930, 215.

[78] The 'poppy passport' referred to the theory that the victims of human sacrifice had ingested an opium-based drink putting them to sleep.

[79] Simon 2017; Bingham 2004; 2013.

[80] I am grateful to Alessandro Pezzati of the Penn Museum Archive for sharing some of the American articles with me, which appeared under headlines such as 'Science Unearths the "Flapper" of 6,000 Years Ago', Copyright 1925 American Weekly, published in various newspapers, on 15 November 1925; 'A Princess of 3,000 BC: What Science Has Discovered About the Personal Adornment of Chaldean Ladies', *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch Sunday Magazine*, 28 September 1930. These were illustrated with photographs and illustrations and, in the case of the latter article, showed a 'flapper' putting on makeup in front of a mirror. Her pose is reminiscent of paintings such as *Le Rouge à Lèvres* (Centre national d'art et de culture Georges-Pompidou, AM 4167 P, 1908) by the Czech painter and illustrator František Kupka (1871–1957). This further played on voices criticising flapper girls' use of make-up and connected this practice to prostitution. See also Catherine Horwood, *Keeping up Appearances. Fashion and Class Between the Wars* (Stroud: Sutton, 2005), pp. 66–69, for the slow change in attitudes during the period.

archaeology and emphasising that, as Patrick Parrinder has pointed out, archaeological discoveries proved so fascinating for the public because they combined 'something immeasurably ancient and something completely new'.[81] In his cartoon 'The Flapper of Ur' for the *Evening Standard*, David Low (1891–1963) captioned: 'So you see, whatever else changes, the ways of women remain the same' (Figure 3.4).[82]

This image has been removed due to copyright reasons

Figure 3.4. 'The Flapper of Ur', David Low, *Evening Standard*, 5 July 1930, 3[83]
© Associated Newspapers Ltd. / Solo Syndication

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an insight into the important place archaeology occupied in the interwar press landscape. The research presented here has demonstrated the prominence of archaeological reporting in the Middle East compared to other regions in the pages of *The Illustrated London News*. While digitisation has opened new avenues for research, this chapter has also highlighted some of the limitations of working through online platforms.

Combining a thorough analysis of a specific time period with archival research has shown that archaeologists publicised their work by writing for specific audiences, and with various goals in mind. As research at *The Times* archive has shown, these goals were not limited to communicating with the public or one's peers but had additional significance for archaeologists' lives. Woolley and his peers formulated detailed press strategies and adapted their output to the wide range of publications they wrote for, often rephrasing stories multiple times for their audiences. Archaeology really lent itself well to this intermedial treatment. Writing about discoveries of golden spears and silver ribbons in combination with fieldwork methods such as photographic recording or conservation allowed them to find the familiar in the past, making their writing

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81 Parrinder here refers to the rock drawings found in southern France, dating to the Upper Palaeolithic period, but I believe this applies to other cultures as well. Patrick Parrinder, 'Science and Knowledge at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: Versions of the Modern Enlightenment', in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Literature*, ed. by Laura Marcus and Peter Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 9–29, p. 29. Nicholas 2012; Michael Stamm, 'The Sound of Print. Newspapers and the Public Promotion of Early Radio Broadcasting in the United States', in *Sound in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* ed. by David Suisman and Susan Strasser (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2010), 221–241.

82 No articles or notices mentioning Ur or archaeology in general were published on this date in the *Evening Standard*. David Low, 'The Flapper of Ur', *Evening Standard*, 5 July 1930, ©Associated Newspapers Ltd. / Solo Syndication. On David Low see Colin Seymour-Ure, 'Low, Sir David Alexander Cecil (1891–1963)', online edition, *ODNB*, 2008. Bingham 2002.

83 Source of the cartoon: British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent, DL0404, David Low, *Evening Standard*, 5 July 1930, 3. https://www.cartoons.ac.uk/index.html [Accessed 23 January 2019].

immediately relevant for their audiences. Archaeology's inherent malleability to various media is furthermore attested in the ease with which information criss-crossed between books, newspapers and magazines, cartoons and, as the next chapter will show, radio broadcasts.

4. '… merely an admirable field worker…': Archaeologists on the BBC

The Ziggurat and Temenos
(With apologies to Dr. Woolley's interesting Broadcast on his discoveries at Ur, and to Lewis Carroll.)

The Ziggurat and Temenos
Stood in an Urrish land;
They wept like anything to see
Such quantities of sand.
"If this were only cleared away,"
They said, "it would be grand."

"If Dr. Leonard Woolley, now,
Swept us for half-a-year,
I wonder," said the Ziggurat,
"If that would get us clear?"
"I doubt it," said the Temenos,
And shed a bitter tear.[1]

Introduction

This chapter continues my exploration of archaeologists' engagement with the British public by looking at their output on the airwaves. The new medium of wireless grew up alongside the Ur excavations, and Leonard Woolley recognised the potential of this new form of communication at an early stage. Researching early broadcasting, however, means working with absences. Few recordings of the years before the Second World War survive, and radio historians have remarked for some time on the 'inescapable paradox' that the object of one's study no longer exists.[2] Both Josephine Dolan and Kate Lacey have warned against a fetishization of the absent sound archive and encourage radio historians to acknowledge the importance of written and visual sources.[3] They point out that there are no 'complete' archives and it is part of the remit of the historian to try to fill in the gaps. Similarly, Sîan Nicolas reminds us of the importance of cross-disciplinary or intermedial research because (paraphrasing Mark Pegg) newspapers assumed that 'readers had already heard the news'.[4] Indeed, as the *Punch* poem introducing this chapter shows, we can look beyond the narrowly defined archive and find traces of one medium in another.

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1 *Punch*, 26 April 1933, 455.
2 Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff, *A Social History of British Broadcasting. Volume I. 1922–1939. Serving the Nation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. xiii.
3 Josephine Dolan, 'The Voice That Cannot Be Heard', *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, 1/1 (2003), 63–72; Kate Lacey, 'Radio's Vernacular Modernism: The Schedule as Modernist Text', *Media History* 24/2 (2018a), 166–179, p. 168.
4 Nicholas 2012; Mark Pegg, *Broadcasting and Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), p. 151. On the issue of news broadcasting by the BBC see below.

This chapter, then, relies on a range of primary textual sources. After providing an overview of the foundation of the BBC and its internal structure, as far as it is relevant for the understanding of archaeological programming, I will give a broad overview of the breadth of archaeological programmes during the interwar period to contextualise the place occupied by Leonard Woolley and archaeology in the Middle East more broadly. In the absence of original recordings, the BBC magazines *The Radio Times* and *The Listener* are important sources for programme schedules and printed talks. I have accessed these resources online and the research presented here is subject to the same limitations as discussed in Chapter Three. The *BBC Genome Project* provides access to *The Radio Times* schedules and I have supplemented the data gathered there by using microfilm copies of *The Radio Times* in the British Library (Southern Edition) to access other content (from the first issue on 28 September 1923 until the end of January 1940).[5] *The Listener* is available on the *Gale Cengage* platform and I have looked through all issues (page by page instead of keyword searches) for the period January 1929 (first issue) to January 1940. The chapter will conclude with a detailed look at Leonard Woolley's programmes by engaging with the BBC's archival sources. The BBC's Written Archive Centre (BBC WAC) holds the correspondence between archaeologists and BBC staff as well as internal communication. As I will show by the example of Leonard Woolley, archaeology occupied an important place in the BBC's scientific programming, reflected in the number of talks he gave and the fees he was able to negotiate for his appearances. How his work in the field influenced his relationship with the broadcaster over the years provides an important link to the boundary-work undertaken by archaeologists themselves as discussed in Chapter One.

Archaeology and the BBC, 1922–1939

The immediacy of live, unrecorded sound and the act of listening have often been linked to the perceived acceleration of the pace of modern and especially urban life. This has led to a characterisation of broadcasting as one of the defining expressions of culture in the West after the Great War, both by contemporaries and by historians.[6] As most technologies, however, broadcasting was only one of the results of previous developments, most importantly Giuglielmo Marconi's first patent for wireless

[5] https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk [accessed 10 December 2019].

[6] Parrinder 2005,p. 19–20. Emily Thompson, 'Sound, Modernity and History' in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Michael Bull (London: Routledge, 2012), 117–129. Rebeccca Scales, *Radio and the Politics of Sound in Interwar France, 1921–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 10.

telegraphy, granted in Britain in 1896.[7] During the First World War, this technology was mainly used for military communication. Only in 1922 did the number of applications for broadcasting licences by competing wireless set manufacturers lead the Post Office to propose what was effectively the creation of a monopoly with the establishment of the British Broadcasting Company. This particularity of the British case has resulted in an overlap between institutional histories of the BBC and radio/broadcasting studies,[8] sound studies,[9] auditory culture studies,[10] media studies,[11] and a number of further fields engaging with radio content such as musicology, histories of education, sports, politics, religion, science and so forth.[12] It is therefore crucial to define my aims and methods for this chapter as taking a narrow look at one particular aspect of broadcasting in the interwar period in Britain. While applying a historian's approach to analysing archival and published sources, I am fully aware of the almost limitless other disciplinary roads not taken.

Very little has been said about archaeology during the early years of the BBC, and what does exist consists almost invariably of fleeting references in (auto)-biographies or memoirs, or short paragraphs in articles dealing with archaeology's very successful (re-)establishment on TV in the 1950s.[13] Perhaps the success of post-war TV

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[7] Giorgio Dragoni, 'Marconi, Giuglielmo', online edition, *ODNB*, 2004. It is outside the scope of this chapter to explore the technological development in detail, see also Peter Scott, *The Market Makers. Creating Mass Markets for Consumers in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 131–179.

[8] Hugh Chignell, *Key Concepts in Radio Studies* (London: Sage Publications, 2009).

[9] Michael Bull (ed.), *Sound Studies. Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, Vols. I–IV (London: Routledge, 2013); Trevor Pinch and Karin Bijsterveld, *The Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[10] Kate Lacey, 'Towards a Periodization of Listening: Radio and Modern Life', *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 3/2 (2000), 279–288; *eadem,* 'Listening Overlooked. An Audit of Listening as a Category in the Public Sphere' in Bull 2013, Vol. II, 38–54. Brian Kane, 'Sound studies without auditory culture: a critique of the ontological turn', *Sound Studies* 1/1 (2015), 2–21; Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past. Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003).

[11] Nicholas 2012.

[12] Broadcasting took very different directions in various nations after the Great War. In the US, there were mostly commercial radio stations with very minimal state or federal regulations; France suffered from the instable political situation with frequently changing governments, and in Germany the federal structure of the state had a significant influence. A transnational comparison, both with the US and continental stations, is out of the scope of this chapter. See, e.g., Maurice Gorham, *Forty Years of Irish Broadcasting* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1967); Robert E. Peck, 'Policy and Control – A Case Study: German Broadcasting 1923–1933' *Media, Culture and Society* 4/3–4 (1983), 349–372; Jim Cox, *American Radio Networks. A History* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 2009); Konrad Dussel, *Deutsche Rundfunkgeschichte*, 3rd edition (Konstanz: UVK-Verlags-Gesellschaft, 2010); Scales 2016.

[13] See, however, Perry 2017 for an important corrective to this narrative, which emphasises the gatekeeping exercises these early films performed both for the discipline as well as the BBC. Amanda Wrigley's *Greece on Air. Engagements with Ancient Greece on BBC Radio, 1920s–1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) explores the broadcasting of classical writings and plays. Despite asserting that 'an important strand within the idea of the nation's cultural heritage was the ancient world', Wrigley mentions archaeology only as an aside, thus neglecting how information presented by archaeologists interacted with the interpretation of ancient texts. This dearth of research into archaeology and early radio was noted already by Timothy Clack and Marcus Brittain. 'Introduction', in *Archaeology and the Media*, ed. by *eidem* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), p. 14.

programmes such as *Buried Treasure* or *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* and the personalities of Mortimer Wheeler and Glyn Daniel have overshadowed precursor programmes such as Woolley's 'Digging up the Past' in 1930 and others as explored below.[14]

My research therefore relies on secondary literature treating other aspects of BBC broadcasting. Most useful here has been Allan Jones' work on the natural sciences and the BBC. His thesis remains one of only a handful of sustained analyses of the BBC's science programming in the period and provides an important view on an under-researched subject. In defining science popularization (on the air) as a type of boundary work, Jones's work draws an important parallel to my exploration of similar processes in archaeology in the interwar period as well as to the function of BBC staff in restricting access to the microphone.[15] His difficulty in identifying 'scientific' output based on the schedules is mirrored in my research concerning archaeological programmes.[16] Yet the numbers he has compiled for the most prominent speakers show that archaeology was not far behind science, as I shall discuss further below.[17]

The particularity of Britain's broadcasting world with its single institution (at least on British soil) can be a double-edged sword for the researcher. While on the one it hand simplifies and streamlines a historical narrative, there is, on the other hand, the danger of confusing the history of the medium with the history of the institution.[18] The foundation and development of the British Broadcasting Company/Corporation have been comprehensively covered by many historians, most importantly by Asa Briggs in his five-volume *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom*, published between 1961 and 1995.[19] Of almost equal impact has been Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff's

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14 Glyn Daniel, the presenter of *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral*, acknowledged Woolley's and other's role in early broadcasting but identified his own series *The Archaeologist*, begun in 1946, as the factor that 'really put archaeological broadcasting on the B.B.C. map'. Daniel, 1954, p. 201.

15 Allan Clive Jones, *Speaking of Science. BBC Science Broadcasting and its Critics, 1923–64* (UCL, unpublished PhD thesis, 2010), p. 64. 2010, p. 25–26.

16 Jones 2010, p. 98.

17 'Among the more celebrated scientific broadcasters were physicist J. Arthur Thomson (twenty broadcasts between 1925 and 1932), psychologist Cyril Burt (around forty broadcasts from 1927 to 1933), physicist Oliver Lodge (over fifteen broadcasts between 1923 and 1934) and zoologist D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (six broadcasts in May and July 1927).' Jones 2010, p. 87.

18 Kate Lacey, 'Radio in the Great Depression. Promotional Culture, Public Service, and Propaganda', in *Radio Reader. Essays in the Cultural History of Radio*, ed. by Michele Hilmes and Jason Loviglio (New York: Routledge, 2002), 21–40, p. 22; *eadem*, 'Up in the Air? The Matter of Radio Studies', *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 16/2 (2018b), 109–126, p. 114.

19 Asa Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom, Volumes I–V* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961–1995).

exploration of the BBC's interaction with society, while there exists moreover a large field of both technological as well as historical studies.[20]

It is important to remember that the BBC, which first broadcast in November 1922 from one of the stations previously managed by the Marconi Company (2LO), was initially a commercial enterprise. The Company was to be funded by an annual license fee of 10s. and the sale of wireless parts and sets. Both of these revenue streams had to be shared with the Post Office, which issued the broadcasting license to the BBC and was the overseeing government agency. The initial staff of four was managed by John Reith (1889–1971) and most staff members fulfilled a number of functions such as engineer, announcer, or news-reader.[21] By 1923 600,000 licenses had been issued, rising to over two million by the end of 1926, five million by 1932 and nine million by 1939.[22] In 1926, upon the recommendation of the Crawford Committee (the second of a number of committees to reassess broadcasting and the role of the BBC since its inception) the company was converted into a corporation, effective from January 1927. A renewable Royal Charter and Agreement laid out its relationship to the government. After incorporation in 1927, John Reith became the first Director General of the new corporation.

The technical developments of the BBC stations are outside of the scope of this chapter. Suffice it to say that from 1923 on, the BBC had transmitters in various cities and relay stations in others to extend the transmitters' range. This network developed quickly during the 1920s and 1930s and stations broadcast both locally produced material (covering the full range of music, talks, news, light entertainment and so forth) as well as transmissions from London. This city-based organisation was gradually transferred to a regional system in the later 1920s. Allan Jones has summarised it as follows:

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[20] Scannell and Cardiff 1991. See also Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff, 'Serving the Nation. Public Service Broadcasting Before the War' in *Popular Culture, Past and Present. A Reader*, ed. by Bernard Waites, Tony Bennett and Graham Martin (London: Routledge, 1989), 161–188; Paddy Scannell, 'Technology and Utopia. British Radio in the 1920s', in *Die Idee des Radios. Von den Anfängen in Europa und den USA bis 1933*, ed. by Edgard Lersch and Helmut Schanze (Konstanz, UVK Verlags-Gesellschaft, 2004), 83–93. Seán Street, *Crossing the Ether: Pre-War Public Service Radio and Commercial Competition in the UK* (Eastleigh: John Libbey, 2006); Brian Hennessy, *The Emergence of Broadcasting in Britain*, ed. by John Hennessy (Lympstone: Southerleigh, 2005).

[21] Reith's influence on the institution has been immense, even meriting its own adjective. The 'Reithian' principles of broadcasting rested on an Arnoldian understanding of culture and informed the BBC's mission to educate, inform and entertain by giving the public something better than what it thought it wanted. John Charles Walsham Reith, *Broadcast Over Britain* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924), p. 34.

[22] Simon James Potter, *Broadcasting Empire: The BBC and the British World, 1922–1970* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 25; Overy, 2009, pp. 375–377. Crisell 1997, p. 16. The number of 600,000 licenses in 1923 is taken from Asa Briggs, *The BBC. The Fist Fifty Years* (Oxford. Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 56. Potter gives 80,000 licenses in 1923.

> The National service originated for the most part in London, and was heard throughout the UK. The Regional service originated largely in London and other Regions contributed to it. Parts of the London Regional output were included in the Regional service in other Regions. Thus, outside London, programmes carried by the Regional service would mostly have originated in London, but parts might have originated in the local region, or in another region. To complicate matters further, the National service itself was subject to a certain amount of regional variation, although this was relatively small.[23]

In addition, the BBC Empire Service started broadcasting in 1932 (and became the BBC World Service in 1965).[24] Upon the outbreak of war, the National Service was renamed the Home Service and the Regional Service was replaced with the Forces Service, which became the Light Programme from 1945 until 1967 (when it became Radio 2). The Third Programme (later Radio 3) first started broadcasting in 1946, the same year BBC television restarted after a break during the war.[25]

During the 1920s and 1930s BBC departmental structure underwent various changes. After incorporation in 1927, Assistant Controllers oversaw Engineering, Administration and Programming divisions. The latter was in turn divided into Departments for Talks, Education, Music and Productions.[26] The Talks Department furthermore encompassed the news section as well as adult education, which in 1931

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23 Jones 2010, p. 64. Robert Giddings, 'Radio in Peace and War', in *Literature and Culture in Modern Britain. Vol. 2, 1930–1955*, ed. by Gary Day (Harlow: Longman, 1997), 132–162, p. 135.

24 Jacquie Kavanagh, 'BBC Archives at Caversham', *Contemporary Record* 6/2 (1992), 341–349, p. 344. It is unfortunately out of the scope of this thesis to explore how and if archaeology played any role in Iraqi broadcasting before the Second World War. I have not found any reference to this in the literature. According to Ahmed K. Al-Rawi, the first broadcast in Iraq occurred on 22 March 1932, and Baghdad Radio began its work on 10 June 1936, regulated by the Iraqi Telegraph and Mail General Administration. Ahmed K. Al-Rawi, *Media Practice in Iraq* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 14–15. Simon Potter does not provide any details for Iraq in his exploration of the Mandate areas. The Empire Service was within the reach of short-wave receivers, but these were expensive and presumably only reached a small section of society. Potter 2012, pp. 79–81. By the 1930s there were stations such as Radio Damascus, the Egyptian State Broadcasting Service, Radio Orient in Beirut, the Palestine Broadcasting Service and an 'intermittently broadcasting station in Mosul'. Andrea L. Stanton, *"This is Jerusalem Calling." State Radio in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013), p. 8. James R. Vaughan, 'The BBC's External Services and the Middle East before the Suez Crisis', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 28/4 (2008), 499–514; Marie Gillespie and Alban Webb (eds.), *Diasporas and Diplomacy. Cosmopolitan Contact Zones at the BBC World Service (1932–2012)* (London: Routledge, 2013); The BBC's Arabic broadcasts began in 1938. 'The Arabic Broadcasts', *The Listener*, 12 January 1938, 66.

25 Jones 2010, Briggs 1970.

26 The education department was responsible for school and children's broadcasting, 'music' only meant classical, while productions encompassed variety, radio drama and contemporary music. I will focus here on the talks department. For music see e.g. Jennifer R. Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922–1936. Shaping a Nation's Tastes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Alexandra Wilson, *Opera in the Jazz Age. Cultural Politics in 1920s Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019). School broadcasting began in 1924 (in Scotland) and the programmes were often accompanied by pamphlets and further reading material. Kavanagh 1992, p. 348. Asa Briggs 1961; 1965 and Jones 2010, pp. 66–67.

became a separate department, only to be re-integrated into talks in 1932 as a sub-division, and the two were fully merged in 1934.[27] Producers in the Talks Department – also called Talks Assistants – commissioned programmes dealing with anything from poetry readings to talks about birdsong and the latest developments in science, as well as debates and interviews on politics, economics and religion, but – in contrast to other departments – they did not produce their own content. That is to say, there were no lecturers employed by the BBC and members of the talks department did not usually take to the microphone themselves.[28] Instead, contributors received a contract for one or several talks, and fees and expenses were agreed on an individual basis. By relying solely on external speakers, the BBC placed great emphasis on the expert voice rather than on journalistic popularization, while executing what Allan Jones has identified as its 'gatekeeping' function. Of course, the question of who counted as an archaeological expert was under debate in the interwar period, as Crawford and others performed their own gatekeeping roles for the discipline (see Chapter One).[29] In early broadcasting as in archaeology, informal networks and connections played a crucial role in shaping the field, and senior Talks staff were very well connected.

The Talks Department's first director, Hilda Matheson (1888–1940), shaped BBC policy on talks programming as well as broadcasting technique well past her own lifetime.[30] During her tenure from 1926 until 1931 'she "made" the Talks Department…', after it had been regarded 'almost with contempt' before her arrival.[31] Her network of connections in political as well as cultural circles stemmed from her work as Lady Astor's political secretary in 1919–1926 and certainly also her intelligence work during the War.[32] She is not only credited with bringing a wide range of regular and occasional broadcasters to the BBC but also with developing 'the intimate mode of address'.[33]

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27 Jones 2010, p. 67. News became an independent department only in 1934. Andrew Crisell, *An Introductory History of British Broadcasting* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 26.

28 There were of course exceptions. Allan Jones, 'Mary Adams and the Producer's Role in Early BBC Science Broadcasts', *Public Understanding of Science* 21/8 (2012), 968–983. Perry 2017, pp. 6–8.

29 Jones 2010, pp. 40–42.

30 Hilda Matheson, *Broadcasting* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1933); Michael Carney, *Stoker. The Life of Hilda Matheson OBE, 1888–1940* (Llangynog: Michael Carney, 1999); Fred Hunter, 'Matheson, Hilda', online edition, *ODNB*, 2012.

31 Richard S. Lambert, *Ariel and All His Quality. An Impression of the B.B.C. From Within* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1940), p. 63; Carney 1999, p. 25. Lambert, *The Listener's* first editor, had connected with archaeological circles during a gap year, part of which he had spent at the British School of Archaeology in Athens, participating in the Mount Ida excavations.

32 She was furthermore friends or at least acquainted with George David Hogarth, as whose secretary she acted briefly prior to the War. Carney 1999, p. 19.

33 Hugh Chignell, *Public Issue Radio. Talks, News and Current Affairs in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 13–14.

Unravelling this seemingly succinct description – with the aim of understanding what made some archaeologists more successful speakers than others – reveals a number of aspects to consider. Scannell and Cardiff's characterisation that broadcasting technique as understood by the Talks Department was easily summarized as 'conversational in tone rather than declamatory, intimate rather than intimidating', with 'the personality of speakers shin[ing] through their words', is deceptively simple. All talks at a time of exclusively live broadcasting were scripted and Talks staff spent considerable effort on editing scripts and advising speakers.[34] But ultimately what made a good script remained under debate until well into the Fifties, as 'writing for the ear' was intimately connected to the speaker's delivery as well as to content, topicality and timeliness.[35] In 1929 Desmond McCarthy explained in the *B.B.C. Handbook* that a speaker should imagine that, although the audience would be larger than any ever assembled, he (and he invariably referred to a male speaker) was addressing them 'one by one'. The speaker might want to think of the occasion as a social one, the listener and his family assembled in the living-room (Figure 4.1).[36] As such, it would not do to speak as if one were talking in a lecture hall, on stage or on a pulpit, and it seems that many lecturers found it hard to realise that their voice was 'the only medium of conveying their personality to the listener'.[37] 'Be yourself, whatever limitations that implies. It is safer', advised McCarthy.[38]

This image has been removed due to copyright reasons

Figure 4.1. The cover of *The Radio Times* for 8 September 1933
© Immediate Media Company

A third aspect of broadcasting talks was of course the subject. Above all, it had to be topical. The BBC carefully separated topicality from newsworthiness and defined it as 'something dealing with the moment or which has just occurred', such as an archaeological excavation, whereas the death of a celebrity or the eruption of a volcano

34 Hunter 2012; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, p. 162.

35 Philip E. Vernon, 'The Intelligibility of Broadcast Talks', *The B.B.C. Quarterly* V/4 (Winter 1950–51), 206–212.

36 Desmond McCarthy, 'The Art of Broadcasting Talks', *B.B.C. Handbook* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1929), 223–225. Only by 1931 were most radio sets were fitted with loudspeakers as opposed to headphones, which enabled communal listening.

37 Edward Lieving, 'The Technique of Broadcasting', *Discovery* VII/77 (May 1926), 184–185. Lieving, at the time Manchester Station Director, was a regular contributor to this popular science magazine.

38 McCarthy 1929, p. 224. The BBC also required its speakers to take a voice test. There was of course also the very important aspect of regional and class accents and dialects to consider. Lynda Mugglestone, 'Spoken English and the BBC. In the Beginning', *AAA: Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 33/2 (2008), 197–216.

fell into the news category.[39] And, 'to be successful, broadcast talks ought to break new ground … and be provocative of further thought.'[40] In his article on Mary Adams, a science producer in the Talks Department, Jones identifies a further aspect of successful talks. Adams judged that programmes 'which explained what scientists did were more successful than talks aimed at conveying what scientists knew', as most listeners would not possess enough background knowledge to follow complicated theoretical developments.[41] I believe this also applies exceptionally well to archaeology. Woolley's *Digging up the Past* series, discussed further below, is a direct example of this approach, and looking at broadcasting through this lens goes a long way to explain the series' success on the air and subsequently as a book.[42]

Intermedial aspects of broadcasting

As I have indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the intermedial connection between the spoken and the printed word was of great importance, and in her thesis on broadcasting magazines, Julia Taylor emphasises the value placed by the BBC on the legitimisation of the broadcast word through print.[43] Due to the initial refusal of newspapers to print the schedule, the BBC recognised the importance of publishing its own magazine.[44] During the early years the BBC deliberately avoided regular programming slots in order to stimulate listeners and prevent 'lazy' listening, rendering it essential to secure the audience's access to programme listings.[45] *The Radio*

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39 *B.B.C. Handbook*, 1928, p. 126.

40 'The New Talks Programme', *The Listener*, 16 January 1929, 20.

41 Jones 2012, p. 975.

42 Kate Lacey remarks that 'radio moved from the transmission of events already happening in the world to … proactively programm[ing] those events.' Lacey 2018a, p. 173. Here, too, one can follow this trajectory from Woolley's talks (via programmes in the late Forties and Fifties) through to *Time Team*, broadcast on Channel 4 from 1994 to 2014. See also Peter Fowler, 'Not Archaeology and the Media', in *Archaeology and the Media,* ed. by Timothy Clack and Marcus Brittain (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), 89–108, although I would dispute the author's assertion that 'the media are far more important to archaeology… than archaeology is to the media' (p. 89). As Chapters Three and Four demonstrate, the popularity of archaeology ensured a steady demand by producers, editors and journalists alike who recognised the discipline's contribution to attracting readers and listeners. Kathryn Rogers in her study on archaeology and documentary filmmaking shows that archaeology, specifically fieldwork, was taken up by cinematographers 'within two years of cinema's arrival', further demonstrating the universal appeal of the discipline and its methods. Rogers 2019, p. 112.

43 Julia Taylor, *From Sound to Print in Pre-war Britain. The Cultural and Commercial Interdependence Between Broadcasters and Broadcasting Magazines in the 1930s* (Bournemouth University: unpublished PhD Thesis, 2013). pp. 99; 187. A further factor contributing to the importance of its publishing output for the BBC was that, in contrast to the licensing fee, the advertising and sales revenue derived from it did not have to be shared with the Post Office.

44 This is detailed in most institutional histories, e.g. Briggs 1961, Crisell 1997 and others. Similar battles had to be fought with theatre owners and other representatives of production companies over the employment of actors and the broadcasting of theatre performances.

45 This policy was abandoned by 1934 by the latest, after the findings of the Programme Revision Committee had recommended the regular scheduling of items. Giddings 1997, p. 136.

Times,[46] published from September 1923, thus forms one of my main primary sources, not only for identifying programmes but also for accessing transcripts of some of the early broadcasts occasionally published in the magazine before the launch of *The Listener* in 1929. *The Radio Times* 'became an immediate circulation phenomenon' at the initial price of 2d., reaching well over 1,300,000 readers by the end of the 1920s. It was initially published in cooperation with the publisher George Newnes and was first edited by Leonard Crocombe, who was also in charge of the magazine *Tit-Bits*.[47] This cooperation ended in 1926, when the BBC took over full editorial responsibility.[48]

Speakers often published their talks in book or pamphlet form to great success, and with its own magazines the BBC tapped into this market.[49] With the creation of *The Listener, The Radio Times* gradually ceased publishing talks already broadcast. *The Listener* – initially associated with the BBC's Adult Education mission – was successfully launched with 50,000 copies (also at the price of 2d.). It was, according to Mark Pegg, 'aimed directly at a select and influential section of society, committed to better relationships by informing and eliciting a critical response.'[50] Under its first editor, Richard S. Lambert, the magazine worked closely with the talks department and aimed to be 'more than a guide, or reference book', but rather 'a literary product'.[51] Book reviews, previews and other articles were thus published in addition to the talks to merit this distinction. This policy was also seen to have an unwanted effect on talks, as it was the editor's opinion that there should be no further editing so that listeners might read a lecture as it had been broadcast. Hilda Matheson supported this but 'feared that the

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46 The definite article was dropped in 1937. Martin Baker, *Artists of Radio Times. A Golden Age of British Illustration* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2002), p. 24; Tony Currie, *The Radio Times Story* (Tiverton: Kelly, 2001).

47 Anthony Quinn, 'Magazines and Periodicals'. In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume VII, The Twentieth Century and Beyond*, ed. by Andrew Nash, Claire Squires, and I. R. Willison (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019), 528–54.

48 The Publishing Department not only oversaw the magazines but also the production of pamphlets and other material to accompany children's and adult education. I will here focus on printed talks, specifically in *The Radio Times* and *The Listener*. Pamphlets are occasionally mentioned in the literature, usually without illustration or further exploration (nor are any preserved in Woolley's contributor file at the BBC WAC). Kavanagh 1992, p. 346; Wrigley 2016, p. 4. See (albeit on American broadcasting) Katie Day Good, 'Radio's Forgotten Visuals', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 23/2 (2016), 364–368. LeMahieu 1988, pp. 152–153. Leonard Crocombe, 'Ten Years Ago', *The Radio Times*, 29 September 1933, 722.

49 Talks were occasionally also printed in newspapers. James Friday, 'The Braggs and Broadcasting', *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* 47 (1974), 59–85, p. 61. See also Kavanagh 1992.

50 Pegg 1983, p. 106. Lambert 1940, p. 90. It must of course be remembered that who it was aimed at and who actually read it might not be matching categories. It reached a circulation of 150,000 by the late 1940s. Stefan Collini, *Absent Minds. Intellectuals in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 443.

51 Lambert, 1940, p. 115.

knowledge that their talks were to be reproduced in *The Listener* would make broadcasters, consciously or unconsciously, write their scripts in a "literary" style.'[52]

The Listener occupies an awkward place in scholarship, as Debra Cohen has noted.[53] This lies as much in its 'intermedial' status as an archive, supplement, promotional pamphlet or Baedeker of spoken material as in the competing demands on it made by the various BBC departments involved. Its status as a depository has led to scholarly neglect of this magazine (despite a 62-year run) and thus a lack of contextual positioning within the wider magazine and periodical landscape of the interwar period (and of course beyond). As Cohen points out, despite *The Listener's* commitment to printing talks as they had been broadcast, in practice printing and layout deadlines often meant that the editors had to work with preliminary versions as lecturers were usually unable to submit a final copy well ahead of time. This was because the printed version was meant to appear in the same week as the broadcast (or at the latest the week after) so as to guarantee topicality as defined above.[54]

Both *The Radio Times* and *The Listener* strived for topicality and an up-to-date look, employing illustrative material. Again, very little research seems to be available on either publication, but *The Radio Times* has been called a leading magazine for graphic illustration.[55] Taylor dates the start of this trend to the beginning of Maurice Gorham's tenure as editor in 1933. Gorham had been working with the BBC since the early years and had risen to the editorship through the ranks, most notably via a position as Art Editor.[56] However, Taylor does not pursue this theme in greater detail and, while it has attracted some attention, broadcasting magazines seldom form part of the debate on pictorials and photojournalism in the interwar period. The main purpose of the images used in *The Radio Times* was to 'give the listener some idea of what types of programmes they are, and to make him want to hear them'.[57] To this aim, the magazine relied not only on the BBC's picture library for portraits of regular contributors, but also commissioned new illustrations. It seems, however, rarely to have used photographs

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52 Lambert 1940, pp. 110–111. Lambert does not elaborate on what Matheson did to counteract this impulse. I'm grateful to Allan Jones for pointing out that it is likely (although difficult to evidence) that articles were routinely abridged, as a talk of twenty minutes or more would have taken up considerable space in the magazine (Allan Jones, pers. comm.).

53 Debra Cohen, 'Intermediality and the Problem of the Listener', *Modernism/Modernity* 19/3 (2012), 569–592.

54 According to Cohen, it was Lambert who insisted on editing talks 'to eliminate the signposts of radio intimacy', and Matheson who was opposed to this. I have been unable to resolve this contradiction in interpretation between Lambert and Cohen. Cohen 2012, pp. 578; 582.

55 Baker 2002; Currie 2001. Taylor 2013, pp. 103–105.

56 Maurice Gorham, *Sound and Fury. Twenty-One Years in the B.B.C.* (London: Percival Marshall, 1948).

57 'How "The Radio Times" Comes to its Readers', *The Radio Times*, 29 September 1933, 725–729, p. 725.

contributed by speakers to illustrate the schedule. Perhaps this was due to the rather tight deadlines and frequent *ad hoc* changes in the programming. There are, inevitably, exceptions to this general rule, and it would have been very far outside the remit of this chapter to conduct an in-depth investigation into the pictorial policy of *The Radio Times* in general terms.

In his memoir about his time as the editor of *The Listener* R. S. Lambert does not mention illustrations specifically. I therefore assume that most were provided by the authors, but I have been unable to find any primary or secondary literature on the magazine's layout, pictorial policies or possible use of the BBC's picture library. Very generally speaking, *The Radio Times* favoured images of ancient monuments (such as Stonehenge or temples) while *The Listener* was more varied in its use of pictures. Both magazines preferred photography over drawings and plans to illustrate archaeology.

Archaeological programmes

Before we can explore some aspects of the articles printed in these two magazines in greater detail, it is important to note that not everything that appeared in *The Listener* was broadcast beforehand. Similar to archaeology, the BBC had an 'off-season' for serious talks in the summer when listeners were presumed to spend more time outdoors, and school and summer holidays demanded 'light music and the more trivial forms of entertainment'.[58] Lambert therefore often had to commission contributions 'of sufficient interest to prevent the circulation from sagging too much,' as copy from broadcast talks was too low to fill the pages.[59] Unfortunately Lambert did not elaborate which of the talks produced during the summer he considered trivial, and it therefore must remain unclear whether this was an official view, shared by management and the Talks Department. A number of archaeological articles, especially those summarising excavations in Britain, were not based on broadcasts and I will return to this point further below. Where possible I have cross-referenced between *The Listener* and *The Radio Times* schedule via the online platforms detailed above to ascertain whether an article was based on a broadcast.

Before the launch of *The Listener*, and in cases where no article was published, the absence of recordings or archived transcripts complicates identifying archaeological programmes based purely on the name of the speaker and the title given in the listings. Only a few recordings of the period survive in the BBC Sound Archive as the

[58] Lambert 1940, pp. 185–187.

[59] According to Debra Cohen, the page count 'settled to an average of 36', dipping to around 28 in the summer months. Cohen 2012, p. 574, note 30.

technology could be 'expensive and of uncertain quality'.[60] If we do, however, accept broadcasters self-identifying as archaeologists in the programme description, supported by the evidence of published talks, either in *The Radio Times* or *The Listener*, it is possible to paint a broad picture of archaeological output for the period.[61] As mentioned above, I have used the digitized version of *The Radio Times* to identify archaeological programmes through keyword searches. Using the list of names compiled from the *Illustrated London News* articles (see Appendix 8.1) has revealed no other archaeologist than Woolley active in the Middle East broadcasting regularly before the Second World War, whereas with regards to archaeology conducted in other parts of the world, there is an overlap between newspaper/magazine authorship and broadcasting output.[62] Here, as in print media, Africa and Asia play a smaller role than the Middle East, Europe, and Central America, while the Antipodes and the South Pacific region do not feature at all. I have not conducted a quantitative analysis of archaeological broadcasts nor do I think a direct comparison with newspaper and magazine articles is possible, as one could of course submit an article to a newspaper or magazine by post whereas broadcasting required one's attendance at a studio.[63]

As has been the aim of this thesis throughout, I want to paint a broad picture of archaeology and its place in interwar Britain, and as such, contextualise and qualify Woolley's larger-than-life persona as archaeology's successful popularizer. He does stand out as the only archaeologist working in the Middle East broadcasting regularly during the interwar years, but he was by no means a lone voice for archaeology, as the following overview (based on the regions as defined in Figure 3.1) will show.[64]

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60 It essentially meant the cutting of a gramophone record. Kavanagh 1992, p. 342. Simon Rooks, 'What Happened to the BBC Sound Archive?', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 312 (2010), 177–185. In the beginning the BBC Sound Archive was not seen as a record of everything that was being broadcast but rather as a depository for key moments in history. H. Lynton Fletcher, 'Records', *The Radio Times*, 6 September 1937, 11; C. Gordon Glover, 'Putting it on the Record', *The Radio Times*, 7 April 1939, 7.

61 Keeping in mind the more permeable boundaries of the discipline as discussed in Chapter One.

62 None of Woolley's recordings from the period survive. I am grateful to Giulia Baldorilli, Sound Archive, British Library, for arranging access to some of Woolley's post-World War Two recordings. For example, Seton Lloyd, Henri Frankfort, Max Mallowan and Cyril Gadd only began broadcasting after the war. The only other programme I have found is a broadcast by Ernest Mackay (30 September 1937) on 'The Near East. Digging up the Oldest Cities in the World'. This was a broadcast for schools at 11.25 on the National Programme. It was not published in *The Listener*. I used additional keyword searches for 'archaeology', 'archaeologist' 'excavation', 'digging', 'Mesopotamia', 'Iraq', 'Ancient Egypt', 'Ur of the Chaldees', to name but a few. I have not prepared a quantitative analysis of the results for reasons explored in Chapter Four.

63 Not all archaeologists returned to their home countries during the summer (then the off-season for archaeological work in the Eastern Mediterranean region). Some, like Howard Carter or the Woolleys, undertook lecturing tours or visited their funding institutions. Others lived permanently abroad or had a second home in the country where they conducted their work.

64 To ease readability of the following sections I refer the reader to appendices 8.2 to 8.4 for titles of archaeological programmes, articles in *The Radio Times* and *The Listener* respectively.

Perhaps the most curious absence in archaeological broadcasting regards Ancient Egypt. Despite the frenzy around the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun – in the same year the BBC was founded – Egyptologists appear only sparingly in the schedule. The only entry for Howard Carter appears on 27 May 1936 in 'Scrapbook for 1924'. This 'reminiscent miscellany' presented a number of events, 'with the assistance, either in person or from records, of notabilities of the year'.[65] It was broadcast on the Regional Programme, was taken by all the Regional Stations, and repeated the following day on the National Programme. It is not clear which of the items were broadcast live, but Carter does not appear under the list of names providing 'reminiscences', which could be taken to indicate a recording. Searching for Tutankhamun (and variant spellings) reveals very little before 1939. The contract between Carnarvon and *The Times* discussed in Chapter Three did not mention broadcasting.[66] However, the tension between newspapers and the BBC regarding the printing of programmes as well as around news broadcasting might have been a contributing factor in this dearth of programming. A possible reluctance on Carter's part, a lack of time due to his busy schedule, or a voice or talking style considered unsuitable by the Talks Department could all be further reasons for this, despite the obvious topicality as well as newsworthiness of the subject. The only other programmes I have been able to identify are broadcasts by Arthur Weigall, Hilda Flinders Petrie and T. E. Peet (Woolley's former colleague at Tell el-Amarna).[67] Given the pervasiveness of Ancient Egypt throughout many aspects of popular culture this dearth of programmes is certainly curious, but I have not had the time to explore this any further.[68]

Ancient Greece featured more frequently than Ancient Egypt.[69] I would here like to make a sharp distinction between archaeology and other ways of interpreting the textual and material culture of Ancient Greece. I have already discussed the distinction

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65 Leslie Baily, 'How the "Scrapbooks" Are Made', *The Radio Times*, 10 November 1934, 455. The second quote is taken from the programme description on Genome.

66 I am grateful to Christina Riggs for discussing these questions with me. See Riggs 2019 for further details. Nor does it seem to have been understood as preventing filming as is indicated by Rogers's exploration of some of the newsreels made during the clearing of the tomb. Rogers 2019, pp. 119–120

67 Peet's talks on Ancient Egypt (but not Weigall's) were broadcast S.B., i.e. simultaneously, from Liverpool to all stations. Simultaneous broadcasting to all stations was first achieved in 1923 by using Post Office telephone trunk lines. Hennessy 2005, pp. 279–282. Not all talks listed in this chapter were S.B.

68 This is supported by the lack of articles in *The Radio Times* or *The Listener*. Searching for 'Ancient Egypt' more generally in *The Radio Times* gives much wider results but a full exploration of these entries which do not deal with talks by archaeologists is outside the scope of this chapter.

69 There was little mention of excavations in the Aegean, most talks dealing with excavations on Greek mainland.

between my approach to a disciplinary history of archaeology and reception studies in the Introduction, and this is particularly pertinent when considering Ancient Greece on the air. While Amanda Wrigley's research into Greek plays covers the literary and theatrical heritage of classics literature, material culture and archaeological fieldwork on the BBC have yet to be comprehensively researched. Such a study might, however, be complicated by the overlap between archaeology and art history, most evident in the contributions made by Stanley Casson (1889–1944).[70] Casson spent a good part of the interwar period working and living in Greece. He fought in both World Wars, and his knowledge of the country and the language led to a commission to the Intelligence Corps in 1939. He published widely on various aspects of Ancient Greece and other regions (including his excavations in Istanbul), modern sculpture as well as on archaeology as a discipline.[71] From 1927 onwards he became a regular contributor to the BBC and wrote additional articles for *The Listener* (see below).

Casson's first broadcast considered his excavations in Istanbul, which he had begun in 1926.[72]. His later contributions were mostly conceived as six-part series, a standard format during Matheson's time as head of the Talks Department.[73] In 1929 and 1930 he spoke about 'New Light on Ancient Greece' and 'Modern Sculpture'.[74] All talks in the 'Greece' series were aired at 7.25 pm and lasted for 20 minutes.[75] Speaking about Sparta, Troy, Delphi, Mycenae, Corinth, and Olympia, Casson focussed on architectural, literary and historical aspects of these sites rather than on archaeological

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70 John L. Myres, 'Stanley Casson: 1889–1944', *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 41 (1940–1945), 1–4. This overlap between archaeology and art history is also evident in the nine-part series 'Art in Ancient Life', by Bernard Ashmole, Yates Professor of Classical Art and Archaeology at the University of London, 1929–1948. See appendix 8.2.

71 He also wrote a memoir of his war experience and one crime novel. *Steady Drummer* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1935); *Murder by Burial* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1938).

72 Stanley Casson, 'Constantinople Hippodrome', *The Times* 18 November 1926, 15–16; 18; *idem*, 'The Hippodrome of Constantinople', *Discovery* IX/99 (March 1928), 69–73. Strictly speaking, this belongs in the Asia Minor region. The BBC WAC does not hold a correspondence file for Casson. Samantha Blake, pers. communication.

73 Occasionally series had twelve parts. Carney 1999, p. 45. See also *B.B.C. Handbook* 1928, p. 122–123. Lambert was critical of this approach, lamenting a lack of research (before the creation of the Listener Research Department in 1936) into whether listeners actually enjoyed such a prolonged treatment of a subject. Lambert 1940, p. 79–80. Nevertheless, he commissioned additional articles on archaeology in *The Listener* in the same format.

74 The second series was in fact titled 'Sculpture' for the first two lectures, and 'Modern Sculpture' for the remaining four. As they were numbered consecutively in the programme, I do, however, think they formed part of a series.

75 I will not detail time slots for each talk for the remainder of the chapter. The talks department and staff concerned with adult education changed their opinion on the optimal time for 'serious talks' often during the interwar period. In 1928 the *B.B.C. Handbook* detailed that the 7.25 time slot was occupied five days a week by an adult education talk. This time was chosen to fit those working in a factory, an office or on a farm. The 9.20 time slot, after the news, often offered a late talk 'intended to interest the thoughtful members of the general public.' British Broadcasting Corporation, *B.B.C. Handbook* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1928), pp. 121–122.

work conducted there.[76] When speaking about objects, Casson emphasised their artistic value rather than how they had been found or their function. This was especially true for ceramic vessels and statuary, an approach he continued in his 'Sculpture' series. Casson's broadcasting interest then seem to have shifted toward modern art as he gave a further series in 1932 titled 'Artists at Work', in which he interviewed various artists. While numerically speaking Casson's nineteen broadcasts match Woolley's twenty, his broader range excludes most of his work from the rest of my analysis.[77]

As I have explored in Chapter One, archaeology was often closely linked to accounts of travel or exploration. While the foreign setting and journeys to distant lands were interesting to listeners at home, this makes it occasionally hard to distinguish between the two subjects, as evidenced by Reginald Percy Austin's (lecturer at Reading University) broadcasts on Greece and Central and Eastern Europe.[78]

The close connection between archaeology and travel/exploration is particularly evident in programmes on Meso-America.[79] The most active British archaeologists/explorers at the time were Thomas Gann (1867–1938) and Frederick Albert Mitchell-Hedges (1882–1959) and his travel companion Lady Lilian Mabel Richmond Brown (1885–1946). While Gann, a district medical officer in British Honduras (modern-day Belize), was also honorary lecturer at the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool, Mitchell-Hedges and Richmond Brown's exploration of Lubaantun in British Honduras, undertaken partially with Gann and T. A. Joyce of the British Museum, was merely a pretext for their adventures and they were highly controversial even in their day.[80] Presumably Mitchell-Hedges gave popular talks, as they appeared as articles after broadcasting in *The Radio Times* between 1925 and 1927.[81] Mitchell-Hedges spoke and wrote only fleetingly of either Lubaantun, other sites or any finds or discoveries made there (let alone any indication of method other than clearing the overgrowth and rifling burials) and focused instead on the travelling and exploration aspect. The exotic flora and fauna (especially insects and river-life), the weather, 'the natives', and the European team members' varied success at besting any of these elements formed the main drift of these talks.

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76 See Appendices 8.2 and 8.4.

77 This applies only to Casson's broadcasts. See below for his continued work on archaeology for *The Listener*.

78 See Appendix 8.2. None of his talks were subsequently published.

79 I have not been able to identify any programmes on North or South America.

80 On Gann see Wallace 2011. For Mitchell-Hedges' connection with one of the Crystal Skulls see Jane MacLaren Walsh, 'Legends of the Crystal Skull', *Archaeology* 61/3 (2008), 36–41.

81 He had already given a number of talks in 1924, the title of which was not always given. Mitchell-Hedges' articles in the *ILN* focus solely on their fishing exploits and I have not included those here.

Gann's talks and articles had a slightly more archaeological focus, also evident in the photographs and illustrations accompanying the texts. Between 1929 and 1933 Gann gave five talks and published additional articles in *The Listener*. It is not always possible to link the content of a talk precisely with a published article (especially in the early years of *The Listener* and for those published in *The Radio Times*). While the ostensible goals of these expeditions were Lubaantun and various other sites in British Honduras and Guatemala, the travails of the explorer still formed the main subject.

As most excavations in interwar Italy were undertaken by Italian archaeologists, the lack of programming for this region is not surprising (see Chapter Three). As with Ancient Greece, there was a certain overlap with art historical programmes but I have not explored these in greater detail. Similarly, most other regions as defined in Table 3.1 received little treatment, undoubtedly to do with the fact that excavations were generally carried out by resident archaeologists who preferred submitting an article to a newspaper or magazine in Britain rather than travelling to give a talk on the BBC.[82]

This was of course less of a problem for archaeologists working in Britain (and Ireland). Consequently, archaeology at home, often intertwined with historical as well as folkloristic or geographical/topographical research, played a much larger role in the BBC's programming than excavations undertaken abroad. A regional approach to researching archaeology on the BBC would, I believe, contribute much to our understanding of public engagement with the national past. I furthermore think that this would best be done taking received information into account such as travel accounts, tourism information, and reports written by journalists or other non-archaeologists.[83] Needless to say, this is outside the remit of this thesis. Nevertheless, I will here briefly outline some of the programmes for the sake of completeness.

82 This applies to all European regions, the Northern Levant, Sub-Saharan and Northern Africa, Ancient Iran, South-East and Central Asia/China, Malta, Cyprus and India. The only exception to this is Palestine (Southern Levant) with the contributions by Hilda Flinders Petrie and John Garstang. Garstang first lectured in 1937 and in that year gave an introduction to Samuel Henry Hooke's lectures on the archaeological background to the Old Testament. Hooke was Professor of Old Testament Studies at the University of London. Of course, Palestine was administered as a British Mandate from 1922 to 1947, attracting many British archaeologists at the time. By 'resident archaeologists' I mean practitioners originally from the country they were working in as well as those coming from colonial or mandatory powers.

83 Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and National Identity in Britain, 1922–1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010). David Pat Walker, *The BBC in Scotland. The First 50 Years* (Edinburgh: Luath, 2011), Peter Mandler, *History and National Life* (London: Profile, 2002). See also Fowler 2007, p. 95, although I do not agree with his claim that local archaeological broadcasting is a 'new' development. Although the concept of the core-set has its advantages, I do not believe it would be a practical approach in this case.

One of the first speakers I have been able to identify was Frederick Bligh Bond, who had until recently conducted excavations at Glastonbury Abbey on behalf of the Church of England.[84] In his 1924 article in *The Radio Times* (and probably in his talk as well) he outlined his controversial approach to archaeology using automatic writing, which had led to his dismissal by the Church. But perhaps Frank Steven's broadcasts in 1924 illustrate better the popular appeal archaeology had in the interwar period.[85] Stevens was one of a number of museum-based archaeologists and historians to talk about the finds and ancient sites to see in their region, and his talk on 'Holiday Peeps at Prehistoric Britain' marked the beginning of a longer series. A further frequent contributor in the BBC's early days was James Reid Moir (1879–1944).[86] From 1925 to 1926 he gave eleven talks (none of which was published in *The Radio Times*). Moir and most British archaeologists I have been able to identify in the programmes had short spells of appearances, never to return to the microphone.[87] This applies for example to V. Gordon Childe, Gordon Home, Jacquetta Hawkes and Stuart Piggott, but not to Cyril Fox who, from 1925 until 1939, made regular schools' and other transmissions on various stations in his role as Keeper of Archaeology in the National Museum of Wales.[88]

Archaeological boundary-work and the BBC

As this overview has shown, archaeology was a popular subject for the BBC Talks Department. Similar to newspapers and magazines, which are explored in Chapter Three, archaeologists profited not only from the publicity for their projects and the fees attached to lectures (on which see below) but also used broadcasts as well as articles (mainly in *The Listener*) as a public forum to undertake boundary-work. Bligh Bond, mentioned above, was not the only controversial archaeologist lecturing on the BBC. In 1937, John Foster Forbes' talks caused V. Gordon Childe, then Abercromby Professor of Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh, to write a letter of complaint to the BBC. He did not agree with Foster Forbes' hyperdiffusionist ideas of the Egyptian origins of Bronze Age Britons, but what irritated him more was the fact that

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84 R. A. Gilbert, 'Bond, Frederick Bligh (1864–1945)', online edition*, ODNB*, 2004.

85 Stevens (1868–1949) was the director of Salisbury Museum from 1913–1949.

86 Mark J. White, 'Moir, (James) Reid', online edition, *ODNB*, 2004

87 In contrast to this, Woolley spoke annually (and sometimes more than once a year) between 1924 and 1937 and beyond.

88 Hawkes' series was specifically designed for 'the legion of walkers who through the summer months explore little-known spots in Britain', as the blurb in *The Radio Times* explained. BBC WAC RCONT1 Jacquetta Hawkes, Contributor: Talks. File I 1939–62. Some of the titles of Fox's talks are repeated, which might indicate that he gave the same talk several times, or that they formed a series. I therefore do not list all the dates but highlight a few of the programmes in appendix 8.2.

the BBC had not allowed archaeologists to patrol their disciplinary boundaries. He offered his services to the BBC to provide a counter argument to Foster Forbes' talk in a lecture, and as an adviser in order to avoid, in the future, similar 'groundless speculations'.[89] This caused a chain of embarrassed internal communication at the BBC, finally resulting in an invitation to Childe to lecture in November of the same year.[90] Childe played hard to get, but finally agreed to sacrifice himself as he was

> always ready to make such knowledge as I have accumulated available to the general public through any channel that offers itself to me and an [*sic*] prepared to take great pains to make muself [*sic*] intelligible to plain and probably tired listeners. (I find this frankly difficult, but in America can hold successfully audiences of 300 to 500).[91]

Here, as in the discussion between Mackay, Winbolt and Garstang in the letters to the editor section of *The Times* detailed in Chapter Three, we can see disciplinary boundary-work in action. Childe voiced his critique of Foster Forbes through the channel of a BBC lecture, using the public forum for peer-to-peer communication.

The Listener provided an additional stage for further aspects of this gatekeeping work, and I here highlight two of them. From 1930 onwards S. E. Winbolt became the magazine's regular author on archaeology in Britain, well before he started lecturing in 1933.[92] These articles gave an overview of excavations and discoveries in the British Isles and appeared roughly twice a year until 1934, in spring and in autumn. As such, they do not fall into the category of 'filler' material Lambert saw himself forced to commission during the summer. Rather, I would argue, they attest to the perennial popularity of archaeology as a subject. Winbolt usually listed projects working on the Neolithic up to the medieval periods, amply illustrated by photographs or drawings. His articles in *The Listener* provided a regular overview of archaeological work in Britain, and I would further argue that they thus performed the semi-popular work of informing his peers by means of synthesis as requested by Randall-MacIver (see Chapter One). They also patrolled the borders of the discipline by including some projects and never mentioning others.

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89 BBC WAC RCONT1 Childe, Prof. V. Gordon. Talks: 1937–54', V. Gordon Childe to the Director General, 8 October 1937.

90 Childe, while judged 'a thorny person to deal with', continued to appear on the BBC until his death in 1957. He gave series of talks during the Second World War and appeared on *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* in 1956. BBC WAC RCONT1 Childe, Prof. V. Gordon. Talks: 1937–54', James Ferguson [Talks Section] to Director of Talks [Richard Maconachie], 19 October 1937.

91 BBC WAC RCONT1 Childe, Prof. V. Gordon. Talks: 1937–54', V. Gordon Childe to unknown, 14 October 1937.

92 He was a master in classics and history at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and although he considered himself only an amateur archaeologist, excavated a wide range of Roman sites in Britain from 1922 onwards. I. D. Margary, 'Mr. S. E. Winbolt', *Nature* 153 (April 1944), 518.

Stanley Casson provided the global context for this synthesis with his series of articles titled 'Excavator's Progress', published in 1933.[93] He began it by defining the various aims of the archaeologist as follows:

> Chronology, relative or absolute, is the first aim of the archaeologist and excavator: comparison of cultures is his next objective: inferences from similar or related cultures is his next duty: classification of his finds is his continuous task: discovery of impressive objects, of gold, treasure and works of art his good fortune rather than his deliberate objective.[94]

In the subsequent nine articles he gave an overview of archaeological excavations and discoveries across the world, however focusing less on how to perform or achieve these aims and tasks but rather on individual objects or architectural features. While Casson's articles differ in this respect from Winbolt's, they still perform the role of selecting the projects deemed acceptable by the archaeological community for communication with the public and with each other. And, by highlighting the importance of chronology for archaeology, he confirmed the core-set's focus on this issue earlier in the period.

Leonard Woolley's series of talks titled 'Digging up the Past', broadcast in the summer of 1930, explored similar questions to Winbolt's articles and concentrated more on methods of excavation and conservation than Casson's. I would argue that the success of Woolley's series lay precisely in this difference of focus, which further supports Mary Adams' opinion that talks on how scientists performed their work rather than on their results were more successful and more popular. This is further reinforced by other talks on 'Digging up the Past', this time by John Garstang in 1938. According to the programme blurb many listeners to previous archaeological talks wanted to know more about methods. Garstang would 'explain why, where and how archaeologists dig, and give a brief account of a typical digger's day'. As he emphasised in his subsequent article in *The Listener*, 'for the most part the excavator's work today is based on method, rigorously and patiently pursued, unrelieved by the excitement of chance finds.' This emphasis on scientific method and the quite detailed account of a day on the excavation (Garstang took his own work in Mersin (Turkey) as an example) not only satisfied listeners' curiosity but again performed the additional function of communicating with other practitioners.

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93 These were not based on talks. The fact that they appeared in July to August 1933 makes them candidates for Lambert's supplementary commissions.

94 Casson did not mention publication as one of the tasks.

Leonard Woolley and the BBC, 1924–1937

As Woolley was the only archaeologist broadcasting regularly about Mesopotamia, and one of the most prolific archaeological speakers, I have left this region out of the discussion on geographical distribution above to now explore it in greater detail. Looking at Woolley's engagement with the BBC provides a case study for early BBC talks in the wider context. While it is outside of the remit of this thesis to compare Woolley or archaeology in general with BBC talks on other subjects (either current events or other academic topics) in great detail, I will provide comparative evidence based on the secondary literature. My primary source material for this section is Leonard Woolley's file in the BBC Written Archives. Unfortunately, the BBC Written Archives have not retained much material created before 1927.[95] Only then was a filing and retention system (modelled on that of the Civil Service) instituted.[96]

Between 1924 and 1937 Woolley broadcast twenty talks, and was perhaps most successful with the six-part series 'Digging up the Past' in the summer of 1930 (Table 4.1).[97] Woolley's output is thus comparable to that of other science lecturers, as detailed by Jones, who lists twenty broadcasts for physicist Arthur Thomson between 1925 and 1932 and over fifteen by Oliver Lodge between 1923 and 1934.[98] Typical for the period, his early radio appearances were short, lasting fifteen to twenty minutes, which at the time was thought to be the 'utmost the public can absorb with interest'.[99]

Date	Time (pm)	Duration	Title
8 July 1924	10.00	15	Excavations in Babylonia
22 July 1924	10.00	15	Beginnings of History in Babylonia
7 August 1924	8.10	15	Ur of the Chaldees
21 July 1925	10.10	15	The Moon-God's Temple, from Abraham to Belshazzar
15 July 1926	7.00	15	Recent Excavations at Ur of the Chaldees
4 July 1927	9.20	15	Ur of the Chaldees
19 June 1928	10.30	45	Ur of the Chaldees
28 August 1929	10.00	45	Ur of the Chaldees – the Royal Tombs and the Flood
25 September 1929	7.00	15	Next Year's Work at Ur
11 June 1930	7.25	20	Digging up the Past I
18 June 1930	7.25	20	Digging up the Past II

95 The lack of archival sources and absence of the other members from the radio rather limits the usefulness of the concept of the core-set. I do, however, believe that the case of Woolley serves as an illustration of the kinds of detailed explorations made possible by using a range of primary sources.

96 Kavanagh 1992, p. 342.

97 This talk in 1924 is the first instance of a listing in *The Radio Times*. Woolley's contributor file at the BBC Written Archive begins in 1925 (see below).

98 Jones 2010, p. 87.

99 J.C. Stobart, Director of Education at the BBC, quoted in Briggs 1961, p. 257.

Date	Time (pm)	Duration	Title
25 June 1930	7.25	20	Digging up the Past III
30 June 1930	7.25	Unknown	In the Days of the Flood: Last Year's Work at Ur
2 July 1930	7.25	20	Digging up the Past IV
9 July 1930	7.25	20	Digging up the Past V
16 July 1930	7.25	20	Digging up the Past VI
24 June 1931	9.20	20	The Latest Excavations at Ur
11 April 1933	6.50	Unknown	Recent Excavations at Ur
7 May 1935	3.35	20	Recent Scientific Research. Excavations at Ur[100]
25 June 1937	5.00	Unknown	'I descended into the Death Pit (at Ur)'[101]

Table 4.1. Leonard Woolley's Radio Appearances, 1924–1937

As the table above shows, Woolley's talks were broadcast during various time slots. The basis for this decision is not always clear from the archival evidence but seems to have been dependent on a number of factors such as the content, the intended audience (children or adults) as well as which BBC departments were involved in planning the talk (adult education, talks, education) and other programmes scheduled on the day.

The fees Woolley was able to negotiate with the Talks Department between 1925 and 1937 provide useful evidence for understanding his popularity with the broadcaster and the value it placed on his talks in terms of topicality and in communicating archaeology to a broad audience. For his talk on 21 July 1925, at 10.10 pm, Woolley received a fee of 8 guineas.[102] In the two following years Woolley only gave one lecture in each year, and in both instances it was he who wrote to J. C. Stobart, offering his services.[103] These talks naturally not only coincided with the Woolleys' return to Britain during the summer but Woolley also took care to time them according to the opening of the annual exhibition of finds at the British Museum.[104] In 1928 Hilda Matheson wrote to Woolley to suggest another talk of his usual 15

[100] This was a 'Talk for Sixth Forms'.

[101] This was a talk for The Children's Hour. For children's and school broadcasts see David Oswell, 'Early Children's Broadcasting in Britain: Programming for a Liberal Democracy', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 18/3 (1998), 375–393. Jones 2010, p. 83.

[102] After he had initially been offered 5 guineas by J. C. Stobart on 2 June 1925, Woolley reminded him of the higher fee he had received in previous years. BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, J. C. Stobart to C. Leonard Woolley, 2 June 1925; C. Leonard Woolley to J. C. Stobart, 4 June 1925. In 1926 Woolley apparently accepted a fee of 5 guineas without challenge but requested the higher fee of 8 guineas again in 1927. Hilda Matheson to C. Leonard Woolley, 7 July 1927.

[103] BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, C. Leonard Woolley to J. C. Stobart, 18 June 1926; C. Leonard Woolley to J. C. Stobart, 30 May 1927.

[104] BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, C. Leonard Woolley to J. C. Stobart, 30 May 1927.

minutes.[105] To this, and to a fee of 10 guineas, Woolley agreed, but it was soon proposed by Richard S. Lambert that Woolley talk for 45 minutes instead (for 30 guineas).[106] According to Lambert's letter to Woolley, listeners now seemed to like longer talks, denoting a shift in the BBC's assumptions on the attention span of listeners as well as the popularity of Woolley as a speaker and his subject.[107] This remained Woolley's only talk for the BBC in 1928, probably due to his numerous other commitments.

After 1928, Woolley's standing at the BBC took a dip. I would propose a combination of factors as the reason for this, such as the maturing of the BBC as an institution and of broadcast talks both as a genre and a technique. Radio had proved itself to be an important new channel of communication, accessible to many sectors of society. The transformation of the BBC into a public service institution had provided validation by the establishment while the range of genres broadcast attested to the flexibility of the medium as well as the popularity it enjoyed with artists, scientist, and politicians. The Talks Department as well as editorial staff at *The Listener* could thus choose from a large pool of possible contributors and base their assessments of suitability and popularity on several years of experience.

In an internal memo to the Director of Programmes (D.P.) written in 1929, Hilda Matheson discussed Woolley's work at the BBC in detail.[108] This was probably penned in response to a letter that Lord Gainford had sent to Chief Engineer Peter Eckersley in which he maintained that Woolley should be given some more publicity and invited Eckersley to come and meet the Woolleys at a luncheon.[109] In her memo Matheson revealed how the BBC rated Woolley's 'worth' at that point. While she found his work 'new and interesting' and realised it was 'quite impossible to deal with it or even give any idea of it in the ordinary quarter of an hour', she rated his finds 'not quite

105 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, Hilda Matheson to C. Leonard Woolley, 19 April 1928.

106 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, R. S. Lambert to C. Leonard Woolley, 9 May 1928. Thirty guineas seems to have been a rather high fee. In 1936, T. S. Eliot expressed his dissatisfaction with a fee of 10 guineas for a twenty-minute talk. He had been a regular contributor since the Twenties and had given two six-part series in 1929 and 1930. Michael Coyle, "'This Rather Elusory Broadcast Technique". T. S. Eliot and the Genre of Radio Talk", *ANQ* 11/4 (1998), 32–42.Vita Sackville-West received 10 guineas for her book reviews and another 3 to 4 for subsequent publication. This could add up to about £300 per year. Carney 1999, p. 44.

107 As the BBC's Listener Research Department was not founded until 1936 research into demographic distribution and reach of such early radio programmes remains highly speculative. Briggs 1965, pp. 7; 10.

108 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, Hilda Matheson to D. P., 10 July 1928.

109 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, Lord Gainford to Peter Eckersley, 9 July 1929. First Baron Gainford, Joseph Albert Pease (1860–1943), was the first chairman of the British Broadcasting Company in 1922 and in 1929 held the position of a governor of the Corporation. Cameron Hazlehurst, 'Pease, Joseph Alfred, First Baron Gainford (1860–1943)', online edition, *ODNB*, 2004. Peter Eckersley was the BBC's Chief Engineer from 1922 until 1929.

as sensational as last year [1928], although equally important from his point of view.' Simultaneously she recognised that time and money constraints posed a problem for the BBC. Both of the Woolleys 'command fairly high rates both in America and here' and apparently Katharine Woolley had been unwilling to broadcast the previous year for the usual BBC fees.[110] Most significant, however, is Matheson's appraisal of Woolley's importance as a scientist. She had proposed him as a National Lecturer but apparently it was

> agreed in the end that he was not quite a big enough man for our purpose, being merely an admirable field worker and not a man who surveys the results secured in different parts of the world and sums them up.[111]

This assessment anticipates Randall-MacIver's call for synthesis as discussed in Chapter One. Matheson was here not exclusively talking about archaeology but about all branches of science with which the BBC engaged. As there was in the end no National Lecture on archaeology, it is difficult to assess whether the subject itself was dropped or whether the advisory committee and staff were unable to find someone to fulfil that role. Matheson here carried out boundary-work for the BBC in limiting access to the prestigious platform of the National Lectures.[112]

This did not mean, however, that she did not value Woolley as a lecturer when it came to his own work.[113] Their relationship seems to have been overall cordial and Matheson wrote to Woolley to propose another talk (given on 28 August 1929) for 40 guineas, which would furthermore be printed in *The Listener*, the BBC's then new weekly magazine.[114] Woolley had a different opinion of his value and called to request a fee of 50 guineas instead.[115] In September, shortly before their departure to Iraq, he

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110 The BBC WAC does not hold a file for Katharine Woolley. Matheson and the Woolleys moved in the same circles and Katharine Woolley and Hilda Matheson had known each other while at Oxford before the First World War. It is likely that these issues were discussed informally during social events. BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, Hilda Matheson to D. P., 10 July 1928.

111 On the National Lectures see Scannell and Cardiff 1991, p. 163; 'National Lectures', *The Listener*, 6 February 1929, 136.

112 Lambert had a very different opinion of this series, calling the lectures 'a bit of intellectual snobbery' and considered most of them highly unsuccessful in both in terms of delivery as well as content. Lambert 1940, p. 65–66.

113 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, Hilda Matheson to D. P., 10 July 1928.

114 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, Hilda Matheson to C. Leonard Woolley, 12 July 1929.

115 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, L. Fielden to Mr Graves, 23 July 1929; C. Leonard Woolley to Hilda Matheson, 3 September 1929. E. M. Forster apparently received 'the standard fee of ten guineas' in 1939'. Mary Lago, Linda K. Hughes and Elizabeth MacLeod Walls (eds.), *The BBC Talks of E. M. Forster, 1929–1960* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), p. 7. By 1929 the BBC had achieved notoriety for its low fees as evidenced by a cartoon by David Low for the *Evening Standard* (reprinted in *The Listener*), which showed a lecturer receiving tuppence in the pay office. [David] Low, 'To One of My So-Called Victims', *The Listener*, 21 December 1932, 898. Woolley's fees would therefore profit from a more comprehensive comparison than has been possible within the remit of this chapter.

suggested another short lecture on the preparations for Ur as he was frequently asked about this.[116] Preparation, travel to and life on an excavation were popular themes in most of the core-set's writings. As detailed in Chapter One, these subjects formed an important part of the archaeological narrative of establishing the field worker as first-hand observer.

Perhaps influenced by the success of Woolley's books and articles, Hilda Matheson had once again changed her mind on the interest of Woolley's work to the listening public in early 1930. In January she wrote to him to clarify an offer initially made via cable (as the Woolleys were on excavation): A series of six talks for 100 guineas and an additional talk of 30 minutes (with the fee as in previous years) to be broadcast before the opening of the annual exhibition at the British Museum.[117] The series of six talks were to be published in *The Listener*. The resulting 'Digging up the Past' talks were broadcast in July, with the additional talk on 30 June (see Table 4.1). In fact, *The Listener* did not actually want to publish the material but ended up doing so regardless.[118] Woolley's inability to submit a manuscript before the lectures due to time constraints and a misunderstanding about the length of each lecture and the resulting fee might have contributed to this.[119] Yet in the end he managed to produce transcripts or articles based on the talks, which were duly published the week after each broadcast.

While Woolley's talks and consequently most of his articles in *The Listener* fall into the summer period, I am uncertain whether they should be seen as part of the lighter summer publishing programme or whether timing was due to the Woolleys' absence during the period of 'serious broadcasting' in the autumn and winter months. This difficulty in interpreting the archival evidence is illustrated by the flurry of communication caused by the 'Digging up the Past' articles. Richard Lambert was initially reluctant to take the material on. Manuscripts for the talks formed the basis of *Listener* articles, usually published shortly after broadcasting, and having the manuscript to hand in advance obviously sped up the production process. Publication in the magazine was finally ensured by an intervention by Lord Gainford. In a letter to John Reith, Gainford claimed that Woolley's talks 'would form the matter for separate publication, where as by giving talks for the B.B.C and having them published in the

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116 The trials of shopping for an excavation are most entertainingly told in Christie Mallowan 1946.

117 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, Hilda Matheson to C. Leonard Woolley, 27 January 1930.

118 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, Hilda Matheson to A.D.P. [Assistant Director of Programmes], 24 June 1930.

119 This was probably due to Woolley's busy schedule rather an unwillingness to comply with requests. BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, R. S. Lambert to C. Leonard Woolley, 4 June 1930. According to Lambert, *The Listener* had various systems in place with regards to payments. Either an extra fee, usually 40 per cent. of the broadcast fee, or later on a single fee to include publishing in the magazine. Lambert 1940, p. 113.

"Listener" his interests as a publisher are greatly prejudiced'. As Woolley was 'a poor man', getting 'comparatively little remuneration' for his excavation work, Gainford suggested that Woolley should be paid an additional 50 guineas for publication in the magazine.[120] The defensive tone taken by BBC staff over this matter indicates their disagreement with Gainford. Hilda Matheson pointed out that she had suggested adequate payment, especially as the Woolleys had apparently been disappointed by their 1929 lecture tour in the US.[121] She further emphasised that publication in *The Listener* did not spoil subsequent publication but tended to help it.[122]

Woolley had significantly fewer speaking engagements from then onwards. This was certainly due to the end of the Ur Excavations in 1934, although, as Table 4.1 shows, this continued to be a subject the BBC wanted to commission for a variety of audiences.[123]

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced radio as a medium for popular and peer-to-peer communication into the study of archaeology as a discipline. Establishing the similar developments of the BBC and archaeology during formative periods for the broadcaster and the discipline has allowed us to understand the gatekeeping function performed by archaeologists through this mode of communication. As I have shown, during the early years of the BBC, senior members of staff held important places in this process, mediating access to the microphone and the printed page. By including *The Radio Times* and *The Listener* in a study of radio lectures I have emphasised the intermedial character of the broadcast word. Here as well as on the air, archaeologists

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120 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, Lord Gainford to John Reith, 20 June 1930. The ensuing discussion between BBC staff trying to identify the culprit for the misunderstanding (presumably Gainford only intervened because Woolley had apprised him of the problem) eventually resulted in a £50 contribution by the BBC to the Ur excavation fund (rather than to Woolley personally). Hilda Matheson to C. Leonard Woolley, 1 July 1930.

121 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, Hilda Matheson to unknown, no date. This is supported by disputes detailed in the Ur archive between Woolley, his agency in London and Lee Keedick, the manager of Woolley's lecture tour.

122 BBC WAC Woolley Leonard RCONT 1, Hilda Matheson to unknown, no date. As Martin Hewitt points out, BBC talks had furthermore a profound effect on the book trade of the interwar period as libraries (which remained the most substantial market throughout the period) profited from the increased interest by readers in lecturers heard on the air. Andrew Nash, Claire Squires and I. R. Willison, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume VII, the Twentieth Century and Beyond*, ed. by *eidem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 1–38, pp. 10–11; Martin Hewitt, 'Extending the Public Library, 1850–1930', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Alistair Black and Peter Hoare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 72–81, p. 80.

123 Perhaps it was also to do with Matheson's resignation from the BBC in 1931. Woolley was only able to discuss his work during the Second World War from early 1945 onwards. I have not found any talk titles indicating lectures on his later excavations at Tell Atchana/ancient Alalakh. Instead, he gave talks about his experiences and adventures in the First World War, and a few interviews until 1958.

battled for recognition by the public and amongst themselves. Similar to the evidence provided in Chapter Three, archaeologists focused their lectures and articles on the fieldwork and methodology aspects of their work rather than on complex themes such as migration or race. This, as the popularity of the Woolley's 'Digging up the Past' through a range of sound and print format shows, was based on the interpretation by archaeologists and BBC staff alike that the public was more interested in what scientists did than what they found.

The absence of a sound archive might influence our approach to research but it does not limit it. The printed schedule, articles in both magazines as well as archival sources paint a detailed picture of archaeologists' interaction with the BBC and point the way for further research in contextualising the discipline's place in interwar science and society. I have provided part of this context in giving an overview of how various geographical regions appeared on the radio. This has revealed surprising absences (such as ancient Egypt) and further avenues of exploration by hinting towards the importance of archaeology and archaeologists in promoting national heritage, tourism and folklore in the British Isles. Focusing on the case study of Leonard Woolley and his fluctuating popularity as a BBC lecturer has once again allowed us to follow larger trends in the development of archaeology as a discipline, the BBC as a platform for scientific boundary work and the place of archaeology in the popularization of knowledge. This last point is particularly evident in Leonard Woolley's success as a book author as explored in the following chapter. As Hilda Matheson had pointed out, the transformation of 'Digging up the Past' into a book, published by Ernest Benn Ltd. and picked up by Penguin for the Pelican series in 1937, was based on its popularity as broadcast lectures and printed articles in the pages of *The Listener*.

5. Writing for the 'intelligent ordinary reader': Archaeologists and the Popular Book Market

Introduction

In 1927 Sir Arthur Lionel Pugh Norrington (1899–1982), Assistant Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press (OUP), wrote to Woolley to ask him if he might be interested in writing a book about 'the Sumerians and their Civilization'. He was 'thinking about a book that would do for the intelligent ordinary reader' and mentioned as an example *The Etruscans* by David Randall-MacIver.[1] Keen on the idea, Woolley responded immediately, but remained cautious about his other commitments and the right time for such a book. The state of knowledge about the Sumerians, he pointed out, was so fluid due to the rapidly advancing excavations at Ur and other sites that anything published in one year would be in danger of being out of date by the next.[2] Eventually Woolley and Norrington agreed on a volume of about 200 pages. Issued in late 1928 *The Sumerians* consolidated Woolley's popular success as archaeologist and author.[3]

This chapter concludes my exploration of archaeologists and their publics. Through the example of Woolley I show how archaeologists profited from popularity gained in the press and on the air to successfully enter the popular book market. I therefore start this chapter by giving an overview of general trends in the overlapping worlds of academic and popular (or 'trade') publishing in relation to archaeology in the interwar period. Returning to Woolley as my main case study, I trace his relationship to his four publishers between 1927 and 1936 through archival material. I show how Woolley adapted the content of his popular books (*The Sumerians, Ur of the Chaldees* and *Digging up the Past*) to a publisher's perceived or real target audience. This changed not only the way he presented archaeology in text and image to the public but moreover how archaeology in the Middle East as a discipline was in turn shaped through writing for a general public. The successes and failures of books Woolley wrote after the conclusion of the Ur excavations project (*The Development of Sumerian Art*, *Abraham.*

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1 Oxford University Press Archive [OUPA], A. Norrington to C. Leonard Woolley, 25 July 1927.

2 OUPA, C. Leonard Woolley to A. Norrington, 28 July 1927. OUPA, A. Norrington to C. Leonard Woolley, 6 August 1927.

3 *The Sumerians* was translated into French (*Les Sumériens*, Payot, 1930b) and German (*Vor 5000 Jahren. Ausgrabungen von Ur (Chaldäa). Geschichte und Leben der Sumerer*, Franckh'sche Buchhandlung, 1930c), and went through several printings in each language. From 9 July 1929 to 30 January 1930, the German publisher sold 7915 copies (Elke Rutschmann, Franckh-Kosmos-Verlags GmbH und Co. KG, pers. comm., 12.01.2017). Consulting worldcat.org [accessed 15 January 2020] reveals translations into numerous other languages and reprints of his books well into the twenty-first century.

Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins) will link us to his final success—inclusion in the Pelican series.

As explored in previous chapters, immediate scholarly disputes and discussions amongst core-sets about archaeological method, chronology, race and gender often took place in the public forum of newspapers. Books, whether of scholarly or 'popular' content, usually presented the culmination of research by providing more extensive analysis of finds, contexts or larger themes of concern to the discipline (see Chapter Two). As such they can offer the synthesis so desired by archaeologists and editors alike, and, due to their more durable nature compared to newspapers and broadcasts, are the basis for Woolley's (and other archaeologists') enduring popularity. The books considered in this chapter, however, are also prime examples of intermediality and, indeed of recycled knowledge. Most of the content Woolley presented in this format had already appeared in newspaper and magazine articles, broadcasts, preliminary and final excavation reports, lectures and conference presentations. This chapter will therefore focus on the production side of the books as well as their reception by the core-set rather than their content. As explored in Chapter One, the members of the core-set often exchanged information informally, either during visits to each others' sites or in letters. The trajectory of this ephemeral information is thus difficult to follow and it is here again, that the concept of the core-set and exploring how the group of people included in it contributed to specific publications or ideas has limited application. In focusing on one writer – Leonard Woolley – we can, however, trace the core-set's influence and opinions in the book reviews and replies published in newspapers as well as scholarly journals. Book reviews, especially those by other archaeologists, present yet another form of peer-to-peer communication in the public forum. Woolley's successes and failures as a book author (and therefore the contributions to archaeology as a discipline his books presented) offer an alternative view to understanding one book's popularity over another's.

Archaeology in Interwar Publishing

In their introduction to Volume VII of the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* Andrew Nash, Clare Squires and I. R. Willison gesture towards the explosion of formats print has experienced over the course of the last century, culminating in the unfinished process of digitalisation.[4] They emphasise the close connection between

[4] Nash *et al.* 2019, 1.

books and other media, and how publishers as well as authors have always relied on material created in different formats and with a range of intentions, thus complicating the scholar's understanding of what constitutes a book. Furthermore, the authors highlight the fact that the history of the book in the twentieth century is a mobile field, which, especially for the first half of the century, is far from fully mapped. Archaeology, as explored in this thesis, straddles a number of media, and crosses boundaries and formats. While this might make it seem evasive and hard to pin down as a subject, I believe it can in fact act as a tool to explore wider trends in the history of science and media in general. For, as Nash and his co-authors continue, 'the interdependence of the book and other media' is not only characteristic of the book trade, 'from the consumer perspective, the reading of a magazine or newspaper and the reading of a book are patently part of the same activity'.[5] In addition, the popularity of archaeology in the interwar period must of course be put in the broader context of science popularization, be it in books, magazines or broadcasting. As noted in Chapter One, historians of science have placed greater emphasis on the hard sciences like physics or chemistry rather than the humanities or the social sciences. Archaeology as a discipline bridging this gap has often fallen through the cracks of scholarship, something this thesis contributes to correcting.[6]

The difficulty of understanding early twentieth century book publishing lies furthermore in the fluid boundaries between publishers' fiction, academic and popular or 'general' lists at the time, as archaeology, as explored here illustrates.[7] In addition, the interwar period was a particularly dynamic period in British publishing, as evidenced by new ventures like Jonathan Cape (founded in 1921), Victor Gollancz (1927), Faber & Faber (1929), and Penguin Books (1935) which adopted new marketing and branding strategies.[8] Established publishing houses such as Macmillan, Allen and Unwin or

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5 Nash *et al.* 2019, pp. 2; 4.

6 Peter J. Bowler, *Science for All. The Popularization of Science in Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). See further references in the Introduction and Chapter One. It would be equally fruitful to compare popular archaeological and history publishing. See Leslie Howsam, *Past into Print. The Publishing of History in Britain 1850–1950* (London: British Library, 2009).

7 Iain Stevenson, *Book Makers. British Publishing in the Twentieth Century* (London: British Library Publishing, 2010). Limited space further prevents me from exploring archaeology's place in fiction of the period or archaeologists as fiction writers (especially adventure and crime). For an overview see Charles Thomas, 'The Archaeologist in Fiction', in *To Illustrate the Monuments. Essays on Archaeology Presented to Stuart Piggott*, ed. by J. V. S. Megaw (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 309–319.

8 Sue M. Bradley, *The British Book Trade: An Oral History* (London: British Library Publishing, 2010), John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2005). Joseph McAleer, 'Scenes from Love and Marriage: Mills and Boon and the Popular Publishing Industry in Britain, 1908–1950', *Twentieth Century British History* 1/3 (1990), 264–288. Further case studies of individual publishing houses provide information on the cost of book production as well as a comparison for book pricing. Nicholas Joicey, 'A Paperback Guide to Progress: Penguin Books 1935–c. 1951', *Twentieth Century British History* 4/1 (1993), 25–56; Alexis Weedon, 'From Three-Deckers to Film

Methuen as well as the university presses were forced by this competition to expand their lists, thus further blurring the lines between academic and non-academic publications.[9] The prestige of listing a 'respectable book' by a professional scholar 'could valuably sustain and develop' a publishing house's reputation.[10] Archaeology's popular appeal with the promise of large sales in combination with the increasingly professionalised and institutionalised status of its practitioners was therefore doubly attractive to publishers.

As Chapters One and Two have shown, archaeology was consolidating its forms of communication, both with the public and amongst practitioners, during the interwar period. This also meant that what is now perceived as 'serious' scholarly publishing, namely excavation reports in journals and final publications, was taking shape at the same time. Limited space prevents me from exploring the development of the excavation report as a genre in more detail, but while archaeologists might choose to announce a discovery in a newspaper or magazine, detailed publication, especially with regards to chronology and excavation methods, was increasingly considered good practice.[11] This was not only necessary to deal with the ever-increasing volume of material, it also allowed for comparative work taking results from other excavations into account, and enabled archaeologists to consolidate their findings. Multi-period sites like Ur, excavated over several years, could not be presented efficiently otherwise.[12]

I have, throughout this thesis, noted the importance of the visual in communicating archaeology. Woolley's press strategy (as explored in Chapter Three)

Rights: A Turn in British Publishing Strategies, 1870–1930', *Book History* 2 (1999), 188-2–6; Alistair McCleery, 'The Return of the Publisher to Book History: The Case of Allen Lane', *Book History* 5 (2002), 161–185. Marius Hentea, 'Late Modernist Debuts: Publishing and Professionalizing Young Novelists in 1920s Britain', *Book History* 14 (2011), 167–186; Several (auto)biographies of publishers offer additional insights: Ernest Benn, *Happier Days: Recollections and Reflections* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1949); Fredric Warburg, *An Occupation for Gentlemen* (London: Hutchinson, 1959); J. E Morpurgo, *Allen Lane, King Penguin: A Biography* (London: Hutchinson, 1979); Ruth Dudley Edwards, *Victor Gollancz: A Biography* (London: V. Gollancz, 1987).

9 Stevenson 2010, p. 77.

10 Michael Whitworth, 'The Clothbound Universe. Popular Physics Books, 1919–39', *Publishing History* 40 (1996), 53–82, p. 61.

11 Not for nothing is the phrase 'publish or perish' believed to have gained its popularity in the interwar period. Guillaume Cabanac, 'What is the Primordial Reference for …? Redux', *Scientometrics* 114/2 (2018), 481–488. On the development of the excavation report as a genre see Ian Hodder, 'Writing Archaeology. Site Reports in Context', *Antiquity* 63/239 (June 1989), 268–274; Richard Bradley, 'The Excavation Report as a Literary Genre. Traditional Practice in Britain', *World Archaeology* 38/4 (2006), 664–671; Rosemary Joyce, Robert W. Preucel, Jeanne Lopiparo, Carolyn Guyer, Michael Joyce, *The Languages of Archaeology. Dialogue, Narrative, and Writing* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

12 This has also contributed to the trend in specialisation (which all disciplines have experienced over the last century), in that the material culture uncovered is divided into materials or types of objects and treated in individual chapters by specialised authors.

recognised the importance of photography and illustration for newspapers and magazines, and both *The Listener* and *The Radio Times* reflected the importance of print for broadcasting in their use of illustrative material. Advances in printing colour illustrations made art books and museum publications cheaper to produce over the years of the early twentieth century, and, as I will illustrate further below, popular archaeological publishing profited from this as well.[13] As this chapter will further highlight, visual material could cross medial borders as easily as other kinds of archaeological information, and illustrations created for scholarly publications found enduring success in the popular market and vice versa. Archaeology, as any science, is based on observation and, through its engagement with material culture, has leant itself well to this emphasis on the visual.[14] Archaeologists have always relied heavily on illustration, be it of objects, architectural remains or, increasingly during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, to illustrate quantitative and scientific analyses in the form of tables or graphs. The uses to which they put photographic images of themselves, however, shows a marked shift, explored further below.

The Sumerians and *Ur of the Chaldees*

As I have shown throughout this thesis, the public or popular forum served as a space for scholarly boundary-work and communication. Leonard Woolley's books, published with four different publishers, offer an ideal case study to explore the success archaeology enjoyed in the popular market, while the reviews from his peers illustrate the seriousness with which they were received by the core-set and the wider scholarly world. Woolley's books, associated materials as well as the reviews thus serve as primary source material supplemented by archival material I have accessed in publishers' archives. Working with commercial archives has its successes and disappointments due to limited accessibility, owing to commercial reasons, transfer of company ownership, inconsistent retention policies, as well as many other reasons.[15] Oxford University Press, as one of the country's oldest presses, however, has an extensive archive, and the following account of Woolley's first two books is based on the material accessed there.

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13 Sarah Anne Hughes, 'Museum and Art Book Publishing', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume VII, the Twentieth Century and Beyond*, ed. by Andrew Nash *et al.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 443–455.

14 Balm 2012.

15 Nash, Squires and Willison 2019, p. 2. Nicola Wilson, 'Archive Fever: The Publisher's Archive and the History of the Novel', in *New Directions in the History of the Novel*, ed. by Patrick Parrinder, Andrew Nash and Nicola Wilson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 76–87. Andrew Nash, 'Publishers' Archives, Authors' Papers, and Literary Scholarship' in *The Future of Literary Archives. Diasporic and Dispersed Collections at Risk*, ed. by David C. Sutton (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2018), 115–125.

By the time Norrington contacted Woolley, OUP had already made the move towards including non-scholarly publications on their lists. Generally speaking, these were published by the London office, then headed by Humphrey Milford.[16] It is therefore significant to note that *The Sumerians*, like Randall-MacIver's *The Etruscans*, was published by the academic branch of the press. While it was to be aimed at a general reader, this did not preclude it from being conceived as a scholarly piece of work, either by the author, his publishers or the reviewers.

Woolley's celebrity status, gained with his newspaper and magazine articles, radio talks and public lectures had made him a desirable author.[17] He had, through these media, demonstrated his ability to communicate with a general readership, while his standing within the discipline was demonstrated by his scholarly publications and his continued successes at Ur. The annual exhibitions of Ur finds at the British Museum attracted large crowds and were advertised and reviewed widely, most notably after the discovery of the first 'Royal Graves' during the 1926–27 excavation season.[18] It was therefore probably a combination of these facts that prompted Norrington to contact Woolley with his proposal. As explored in Chapter Two, *The Sumerians* presented an overview of Sumerian history by providing information about the possible origins of the Sumerians and other peoples of the Ancient Near East, an outline of the succession of kings and dynasties as well as some aspects of society and technological advances throughout the millennia. *The Sumerians*' focus on Sumerian culture and known history as confirmed by written records precluded Woolley from including

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16 Who had published Woolley's *Dead Towns and Living Men* in 1920. For further descriptions of the management structure of OUP, its development in Oxford, London and abroad as well as its relation to Oxford University see W. R. Louis, 'Introduction: The Evolution of the Press over a Critical Three-Quarters of a Century, from the 1890s to the 1970s', in *The History of Oxford University Press: 1896 to 1970*, ed. by W. R. Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1–11; Samantha J. Rayner, 'University Presses and Academic Publishing' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume VII, the Twentieth Century and Beyond*, ed. by Andrew Nash *et al.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 470–483.

17 I employ this term consciously as defined by Graeme Turner as "the point at which media interest in their activities is transferred from reporting on their public role … to investigating the details of their private lives." Quoted in Simon Morgan, 'Celebrity: Academic "Pseudo-Event" or a Useful Concept for Historians?', *Cultural and Social History* 8/1 (2011), 95–114, p. 97.

18 The British Museum's published list of temporary excavations lists exhibitions only for the years 1923, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930. Joanna Bowring, *Chronology of Temporary Exhibitions at the British Museum,* British Museum Occasional Paper 189 (2012). Woolley published two guides, in 1929 and 1930: C. Leonard Woolley, *Antiquities of Ur. An Introduction to the Seventh Temporary Exhibition of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia* (London: British Museum, 1929b); *idem, Antiquities of Ur. An Introduction to the Eight Temporary Exhibition of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia* (London: British Museum, 1930e), sold for 6d. BMCE, Trustees Meetings' Minutes, 13 July 1929, p. 7. The 1929 guide sold 10'000 copies while the exhibition was on display (6 July to 31 October). BMCE, Trustees Meetings' Minutes, 9 November 1929, p. 8.

much information about the Royal Tombs, as few of the individuals could with certainty be named. Neither could he say much on the rituals involved in their burials. For his next book, Woolley therefore chose to focus on processes of excavation and conservation, often challenging and time-consuming due to the fragility of the objects. The Ur excavations not only presented the opportunity to discuss ancient society, they also contributed substantially to the development of methods in the field and chronology, as shown in Chapter One. Fieldwork and the journeys and interactions with foreign communities associated with it have been enduringly popular subjects and contributed enormously to archaeologists' success in the press and on the airwaves. As previous chapters have illustrated, in both of these media archaeologists focused on these aspect of their work. Frustratingly for OUP, however, Woolley took this very popular subject to a competing publisher.

Ur of the Chaldees appeared with Ernest Benn Ltd. around Christmas 1929 to great public success.[19] Ernest Benn (1875–1954) had started his career as a publisher in the company founded by his father, Benn Brothers Ltd., which published various trade papers. After the First World War he established a separate book department, which was turned into an independent company in 1923, Ernest Benn Ltd. From 1921 this department – and later the publishing company – was managed by Victor Gollancz (1893–1967) and experienced great success with *Benn's Sixpenny Library*, a series of reference books and one of the precursor of Allen Lane's Penguin paperbacks. Gollancz's tenure as managing director from 1921 to 1927 further resulted in an expansion towards publishing fiction as well as a growing list of books on art, design, archaeology and other topics. The company proved 'a staggering success … with the turnover rising from £2,000 on foundation to £250,000 seven years later', and in the first instance published technical trade books, while Gollancz was gradually adding lucrative and expensive art books to the list, aimed at collectors.[20] First tentative moves towards general publishing were made with the purchase of Jarrolds in 1921 and of Fisher & Unwin in 1926. However, Benn's and Gollancz's diverging political leanings soon added to their considerable personal differences; Benn's outspoken libertarianism

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19 Unfortunately no files regarding this publication could be located in the company's archives. These form part of the records of A & C Black Publishers Ltd., who purchased Ernest Benn Ltd. in 1984. Bloomsbury Publishing in turn acquired them in 2000. The collection is part of The Archive of British Publishing and Printing at University of Reading Special Collections. The following account thus relies on archival material from OUP.

20 Dudley Edwards 1987, p. 144.

and Individualism becoming irreconcilable with the latter's socialism, and Gollancz left Benn's to found his own publishing company in 1927.[21]

While publishers' motives for commissioning a book or accepting a manuscript are difficult to pin down, Gollancz's colleague Douglas Jerrold related that, following on from the success the art books enjoyed, he suggested 'publish[ing] books illustrating the culture of an epoch, a race or a religion… for a cultured market that loved beauty for its own sake…'[22] And, in his memoirs Ernest Benn named *The Letters of Gertrude Bell* (1927) as one of his greatest successes.[23] While the lack of archival sources prevents any further analysis of Woolley's choice to approach Benn's (or vice versa), the success of *The Letters* might be presumed to have opened the publishing house's doors to *Ur of the Chaldees*.[24]

Over at OUP, this book followed *The Sumerians* rather too close for comfort for the editors. In September 1929 Norrington wrote to Woolley that Robert William Chapman (1881–1960), Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press, had told him about the book Woolley was doing for Benn. He continued by saying

> how sorry I am that it could not have been for us. I purposely did not worry you about any further plans at present, because I thought you were too full up and would not have time. But of course there is no more to be said.[25]

Woolley defended himself by saying that he was sorry that Norrington 'felt badly about the small book' which he was publishing with Benn. He hadn't submitted it to OUP, 'simply because I was quite sure that it wasn't of the right sort; it is a very popular and non-scientific thing which really isn't in your line.'[26]

Whether Woolley was sincere about his reasons for not submitting the material to OUP or not must remain a matter of opinion. What is striking about his statement is that he saw a stark difference between popular and scientific books and perceived his own two publications as falling into these seemingly opposed categories. The principal difference between the two books is their respective main focus: *Ur of the Chaldees* was,

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21 Deryck Abel, 'Benn, Sir Ernest John Pickstone, second baronet (1875-1954)', revised by B. Brodie, online edition, ODNB, 2004; Sheila Hodges, 'Gollancz, Sir Victor (1893-1967)', online edition, *ODNB*, 2004; Benn 1949, pp. 150-2; Deryck Abel, *Ernest Benn: Counsel for Liberty* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1960); Dudley Edwards 1987, p. 157.

22 Dudley Edwards 1987, p. 146. The suggestion apparently met with derision in the first instance, as it was not deemed commercially viable.

23 Benn 1949, p. 156. Various printings sold 'many thousands'.

24 In her letters, Bell discussed archaeology and her role in the antiquities administration of Iraq in great detail. Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *The Letters of Gertrude Bell. Selected and Edited by Lady Bell* [Florence Eveleen Eleanor Bell] (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1927).

25 OUPA, A. Norrington to C. Leonard Woolley, 19 September 1929.

26 OUPA, C. Leonard Woolley to A. Norrington, 20 September 1929. In repeating this statement in a letter to Humphrey Milford Norrington concluded that still 'the same old fallacy' persisted that OUP are "'too proud to sell'". OUPA, A. Norrington to Mr Milford, 9 October 1929.

according to its subtitle, *A Record of Seven Years of Excavation*, and Woolley spent considerable time on the stratigraphy of Ur, specifically the earlier phases. He furthermore explained some of his methodology, especially the excavation of graves, the conservation and restoration of some of the objects found, and building and architectural styles. And, perhaps most importantly, he was able to include more information about the Royal Cemetery and the so-called Flood levels, which was not fully available to him for *The Sumerians*, but which had caught the public imagination so strongly.

This tension between the scientific and the popular was by no means unique to archaeology. Some scientists' academic careers suffered from being too popular as they could lose their peers' respect if they crossed the disciplinary boundary to publish in the dailies too often.[27] Woolley never held a university position, and therefore did not have anything to lose in this respect but everything to gain in terms of fees and royalties.[28]

The initial success of *Ur of the Chaldees* with two impressions in the first month of publication further embittered Norrington at OUP and his tone sharpened notably over the following months, both in his letters to Woolley as well as to his colleagues.[29] He replied to Woolley's perhaps slightly disingenuous letter of 29 September 1929 (quoted above) with the remark that '[w]e can't very well publish novels … But there is practically nothing else that we won't gladly publish, if it is, in our opinion, good in its kind.[30]

Oxford University Press was indeed changing their publishing practices. One of the oldest presses in the United Kingdom (together with its Cantabrigian counterpart), OUP and its staff were adapting to a changing landscape in British publishing as described above.[31] Men like Geoffrey Faber and Victor Gollancz, Jonathan Cape and later Allan Lane (see below) combined their passion for the written word with new marketing and business practices. In December 1929, when *Ur of the Chaldees* first appeared, Norrington wrote to Woolley, tentatively mentioning a second edition of *The Sumerians* while chiding him further: 'I see Benns [*sic*] have paid us the curious compliment of bringing out Ur of the Chaldees in a format exactly similar to the

27 Peter Bowler, 'Presidential Address: Experts and Publishers: Writing Popular Science in Early Twentieth-Century Britain, Writing Popular History of Science Now', *British Journal for the History of Science* 39/141 (2006), 159–187, p. 163.

28 See Millerman 2015 for the Joint Expedition's continuous money problems. Woolley's almost relentless publicising and the donations this attracted contributed substantially to the budget.

29 OUPA, A. Norrington to H. Milford, 2 January 1930.

30 OUPA, A. Norrington to C. Leonard Woolley, 9 October 1929.

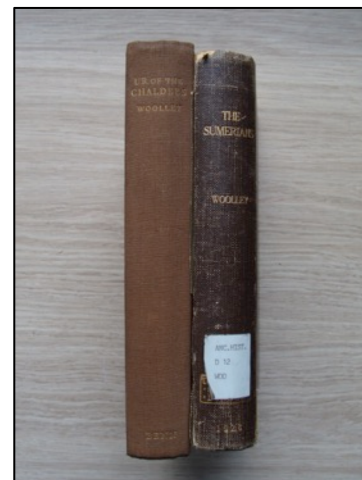
31 Stevenson 2010.

Sumerians' (See Figures 5.1 and 5.2).[32] Not prepared to let it go, Norrington complained to Milford in London:

> It [*Ur of the Chaldees*] is a shameless imitation of our Series… If you remove their jacket the book is exactly uniform with our book, and is quite unlike any other Benn publication. They give less text and pictures and charge 7/6 to our 6/-. Also they have printed on very cheap and nasty paper, and their plates are extraordinarily feeble. Yet they have had two impressions in the first month of publication, confound them.'[33]

And in a reply to Geoffrey Cumberlege (1891–1979) in New York Norrington worked himself up even further:

> The Benn book is a disgusting thing of Woolley to have done, and my opinion of him also dropped several points… Woolley had never breathed a word of it to us, and when I attacked him on the subject … he put up the feeble defence that he did not think it was the sort of book that we should have wanted, because it was popularly written!
> I am almost more angry with Benn, who have had the cheek to produce their book in exactly the same format as ours, binding and all. It is a sort of compliment no doubt, and any intelligent person will observe that, while our book is rather well printed, theirs is very badly printed, especially the half-tones, and, containing less material than ours, costs 7/6 to our 6/-. But I am sore about it.[34]



Figures 5.1 and 5.2: *Ur of the Chaldees* and *The Sumerians* showing the similar format and colouring.
***Ur of the Chaldees*: author's copy. *The Sumerians*: UCL Library Services. © Hélène Maloigne**

32 OUPA, A. Norrington to C. Leonard Woolley, 24 December 1929.

33 OUPA, A. Norrington to H. Milford, 2 January 1930. OUP was well known for and proud of its high quality paper, produced in Oxford (Louis 2013, p. 14).

34 OUPA, A. Norrington to G. F. J. Cumberlege, 20 January 1930. 7s. 6d. was the standard price for hardback novels in that period. Both *The Sumerians* and *Ur of the Chaldees* were therefore competitively priced. Joicey 1993, p. 26; McAleer 1990, p. 268. Jacket design is not mentioned in this correspondence and I have been unable to locate first editions with jackets preserved.

Readers continued to buy the Benn book while sales for *The Sumerians* were lagging (the third printing had not yet sold out in February 1930) and Norrington suggested to Woolley a fourth printing, to tie them over until Woolley found the time for a second edition.[35] By May 1930 *The Sumerians* had sold about 7800 copies. A second edition was still on the table, but Woolley was reluctant. He did not want to just add a chapter on the new discoveries, especially the Flood levels, on to the end, and thought that it would be better to wait two or three years until excavations had produced a solid amount of new data. According to him, Norrington continues – and this information remains uncorroborated due to a lack of sources in the Ernest Benn archive – Benn had sold

> 5,000 of Ur of the Chaldees in the first three or four weeks, to their great surprise, and have now sold over 9,000 over here. Scribners took the book in the U.S.A. and, starting with 1500 in March, have recently ordered another 500.

Norrington also reported Woolley saying that 'Ur of the Chaldees was written during a fortnight of bad weather on a holiday in France, and that it really is not much of a book.'[36] He apparently reiterated his opinion that OUP 'should [not] want it, and ("the woman tempted me") Mrs. Woolley suggested sending it to Benns [*sic*], in order to reach a different public.' Katharine Woolley's shrewd assessment of the reading public of various publishing houses (if this was indeed her influence and not merely another attempt by her husband to pass on the blame) certainly resulted in considerable revenue for the couple. In 1935 a note from Milford to Oxford relayed that 'Woolley reported that he had received royalties in excess of £1000 from Benn for his two books. (How much have we paid W.?).[37]

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35 OUPA, A. Norrington to C. Leonard Woolley, 4 February 1930.

36 This is corroborated by the fact that in *Ur of the Chaldees* Woolley was able to write about excavations undertaken in the winter of 1928/1929. Woolley 1929a, p. 24. However, the *Daily Mail* reported in a humorous item that Woolley was working on his book while at Ur, indicating that it had been planned since at least winter 1928/29. 'Play "General Post". A New Year Suggestion to Novelists', *Daily Mail*, 27 December 1929, 17.

37 OUPA, H. Milford to A. Norrington, 27 June 1932. A pencilled note on the bottom of the page records the reply: 'Between £350 and £400 – on one 6/- book. Ur of the Chaldees (fewer words and fewer pictures than Sumerians) is 7/6.' The other book referred to in this note is *Digging up the Past*. As far as I have been able to ascertain, these numbers relate to sales in the UK. As noted above, all of Woolley's books were translated into German, French and a number of other languages and probably sold well abroad. Benn sold the German rights to *Ur of the Chaldees* to 'Backhaus' (as Norrington maliciously reports Woolley referring to the German publishing house Brockhaus), who had outbid the publishers of *The Sumerians*, the Franckh'sche Buchhandlung. Woolley said that 'they lost the book because they took too long to answer Benns [*sic*] letter, but the real fact evidently is that Backhaus outbid them, for Backhaus are paying a clear 10% …' There are no files on *Ur und die Sintflut. Sieben Jahre Ausgrabungen in Chaldäa, der Heimat Abrahams* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1931), as *Ur of the Chaldees* was translated, in the Brockhaus archive. It appeared in 1930 but no correspondence, information on print run or production costs was retained. In 1932 Brockhaus published Woolley's *Digging up the Past* as *Mit Hacke und Spaten. Die Erschliessung versunkener Kulturen* (Leipzig: Brockhaus,

These events in the publishing world – as much as they can be reconstructed from only one archival source – demonstrate how Woolley successfully played off one publisher against another for his greatest benefit. The competition between publishing houses in the popular archaeology market appears to have been quite stiff, judging from the rising exasperation and eventual resignation to the facts by OUP. What we can glean from this correspondence and what informs the questions underpinning this thesis is the demand by the public, keenly recognised by publishers and archaeologists alike. The fact that Benn took on the risk of publishing a book, similar in look and content to *The Sumerians*, sold at a higher price but at lower production costs, gives at least an indication of this demand, in conjunction with the success both books enjoyed (with estimated combined UK sales of circa 17,000 copies between 1928 and 1930).[38] The focus Woolley placed in *Ur of the Chaldees* on fieldwork methods rather than on interpretation speaks further to the importance fieldwork had as a theme in archaeological writing as explored in Chapter One.

Both *The Sumerians* and *Ur of the Chaldees* were reviewed in major newspapers and magazines.[39] Book reviews were often published anonymously but were of course usually written by someone familiar with the subject. This comes through in most reviews, which lamented the lack of material evidence Woolley was able to give for his dating of the early periods in *The Sumerians.* As discussed in Chapter One, chronology was one of the main issues archaeologists were grappling with at the period. In addition, R. Campbell Thompson pointed out Woolley's lack of linguistic skills as one of the main shortcomings of *The Sumerians* but called it 'the best popular English book on the subject.'[40] *Ur of the Chaldees* fared generally better as it was less concerned with ancient history but rather with fieldwork methods.

19321)*,* under the name Leonhard Woolley. The Brockhaus archive has not retained any files on this either (Thekla Kluttig, Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Staatsarchiv Leipzig, pers. comm.).

38 Despite rising unemployment and the economic downturn the book market in general registered rising sales figures during the 1930s. D. J. Taylor, *The Prose Factory: Literary Life in England since 1918* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2016), p. 107–8.

39 'The Sumerians. By C. Leonard Woolley' [Review], *The Times*, 1 February 1929, 17; H. J. M. 'Books of the Day. The Sumerians. By C. Leonard Woolley [Review]'. *The Manchester Guardian*, 20 February 1929, 7; 'Ur of the Chaldees. By C. Leonard Woolley', *Saturday Review,* 22 February 1930, 242; 'The Listener's Book Chronicle, [Review of *The Sumerians*]', *The Listener*, 6 March 1929, 291; 'Our Booking Office [Review of *Ur of the Chaldees*]', *Punch*, 5 February 1930, 166; 'The Listener's Book Chronicle', [Review of *Ur of the Chaldees*], *The Listener*, 22 January 1930, 156.

40 Reginald Campbell Thompson, 'Review [*The Sumerians*],' *The Times Literary Supplement*, 21 March 1929, 226; T. G. Pinches, 'Review [*The Sumerians* by C. Leonard Woolley],' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3 (July 1929), 680–683; R. Butin, 'Review [*The Sumerians*],' *The Catholic Historical Review* 15/2 (1929), 206–208; Bruno Meissner, 'Buchbesprechung [*The Sumerians* by C. Leonard Woolley],' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 84 (nF. 9) 1/2 (1930), 100–104; E.B.,

The popular appeal of fieldwork

In *Ur of the Chaldees* and his next publication, *Digging up the Past* (Ernest Benn Ltd., 1930), Woolley focused less on Mesopotamian (pre-)history and more on the processes of excavation.[41] *Digging up the Past* was based on Woolley's six-part radio series of the same name. It was common practice for BBC lecturers to follow up radio talks with publication in a newspaper or *The Listener* and subsequently with publication in book form.[42] This, as discussed in Chapter Four, contributed substantially to the legitimation through print sought by both lecturers and the BBC as a young institution. While Woolley re-wrote and extended the material for the book from the original lectures, the tone of his writing for the book remained essentially the same: a colloquial style, addressing the reader eye-to-eye.[43] He based his descriptions of archaeology's aims and methods on examples from his own as well as others' excavations (mainly in Egypt and the Middle East), including sections on how to organise a dig, employing local workers and staff, the skills of an archaeologist and many other practical aspects of archaeological work.

Both *Ur of the Chaldees* and *Digging up the Past* moreover illustrate well the intermedial appeal of archaeology. Woolley first wrote about the silver ribbon found on body 69 which inspired the *Punch* poet and the *Evening Standard* cartoonist in the former book. The focus on fieldwork in both publications also presented him with the opportunity to conduct boundary-work not only in writing but also in illustration.[44]

Early on in the Ur project, George Byron Gordon wrote to Woolley requesting photographs with 'work going on'. What he wanted were images of 'natural groups of the natives of Irak [*sic*]' and a good photograph of yourself in the field'. He explained that these requests were 'in keeping with the traditions of American journalism', and what the press were after was 'something of the human side of the expedition and its surroundings'.[45] Apparently this first request was unsuccessful as Gordon repeated it in

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'Review [*Ur of the Chaldees*],' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 56 (1930), 326; R.D. 'Review [*The Sumerians* by C. Leonard Woolley],' *Syria* 10, Fasc. 2 (1929), 164–166;

41 Woolley 1930a. Unfortunately the Benn archive did not retain any material on this publication.

42 William Henry Bragg's *Concerning the Nature of Things* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1925) took the same route. Friday 1974, p. 61.

43 As no transcripts survive in the BBC archives, I have here taken the articles published in *The Listener* as my basis for comparison.

44 No sales numbers are available from the Benn archive, but *Digging up the Past* was highly successful publication, being the first of Woolley's to be taken on by Penguin (see below), and meriting a second edition in 1954. C. Leonard Woolley, *Digging up the Past*, 2nd edition (London: Ernest Benn Ltd, 1954).

45 BMCA, WY1 1/41, George Byron Gordon to C. Leonard Woolley, 16 September 1924.

his letter to Woolley later in the season.[46] He explained that he realized that this was 'a subject for a photographer with an artistic eye and accustomed to making picturesque or striking compositions.' The prime example of this visual strategy is the excavation of the tomb of Tutankhamun, as Christina Riggs has recently explored in great detail. Riggs demonstrates that the photographic staging by Harry Burton (the Metropolitan Museum's photographer seconded to Carter's excavation) has had a lasting influence on how archaeologists depict themselves conducting fieldwork, 'merging as it does an aesthetic of discovery and the trope of solitary masculine endeavour.'[47]

Few excavations could afford experienced professionals like Burton.[48] The importance of accurate and professional recording, however, was high on archaeologists' agenda, as they worked to legitimise and delimit their science. While Woolley did not have a 'professional' European photographer at his disposal, he had been training one of Sheikh Hamoudi's sons, Yahia, as the excavation photographer at Ur. In this, he followed the advice given by earliest archaeological earliest manuals and handbooks.[49]

The images Yahia subsequently produced showed Woolley and usually Katharine and Sheik Hamoudi engaged in measuring, sorting pottery or excavating delicate finds, illustrating well Katharine and Sheikh Hamoudi's pivotal roles in the project. While these were activities that they surely undertook as part of their work, these images were probably taken specifically for publicity purposes. Jennifer Chi and Pedro Azara's remark that Katharine Woolley was 'always unexpectedly well dressed on the excavation' speaks to the probability that the photographs were staged.[50] Precisely

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46 BMCA, WY1 1/22, George Byron Gordon to C. Leonard Woolley, 21 January 1925.

47 Riggs 2019, pp. 141–142. Ned Woodall and Philip. J. Perricone, 'The Archaeologist as Cowboy. The Consequence of Professional Stereotype', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 8 (1981), 506–509; Moser 2007; Cornelius Holtorf, 'An Archaeological Fashion Show. How Archaeologists Dress and How they are Portrayed in the Media', in *Archaeology and the Media*, ed. by Timothy Clack and Marcus Brittain (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), 69–88.

48 According to Frederick Bohrer, 'the staff photographer was quite often the lowest of imported Western excavation workers, and often had administrative functions as well.' This statement – possibly accurate for the later nineteenth century – no longer held true for most projects of the interwar period. Bohrer 2011, pp. 50–51.

49 Hélène Maloigne and Murat Akar, 'Envisioning the Past, Documenting the Present' in *The Forgotten Kingdom. Archaeology and Photography at ancient Alalakh*, ed. by Murat Akar and Hélène Maloigne (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2014), 134–141; William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1904); J. P. Droop, *Archaeological Excavation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915); Peter Der Manuelian and George Andrew Reisner, 'George Andrew Reisner on Archaeological Photography', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29 (1992), 1–34.

50 Jennifer Y. Chi and Pedro Azara, 'Glam-UR-ous. The Art of Archaeology and Aesthetics' in *From Ancient to Modern. Archaeology and Aesthetics*, ed. by Jennifer Y. Chi and Pedro Azara (New York/Princeton: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University/Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 33. Neither Leonard Woolley's nor Sheik Hamoudi's clothing has elicited similar remarks. But see Hélène Maloigne, 'Making Use of the Past. The Possibilities of Archaeological Archives' in *Alalakh and its Neighbors: Proceedings of the 15th Anniversary Symposium at the*

as a press photographer would take a snapshot of a politician leaving a meeting or members of the aristocracy at a social event, the Woolleys and Yahia utilized the idea of the 'photo-op' as a 'compromise between the candid photograph and the posed shot' to communicate their work to the press and the wider public (Figure 5.3).[51]

Considering the ubiquity of human-interest stories in the British press and Gordon's request it is however curious to note that none of these images were used either in the *ILN* or *The Times* or indeed any other British newspaper explored in Chapter Three.[52] Woolley, however, put them to good use in both *Ur of the Chaldees* and *Digging up the Past*.

Figure 5.3. Katharine and Leonard Woolley working back to back, with Sheikh Hamoudi (1928–1929)[53]
© The Trustees of the British Museum

Similar to the arguments made by Massimiano Bucchi, Marcel LaFollette has asserted that scientists use the public forum to communicate with their peers.[54] Her division of the types of scientists encountered in popular media (wizard, expert, creator/destroyer, hero) has found wide acceptance with scholars of literature and cultural historians alike.[55] Archaeologists combined the aspects of the hero with those

New Hatay Archaeology Museum, June 10–12, 2015, ed. by K. AslıhanYener and Tara Ingman. (Leiden: Peeters, in print).
Katharine usually sported flat-heeled shoes with a strap, stockings, plus-four trousers, a long-sleeved blouse or shirt, occasionally a cardigan, gloves and cloche hat with a brim. Leonard's outfit throughout his career consisted of thick socks worn below the knee, shorts, an open-necked white shirt, no tie, and a telescope-crown hat.

51 Linkof 2018, p. 10.
52 The American press is outside the scope of this thesis.
53 This was the frontispiece to *Digging up the Past*. There are a number of similar photographs in the book, showing Woolley paying the workers, and Woolley and another person block-lifting a skeleton.
54 LaFollette 1990.
55 Petra Pansegrau, 'Zwischen Fakt und Fiktion – Stereotypen von Wissenschaftlern in Spielfilmen' in *Frosch und Frankenstein. Bilder als Medium der Popularisierung von Wissenschaft*, ed. by Bernd Hüppauf and Peter Weingart (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2015), 373–386.

of the expert in their use of images in popular mass media. LaFollette argues that scientists profited from the dramatic capabilities of science, using 'suspense, action, and resolution', evident in Woolley's story about the discovery of golden spears (Chapter Three). The author furthermore highlights a tendency in popular scientific writings to identify the worker with the work, thus attributing him (or occasionally her) with the intellectual and moral attributes inherent to the work itself.[56] The use of this narrative device places archaeology in the same literary tradition as exploration and travel writing as closely related forms of writing.[57]

Showing himself and Katharine engaged in archaeological work thus performed a double function of communication in the popular forum for Woolley. It demonstrated his credentials as a fieldworker, conducting his own research (a step in the professionalization of archaeology discussed in detail in Chapter One) towards his colleagues, and it created a visual repertoire for the general public fascinated by this newly emerging process of scientific excavation. This has shaped the image of the 'heroic' archaeologist in the popular imagination to this day.

As Chapter Two has shown, Woolley placed great value on the scientifically 'accurate' illustration of objects and reconstructions. Five years passed before Woolley published another 'popular' book, as the excavation and the publication of the final reports took up most of his time. M. Louise Baker's drawings for Volume II of the Ur Excavation Reports reflect well the effort and time involved in scientific illustrations, and Woolley's rejection of her drawing of Puabi's reconstructed bust the importance of getting it right. The volume was well received (bar disagreements with Woolley's dating), and most reviewers emphasised the quality of the illustrations.[58] The Ur excavations closed in 1934, after which Woolley began a long period of frustrating negotiations with the funding institutions over publication of the final results.[59] As Baker's drawings were produced towards the end of the Ur excavation project, they

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56 LaFollette 1990, p. 111.

57 Wiedemann 2015a.

58 W. F. Albright, 'Ur Excavations, Vol. II: The Royal Cemetery. A Report on the Predynastic and Sargonid Graves Excavated between 1926 and 1931 [Review]', *American Journal of Archaeology* 38/4 (1934), 607–609; Egerton Beck, 'Ur Excavations, Vol. II: The Royal Cemetery. A Report on the Predynastic and Sargonid Graves Excavated between 1926 and 1931 [Review]', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 65 (1934), 136–137; Reginald Campbell Thompson, 'The Royal Tombs at Ur', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 12 April 1934, 261.

59 The University Museum had suffered great financial losses due to the Great Depression and saw itself unable to fund Woolley's salary during the writing-up period. The protracted story and the British Museum's mounting frustration with its former partnering institution can be followed in the Minutes of the Trustees' Meetings. Volume II of the series was the last to be fully funded by the two Museums.

were not often used in popular publications and rarely in articles. They were, however, ideal for illustrating Woolley's next publication with a commercial publisher.

In 1935 Woolley published *The Development of Sumerian Art* with Faber and Faber. The firm was founded in 1929 by Geoffrey Faber (1889–1961), as a successor to Faber and Gwyer Ltd. Faber and Faber, with T. S. Eliot and Richard de la Mare as editors, quickly became one of the most distinguished literary publishing houses, focusing particularly on poetry as well as art books.[60] Correspondence in the firm's archive is unfortunately incomplete and it remains unclear whether the book was commissioned or whether Woolley approached the firm himself. Neither exact print runs nor sales numbers are available as the relevant files in the archive contain no detailed information and the relevant ledgers have not been kept.[61] The book was priced at 30 shillings and was thus aimed at an audience with higher purchasing powers than the books discussed above. Many of the large and well-printed illustrations and plates were M. Louise Baker's. However, Woolley did not limit himself to discussing the Ur excavations and gave a wide overview of Mesopotamian material culture (up to the early 2nd millennium BC), including results from other relevant excavations. These results and the near understanding reached by the core-set about chronological terminology made a more sweeping overview of the development of monumental and applied arts (as well as ceramics) possible. These developments are also reflected in the further reading Woolley recommended at the end of each chapter. Not only had most of these works not been published when he wrote *The Sumerians* or *Ur of the Chaldees*, including a reading list also made things '*look* more scientific', as Woolley remarked to Frank Morley at Faber and Faber.[62] The publication was received well by reviewers, who mainly drew attention to the quality and number of illustrations included in the book. While they acknowledged his achievement in producing this synthesis of up-to-date knowledge (proving Hilda Matheson wrong in her judgment of his abilities), they

60 Charles Monteith, 'Faber, Sir Geoffrey Cust, (1889–1961)', revised by Clare L. Taylor, online edition, *ODNB*,2010; John Mullan, 'Style Council', *The Guardian*, 25 September 2004.

61 Robert Brown, pers. comm. The archival file at Faber and Faber begins in 1934, when the production process for the book seems to have been well advanced. The first items are regarding quotes from printers and sets of proofs. A letter by the printer Hamish Maclehose mentions 800 copies. Faber & Faber Archive [F&F]. Hamish Maclehose to R. de la Mare, 17 June 1935. The printers Henry Stone mentioned a reprint of 1000 copies (plus 850 with the Charles Scribner imprint for the American market) on 15 June 1935. Already in September 1935, John Johnson, Printer to OUP, asked whether the type could be distributed as he assumed no further copies of the book were to be printed. F&F, John Johnson to R. de la Mare, 28 September 1935. Faber staff confirmed this on 3 October 1935.

62 F&F, C. Leonard Woolley to Mr Morley, 4 February 1935. Emphasis added.

continued to use their reviews to (dis-)agree with Woolley on issues such as the origin and composition of the Sumerian 'race' or chronology.[63]

Woolley's successful popular books illustrate thus the range of visual strategies employed by archaeologists to communicate the development of their discipline, their increasingly professional status as scientists, all the while feeding the public's thirst for archaeology.

'…a riot of imagination'[64]

Woolley published a last, short monograph on the subject of Ur: *Abraham. Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins*, with Faber and Faber in 1936.[65] In 1933 Geoffrey Faber had written to Woolley to commission a book about archaeological discoveries and the historicity of the Bible, and perhaps *Abraham* was the result of this communication.[66] Despite its long gestation period, Woolley did not seem to have had time to conduct additional research and the book received mainly negative reviews. While Woolley tried his best to connect the archaeological record with Biblical accounts in his *Abraham*, it is pertinent to finally lay to rest the persistent myth that Woolley was trying to 'prove the Bible' by excavating at Ur.[67] This thesis has shown that Woolley made only use of Abraham and the story of the Flood as narrative devices in order to provide the reader or listener with a familiar setting. In his own words: 'One thing archaeology cannot do; it cannot "prove the truth" of the Bible in the sense which some people seem to demand of it…'.[68] In *Abraham*, Woolley used the finds at Ur rather to explain the part 'Sumerian civilisation played … in moulding the character of the Hebrew patriarch'.[69]

Campbell Thompson's scathing assessment, covering almost four pages in *The Antiquaries Journal*, and W. F. Albright's in the *Journal of Bible and Religion* might perhaps serve as examples for the book's reception. Campbell Thompson pointed out various misunderstandings Woolley had about Biblical criticism, Akkadian ritual texts and

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63 For example, Julius Jordan, 'Review of The Development of Sumerian Art by C. Leonard Woolley'. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 41/11 (1938), 683–84; Henri Frankfort, 'Review: The Development of Sumerian Art. By C. Leonard Woolley.' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 68/94 (1936), 58; 'The Listener's Book Chronicle', *The Listener*, 6 November 1935, 832–833; Charles Marriott, 'Sumerian Art', *The Times Literary Supplement,* 27 June 1935, 411.

64 Geoffrey Rolles Driver, 'The Story of Abraham: A Reconstruction of Ur (Review of Abraham. Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins)', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 7 March 1936, 194.

65 C. Leonard Woolley, *Abraham. Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins* (London: Faber & Faber, 1936a). The Faber archives have retained no information regarding this publication. Woolley dedicated it to Rudyard Kipling, 'in gratitude and affection to you to whom archaeologists and historians owe so much'. Woolley 1936a, n.p.

66 BMCA WY1 26/25, Geoffrey Faber to C. Leonard Woolley, 9 November 1933.

67 For example, Bernhardsson 2005, p. 132.

68 C. Leonard Woolley, 'Bible History and the Archaeologist', *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 August 1928c, 8.

69 Woolley 1936a, p. 18.

Semitic nomenclature, to name but a few issues. These reviews echoed Randall-MacIver's assessment that fieldworkers would find it hard to produce works incorporating knowledge from a range of fields due to their lack of time to study them. Albright's review thus ended with the exclamation: 'What a book he might write if he would take the trouble to master certain essential fields!'[70]

Pelican

Despite the bad reception of *Abraham*, in 1937 Woolley entered what has surely become the Olympus of British publishing—Penguin paperbacks.[71] *Digging Up the Past* was republished as No. A4 in the Pelican Series in 1937, and *Ur of the Chaldees* as No. A27 of the same series in 1938. The non-fiction line of Allen Lane's hugely successful new publishing venture had begun in 1937 with George Bernhard Shaw's *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism, Capitalism, Sovietism, & Fascism* and, throughout the years, covered a wide range of political, economic, cultural and scientific subjects. Woolley joined a 'pragmatic and arbitrary' selection of scholars and writers to make up the first ten Pelicans, who were chosen so as 'not to intimidate the book-buyers who had responded so eagerly to the Penguin list.'[72] As Penguin was not the original publisher of either book, the archival material deals mainly with permissions, reprints, corrections and, after the Second World War, with the second editions of both *Ur of the Chaldees* and *Digging up the Past*.[73] Reprints continued well past Woolley's lifetime, but sales figures for the early years are hard to come by.[74]

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[70] Reginald Campbell Thompson, 'Review [Abraham: Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins. By Sir Leonard Woolley],' *The Antiquaries Journal* 16/4 (1936), 476–480; W. F. Albright, 'Review [Abraham: Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins 1937]', *Journal of Bible and Religion* 5/4 (1937), 182–183.

[71] Nash, Squires and Willison call the Penguin paperback the 'most iconic product' of the book in Britain. Nash, Squires and Willison 2019, p. 10. Morpurgo, 1979; Joicey 1993; Steve Hare, *Penguin Portrait. Allen Lane and the Penguin Editors, 1935–1970* (London: Penguin, 1995); Simon Eliot, 'A Prehistory for Penguins' in *Reading Penguin. A Critical Anthology*, ed. by William Wooten (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 1–26; Stuart Kells, *Penguin and the Lane Brothers. The Untold Story of a Publishing Revolution* (Collingwood: Black Inc., 2015).

[72] Morpurgo 1979, p. 117.

[73] At University of Bristol, Library, Special Collections [hereafter PA]. Unfortunately, the first items date to 1942, so neither the original agreement with Benn or any correspondence with Woolley regarding his inclusion in the series have survived.

[74] Amara Thornton gives 'around 40,000 books per year for most titles', without indicating which printing or series this relates to. Thornton 2018, p. 172. *Digging up the Past* was also included in Penguin's'Forces Series'. PA DM1107/02/0004.5. [Digging Up the Past] E. E. Frost to C. L. Woolley 23 November 1942. *Digging up the Past* went through eleven reprints. Thornton 2018, p. 172–173. PA DM1107/02/0004.5. [Digging Up the Past] C. Leonard Woolley to H. Macadam, 28 March 1959; PA DM1107/02/004.5 Kenneth Day, Ernest Benn Ltd., to Valerie Willey, Penguin Books Ltd., 10 August 1965, thanking her for copies of the 10th reprint. The file DM1107/02/0027.4 [*Ur of the Chaldees*] equally begins in 1942. In 1946 Woolley further wrote *Ur–The First Phases* as part of the King Penguin Book Series (No. 25). For this there are no files available, as indeed for the whole King Penguin series. See Hare, 1995, p. xiv.

Despite this lack of hard numbers it is significant that Lane and his editors chose to include Woolley's publications that were more concerned with how archaeologists worked rather than those describing what they found.[75] The Penguin venture had been a risky undertaking, nearly bankrupting the Lane brothers, and the reluctance of other publishers to licence their material to Lane had limited their selection for the first Penguins.[76] The success of these far exceeded expectations and Penguin Books was subsequently more successful in convincing their fellow publishers (and their authors) to collaborate. This gave access to best-selling authors, a fact which surely also informed the 'arbitrary' selection of publications. The inclusion of *Digging up the Past* in the early part of the series, alongside titles on politics, economics and history, illustrates once again the prominent place archaeology, and especially its fieldwork component, occupied in interwar reading.[77]

Conclusion

Leonard Woolley's success as a book author was based on the popularity he had achieved in the daily and illustrated press and on the radio. The relative ease with which he tacked between the scientific and popular modes and the three media explored in this thesis has contributed to his lasting fame as one of archaeology's best-known popularizers. In addition to his talent for communicating with the general reader as well as his colleagues, this chapter has highlighted the external factors contributing to his success. The British publishing sector underwent a series of changes after the First World War. Academic and trade publishers alike (as well as booksellers) were forced to adapt to new and more aggressive marketing and branding campaigns by younger publishing firms. This led to a blurring of the lines between scholarly and popular publishing, while archaeology as a science underwent a simultaneous process of professionalization and increasing specialisation. Developments in printing techniques, although perhaps not as revolutionary as in the illustrated press, made all kinds of visual

75 But note the change in subtitle of *Digging up the Past* in various printings pointed out by Amara Thornton. This went from 'Romance of Archaeology' before to 'introduction to archaeology showing how excavation has grown from a treasure hunt to a science' after the Second World War. Thornton 2018, p. 173.

76 David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 'Publishing' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume VII, the Twentieth Century and Beyond*, ed. by Andrew Nash *et al.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 146–190, pp. 159–163.

77 And beyond. Woolley's relationship with Penguin Books continued after the Second World War when he was commissioned to write a popular account of his excavations at Tell Atchana/ancient Alalakh for the *Pelican Archaeologies* series, edited by Max Mallowan. His *A Forgotten Kingdom. Being a Record of the Results Obtained from the Excavations of Two Mounds, Atchana and Al Mina, in the Turkish Hatay* (London: Penguin Books, 1953) appeared two years before the final excavation report. Thornton 2018, pp. 175–178.

material (especially in colour) cheaper to produce and therefore more appealing to publishers' profit margin calculations.

Exploring the archaeology of the Middle East through Woolley's books has enabled us to consider various moments in his career, his finances, his place within the discipline as well as the development of the discipline itself. From *The Sumerians* in 1928 to *Abraham* in 1936, Woolley engaged with his own and his peers' finds in a variety of formats. The importance of fieldwork and method for disciplinary boundary-work, evident in Woolley's *Digging up the Past*, furthermore allowed archaeologists the opportunity to write about a subject whose popularity was tried and tested in the public forum of newspapers and the radio. The photographs produced for the Ur excavations presented Woolley with the opportunity to show himself as an active fieldworker. The scientific illustrations created for the final excavation reports, like the photographs, crossed the medial boundary between scholarly and popular book (in *The Development of Sumerian Art*).

Using a range of archival and published sources, this chapter has contributed to explaining archaeology's popularity for interwar society by looking at it through archaeologists' and publishers' eyes. Whether they sold well or not, and whether they were reviewed favourably or dismissed, Woolley's books contributed substantially to archaeology's lasting popularity with the general readership as well as to archaeologists' understanding of the Mesopotamian past. Though still available in countless reprints and in a variety of formats, it is perhaps as Pelican paperbacks that Woolley's books have reached most readers throughout his lifetime and beyond.

6. Conclusion

Perusing the book stalls underneath Waterloo Bridge in London one can still expect to find one of Leonard Woolley's Pelican books for a couple of pounds (and, if lucky, one of the rarer ones from the rest of the core-set). The pleasure in 'discovering' and purchasing something to do with one's research has a curious effect on the researcher. It induces a kind of fever, affected by the materiality of the newly acquired possession.[1] As archaeologists we sometimes experience the same excitement, whether we are conducting our work in the field, in the museum or in the laboratory, and it is this spirit of expecting the unknown and finding the familiar that has made archaeology such an enduringly popular subject in the Western popular imagination.

In this conclusion I will review the results of this thesis and the many avenues of research it has opened through its main themes: the professionalization and popularization of archaeology and how they are connected through the intermedial character of the source material investigated here.

The professionalization of archaeology as a discipline in the twentieth century has a long trajectory, reaching back to the antiquarianism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By looking at a specific moment in this process, however, I have shown (in Chapter One) how archaeologists consciously conducted this boundary-work. The 'sudden coordination' evident to David Randall-MacIver in 1932 was the result of a number of collaborations as well as gatekeeping exercises by the 'core-set'. I have focused on a set of practitioners working in the Middle East, with Leonard Woolley as the most prolific author and BBC lecturer. By thus narrowing the focus I have explored the personal and professional relationships between archaeologists of all backgrounds, 'races' and genders. This has shown archaeology to be a collaborative exercise dependent a variety of social, political and economic factors. The importance of fieldwork and the social space of the excavation site are crucial in this context. Not only did archaeologists emphasise the importance of methods developed in the field for the development of their science and thus for their professionalization, they also used the professional and personal successes and difficulties of fieldwork to strike the

1 Jacques Derrida, *Mal d'Archive. Une impression Freudienne* (Paris: Éditions Galilée, 1995). Wilson 2014. Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randles. 'A Feeling for Things, Past and Present'. In *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions through History,* ed. by *eadem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 8–25.

imagination of their general readers and listeners. The archaeological site as a space of friendship, romance and many other kinds of relationships awaits further historical exploration. This thesis has opened the way to thinking about archaeology as a process affected, like any other human activity, by emotions, by our own personal experiences in peace and war and by the way we interact with others. This in turn, is influenced by our own particular past, our education, our politics, prejudices and expectations of society and how it should treat us as women and men, or in fact simply as individuals.

But there is, of course, an undeniable difference to how we perceive others and ourselves based on our ethnicity, class, sex or gender. Chapter Two has engaged with these complex issues by showing how archaeologists of the interwar period grappled with 'The Sumerian Question'. They thought of race, language and ethnicity (and sex) as intricately connected. Some, like Leonard Woolley, moved with the times and the evidence they were helping to unearth to adapt their interpretations of past societies. Other, like the anatomist Arthur Keith, saw a hierarchy of races, with white, western European man at the top. Keith investigated the human remains of ancient 'Sumerians' and 'Semites' through a lens of prejudice and struggled with the physical evidence that seemed to point to a close relationship between his own 'race' and people of colour (both of the past and his present). The logical contortions necessary to deal with this unsettling idea are evident in his writing, most conspicuously in relation to the female sex.

Chapter Two also introduced the importance of the archaeologist's gaze in interpreting the past. Katharine Woolley's reconstructed bust of Queen Puabi and M. Louise Baker's drawings for the final excavation reports emphasise the importance of female archaeologists in this process.[2] The story of the silver ribbon and body 69 from the Royal Cemetery thus points towards a further fruitful subject for the historian of archaeology: the influence of our own ideas of race, gender and class on the interpretation of our finds. The interwar stereotypes of 'surplus' young women and flappers were conflated with Orientalist ideas of the violent, decadent East, fuelled by a – some would say morbid – fascination for the archaeology of the dead. This aggregate inspired a range of materials created in a variety of formats: Woolley's books and newspaper articles, poems, illustrations and cartoons.

This thesis shows that images that are created for ostensibly either scientific or popular purposes easily crossed these imaginary borders and that in fact, at least in the

[2] I am fully aware that I have been making the same kinds of assumptions about my subjects' gender as the archaeologists I examine in this thesis. I have used the gender pronouns used in the archival and published sources.

interwar period, archaeologists had not yet started to think in exclusive terms. Their photographs, drawings and illustrations (as Woolley's output testifies) are used – often several times – in the full range of their publications, be they addressed to a scholarly or a popular audience. This points towards the permeable borders not only between the professionals and popularizers but also between the various media explored in this thesis. How Woolley and other archaeologists reused and recycled materials (both textual and illustrative) created for one medium in another points towards the intermedial nature of archaeology as a science itself.

The core-set's success in engaging the popular imagination began in the daily and weekly press.[3] Leonard Woolley here stands out among his peers as a prolific author and astute publicist of the Ur Excavations project. Supplementing the insecure funding by the British Museum and the University Museum by public subscription advertised through his many newspaper and magazine articles proved vital for the survival of the project over twelve seasons from 1922 to 1934. It also substantially contributed to his own fame and livelihood, which in turn depended on the continuation of the project. In Chapter Three I contextualised Woolley's articles through an in-depth analysis of two major British publications, *The Times* and *The Illustrated London News*. The latter has demonstrated the breadth of its archaeological reporting from around the world, not limited to the Middle East. A closer look at Woolley's articles in *The Times*, in combination with archival sources consulted at the British Museum and News UK, has shown how he adapted his writing to a range of audiences. I have highlighted a number of stories in this chapter (the discovery of a cache of objects, relations with the local communities, the silver ribbon first encountered in Chapter Two) to explore how archaeologists employed the press to conduct their boundary-work in the public forum.

Chapter Three, however, has also highlighted some of the challenges of historical research in the twenty-first century. While profiting from the access to a vast amount of data through digitised material, I have been limited in my approach by the transformations some of my source material has undergone. The online newspapers and magazines I have consulted were originally physical objects created to be touched, exchanged, left behind on a bus or treasured as an archival snippet. Digital platforms have their advantages in offering keyword search and widening access but they

[3] This is only a moment in the long relationship between archaeology and the press. The pedigree reaches back to Austen Henry Layard's exploits as reported by the *ILN*, or Heinrich Schliemann's successful publicising of his excavations at Troy and Mycenae, to name but a few.

profoundly influence and in a sense limit how we understand newspaper layout and formatting, both of which underwent important developments in the interwar period, introducing picture pages, colour photographs and new approaches to fusing image and text.

As archaeologists we are attuned to our sense of touch. The texture of an object, its dampness or brittleness all inform how we hold it, treat it, store it and record it. We are aware and sometimes surprised at, as Katharine Woolley succinctly put it, 'the permanence of unsubstantial things'.[4] This is an experience shared by historians working with archives where the letters we want to find most are often not preserved and yet we find information we never knew we wanted. As historians of the twentieth century we can rely on a further sense: that of sound. While none of Woolley's interwar BBC talks have survived, I have experienced yet another feverish archive moment while sitting in the sound booth at the British Library.[5] After a short crackle Leonard Woolley's voice comes to me from 1958, conjuring up the story of his capture by Ottoman troops in 1916.[6] As I listen to Woolley's voice, slightly slurring the end of his words, with a hint of the West Country every now and then, I imagine the listeners of the Twenties and Thirties, travelling in their imagination to the far away places conjured up by archaeologists speaking on the air.

Chapter Four introduced the importance of the radio to the history of archaeology. Much remains to be done in this field, most notably the relationship between archaeologists working in Britain, the holidaying and rambling public, and the BBC as a channel of communication. Applying a similar geographical approach to archaeological content on the BBC as in Chapter Three, I have, however, indicated the directions for further research in this area. Most important here seems to me the intermedial interdependence of the spoken and the printed word and thus the source material in the BBC magazines *The Radio Times* and *The Listener*.[7] The BBC was founded in 1922 (the year Woolley began excavating at Ur) and was undergoing its own process of professionalization. How BBC lectures (or 'talks') by established and popular

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4 Katharine Woolley, 'How Women Cooked 5,000 Years Ago', *Daily Mail*, 9 October 1929g, 12.

5 Joanne Begiato, 'Moving Objects. Emotional Transformation, Tangibility, and Time Travel'. In *Feeling Things. Objects and Emotions Through History*, ed. by Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 229–42, p. 235.

6 'The Sea-Soaked Wallet. Talk by Sir Leonard Woolley', *BBC Home Service*, 25 February 1958. Woolley was aboard a ship in the gulf of Alexandretta/Iskenderun which hit a mine. The crew was rescued by Ottoman troops but of course everything, including a wallet, which held a list of spies working for the British in the Ottoman Empire, was soaked.

7 Not of course neglecting the aural and written archives of the BBC.

scientists performed the boundary-work for the young institution and simultaneously for themselves remains to be fully unravelled.

Once again, Leonard Woolley has provided an interesting case with which to study this relationship. His work as a field archaeologist enabled him to command high fees for his talks when his discoveries were deemed 'spectacular' but it also significantly hampered him when they failed to capture the public imagination strongly. The archival sources at the BBC Written Archives Centre illustrate the value Hilda Matheson and other BBC staff placed on archaeology as a popular and serious subject for BBC broadcasting. They allowed us to place Woolley as a BCC lecturer in a wider historical context by tracing his waxing and waning popularity on the medium.

Finally, in Chapter Five, I explored the most durable of Woolley's publications: his books. The world of publishing in interwar Britain was competitive and the boundaries between scholarly and popular were fluid. This allowed archaeologists to explore complex subjects like migrations, race and gender in greater depth than afforded by a newspaper column or a fifteen-minute radio talk. Woolley's books *The Sumerians, The Development of Sumerian Art* or *Abraham. Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins* were thus popular as much as scholarly in that they presented evidence newly acquired through his and other's recent excavations. This also made them subject to peer-to-peer criticism and the publicly performed boundary-work of book reviews.

Focusing on the production side of Woolley's books has further introduced the publisher's archive to the study of archaeology as a discipline. Tracing Woolley's relationship with Oxford University Press, Ernest Benn Ltd., Faber & Faber and Penguin Books shows the many routes of research open to expanding our understanding of archaeology and its relationship to the public.

Archaeologists wanted to shape how their peers and the wider public perceived them. This thesis has explored the breadth of material they created in order to convey the message. Most enduring in the popular imagination have been the images Leonard Woolley used in his *Digging up the Past* and *Ur of the Chaldees*: The picture of the archaeologist in the field, bent over her or his small patch of ground, conducting the scientific experiment of excavation with his or her own hands, and making the 'documented relics of the past real and modern'.

7. Bibliography

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8. Appendices

Appendix 8.1: Archaeological Articles in *The Illustrated London News* (Figure 3.1)

Absolon, Karl, 'A Discovery as Wonderful as That of Tutankhamen's Tomb', 7 November 1925, 898–902; 914–915
——— 'A Discovery as Wonderful as That of Tutankhamen's Tomb', 14 November 1925, 948–952
——— 'An Amazing Palaeolithic "Pompeii" In Moravia – I', 23 November 1929, 881; 890–894
——— 'An Amazing Palaeolithic "Pompeii" in Moravia – II', 30 November 1929, 934–938
——— 'An Amazing Palaeolithic "Pompeii" in Moravia – III', 14 December 1929, 1036–1039
——— 'An Aladdin's Cave of Subterranean Wonders', 21 December 1935, 1130–1135
——— 'A Vast Prehistoric "Pompeii" Revisited', 21 March 1936, 499–504
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——— 'Digging the Treasure-Laden Soil of Italy', 28 January 1922, 110–111
——— 'Prehistoric Malta: The Hal-Tarxien Megalithic Temple', 25 February 1922, 261–263
——— 'Now to Be Completely Excavated: The Forum at Rome', 14 June 1924, 1114–1115
——— 'New Treasures from Italy's Classic Soil', 27 April 1929, 706–707
——— 'The Charm of Sardinia', 11 May 1929, 794–795
——— 'The Divining-Rod in Archaeology', 7 March 1931, 375
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Baddeley, St. Clair, 'New Roman-British Mosaics: A Great "Find" at Cirencester', 22 July 1922, 137
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——— 'The Funeral Fleet of Tutankhamen', 18 February 1928, 264–266
——— New Treasures from Tutankhamen's Tomb', 6 July 1929, 10; 14–16; h
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Comte Bégouen, 'The Importance of the Montespan Discovery', 10 November 1923, 837–839
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——— ‘Great Discoveries at Ur: Magnificent Buildings of about 2250 B.C.: Burial-Places of Mysterious Kings, Rulers of a Mighty Empire Long Before Nebuchadnezzar’, 7 February 1931, 204
——— ‘Wayside Shrines Found at Ur of a Type Hitherto Unknown’, 21 March 1931, 455
——— ‘A Fresh Link Between Ur and Mohenjo-Daro: The Discovery of a Seal Typical of the Indus Civilisation and of a Mysterious Grave-Shaft of the Second Dynasty at Ur, with “Coffins” and Funeral Furniture’, 13 February 1932, 240–241
——— ‘Animal Sculpture of 2800 B.C.; And Other Discoveries at Ur’, 19 March 1932, 421
——— ‘Surprises at Ur: Treasure Found in “Astounding” Circumstances’, 7 May 1932, 756
——— ‘A House of Abraham’s Time at Ur; and a Curious Discovery’, 11 March 1933, 353
——— ‘A Unique Statuette of 3300 B.C.; And Other New Discoveries’, 17 March 1934, 403
——— ‘Revelations of a Rich Sumerian Culture and High Artistry about 4000 B. C’, 14 April 1934, 547–575
——— ‘Discoveries near Antioch Revealing Early Contacts between Minoan Crete and the Asiatic Mainland, and Raising Further Problems of Origin: Interesting Items from an Exhibition Now on View in London’, 19 December 1936, 1148–1149
——— ‘New Clues to Hittite History in Syria’, 9 October 1937, 604
——— ‘Gaps Filled in Syrian History of 3500 Years Ago’, 17 September 1938, 503–505
——— ‘Minoan Influences in a Hittite City’, 2 December 1939, 833–835; 842

——— 'A New Chapter of Hittite Sculpture Opens: A Thrice-Rebuilt Temple Area at Alalakh Reveals an Art Already Well Developed in the Fourteenth Century B. C.', 9 December 1939, 867–869

Worsley, F. A., 'Searching for Long-Buried Pirate Treasure with Gold and Silver Indicating Instruments', 10 March 1934, 352–353

Wright, Philip, 'The Enigma of Graeco-Buddhist Art in India', 24 December 1938, 1189–1191

Yetts, Walter Perceval, 'Glass in Ancient China—A Problem under Dispute', 12 May 1934, 732–733

——— 'A Problem of Chinese Archaeology Elucidated: New Light on the Kuei', 22 January 1938, I

Zammit, Charles G., 'A New Discovery in Malta: The Imjar Stone Age Sanctuary', 11 March 1933, 339

Zammit, Themistocles, 'Richer Than All Europe in Prehistoric Remains: Malta', 10 June 1922, 856–858

Appendix 8.2: Selected Archaeological Programmes on the BBC, 1922–1939

Allen, Arthur W., 'The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen', 19 June 1931
Ashmole, Bernard, 'Art in Ancient Life I. Introductory', 16 October 1932
——— 'Art in Ancient Life II. The Historical Sketch', 23 October 1932
——— 'Art in Ancient Life III. Pottery', 30 October 1932
——— 'Art in Ancient Life IV. Decoration of Pottery', 6 November 1932
——— 'Art in Ancient Life V. From Drawing to Sculpture',
——— 'Art in Ancient Life VII. Development of Sculpture', 27 November 1932
——— 'Art in Ancient Life VIII. Architecture', 4 December 1932
——— 'Art in Ancient Life IX. Art in Everyday Life', 11 December 1932
Ashmole Bernard and Wilenski R. H., 'Is There Any Greek Sculpture?', 20 November 1932
Austin, Reginald Percy, 'Adventures of an Archaeologist in Greece – Greek Brigands. Ancient and Modern', 22 February 1927
——— 'Adventures of an Archaeologist in Greece – The Digging Up of an Ancient Greek City', 8 March 1927
——— 'Through the Mediterranean on an Greek Steamer', 3 May 1927
——— 'Across Europe by the Simplon-Orient Express', 17 May 1927
——— 'The Night Train from Vienna to Budapest', 21 June 1927
Bligh Bond, Frederick, 'Old Buildings', 9 October 1923
——— 'The Excavations at Glastonbury Abbey', 30 September 1024
Carter, H. Leslie, 'Tutankhamen's Reign', 21 August 1925
Casson Stanley, 'Digging up Old Stamboul', 19 December 1927
——— 'New Light on Ancient Greece I. Sparta', 5 March 1929
——— 'New Light on Ancient Greece II. Troy', 12 March 1929
——— 'New Light on Ancient Greece III. Delphi', 19 March 1929
——— 'New Light on Ancient Greece IV. Mycenae', 26 March 1929
——— 'New Light on Ancient Greece V. Corinth', 2 April 1929
——— 'New Light on Ancient Greece VI. Olympia', 9 April 1929
Childe, V. Gordon, 'Digging for History. Life in a Stone Age Village', 4 July 1937
——— 'Chronicles in Stone', 26 November 1937
Flinders Petrie, Hilda [Lady Petrie], 'Recent Discoveries in Egypt', 13 October 1925
——— 'The Lords of the Philistines', 17 December 1929
Foster Forbes, John, 'Archaeology', 10 September 1937
——— 'The Unchronicled Past. The Bible in Stone', 17 September 1937
——— 'The Unchronicled Past. Circles and Hieroglyphs', 22 September 1937
Fox, Cyril, 'How Wales Helped to Build Stonehenge', 11 December 1925
——— 'Earthwork in England I. Hill Forts and Their Builders', 25 January 1926
——— 'The Romans in Britain', 8 November 1926
——— 'Excavations in the Principality. The Amphitheatre and Prysg Field at Caerleon', 15 September 1927
——— 'The Preservation of Ancient Wales', 6 March 1930
——— 'Research on Land and Sea I. The Interest and Importance of Field Work', 21 October 1930
——— 'A Visit to the National Museum of Wales', 7 January 1933
——— 'The Need of a Folk Museum for Britain', 3 July 1934
——— 'The Ancient Monuments of South Wales', 24 May 1939
Gann, Thomas, 'In Search of a Treasure Temple in Central America', 26 August 1929
——— 'A Voyage of Discovery to Central America', 2 September 1929
——— 'A Mystery of the Bush', 9 October 1929
——— 'Buried Treasures of the World', 4 January 1930[1]
——— 'Maya Temples and Modern Unemployment in Honduras', 3 August 1933
Garstang, John, 'Discoveries in Bible Lands', 31 May 1937
——— 'Exploring Bible Lands. The Neighbours of Palestine', 24 April 1938

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[1] This was part of a series on buried treasure, mostly focusing on pirates.

——— 'Exploring Bible Lands. Fenced Cities of Palestine', 1 May 1938
——— 'Digging up the Past. How it is done', 11 September 1938
——— 'Digging up the Past', 18 September 1938
Hawkes, Jacquetta, 'Ancient Britain Out of Doors I. Digging up the Past', 1 April 1935
Hawkes, Jacquetta and Piggott, Stuart 'Ancient Britain Out of Doors II. Before the Romans', 8 April 1935
Hawkes, Jacquetta and Myres, Nowell 'Ancient Britain Out of Doors III. Rome and After', 15 April 1935
Home, Gordon, 'The Secrets of a Roman Fortress', 26 November 1927
——— 'Life in Roman Britain I', 27 September 1928
——— 'Life in Roman Britain II. Frontier Life', 4 October 1928
——— 'Life in Roman Britain III. Town Life', 11 October 1928
——— 'Life in Roman Britain IV. Domestic Life', 18 October 1928
——— 'Life in Roman Britain V. Country Life', 25 October 1928
——— 'Life in Roman Britain VI. Religion', 1 November 1928
Lucas, Alfred, 'Tutankhamen's Trumpets', 16 April 1939
Mitchell-Hedges, Frederick Albert, Untitled, 19 August 1924
——— 'Battles with Giant Fish', 28 August 1924
——— 'Battles with Giant Fish', 9 September 1924
——— 'Unknown Tribes – Uncharted Seas', 18 September 1924
——— 'The Mystery of the Jungle', 30 September 1924
——— 'The Pioneer Spirit', 27 October 1925
——— 'More About British Honduras', 7 November 1925
——— Untitled, 19 November 1925
——— 'Further Explorations', 8 December 1926
——— 'Labaantum. The Great Maya City (Continued)', 16 December 1926
——— 'Further Explorations', 14 January 1927
——— 'The Awe-Inspiring Volcano at Santiago', 3 March 1927
Moir, James Reid, 'Prehistoric Man. The Antiquity of Man', 3 June 1925
——— 'Ancient Flint Tools and Weapons', 10 June 1925
——— 'Man Before History. Man's Great Antiquity', 23 September 1925
——— 'What is a Flint Implement?', 30 September 1925
——— 'Man Before History. The Most Ancient Works of Man', 7 October 1925
——— 'Man Before History. East Anglians of 500,000 Years Ago', 14 October 1925
——— 'Man Before History. The Men of the Cromer Forest Bed', 21 October 1925
——— 'Man Before History. The Great Ice Age in East Anglia', 28 October 1925
——— 'The Fossil Bones of Early Man', 4 November 1925
——— 'Man's Progress Through the Ages', 14 November 1925
——— 'The Housing Problem in Prehistoric Days', 16 September 1926
Peet, T. E. 'The Life of an Excavator in Egypt', 5 March 1926
——— 'Ancient Egypt. The Burial of the Kings. On the Nature of Death and of the After-Life', 22 April 1926
——— 'Ancient Egypt. Tombs and their Development', 6 May 1926
——— 'Ancient Egypt. The Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. Part I', 3 June 1926
——— 'Ancient Egypt. The Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. Part II', 17 June 1926
——— 'Ancient Egypt', 1 July 1926
——— 'The Dawn of History I. History and Prehistory. The Excavator and his Task', 20 January 1928
——— 'The Dawn of History II. Early Man and his Surroundings', 27 January 1928
——— 'The Dawn of History III. Egypt an the Early Tillers of the Soil', 3 February 1928
——— 'The Dawn of History IV. Egypt and the Empire', 10 February 1928
——— 'The Dawn of History V. Mesopotamia. The Story of Two Famous Rivers', 17 February 1928
——— 'The Dawn of History VI. Syria, Palestine and the Old Testament', 24 February 1928
——— 'The Dawn of History VII. Crete and Sea Power', 2 March 1928
——— 'The Dawn of History VIII. Malta and the Builders of Stonehenge', 9 March 1928
——— 'The Dawn of History IX. Italy, the Etruscans and Rome', 16 March 1928

——— 'The Dawn of History X. Western Europe before the Dawn', 23 March 1928
——— 'The Dawn of History XI. How Greece and Rome prepared the Way for the Modern World', 30 March 1928[2]
Piggott, Stuart, 'Stone and Bronze', 6 December 1937
Richmond Brown, Lilian Mabel [Lady Richmond Brown], Untitled, 11 December 1925
Riley, N. D., 'The Tutankhamen Bug' 14 February 1924
Stevens, Frank, 'Holiday Peeps at Prehistoric Britain', 26 July 1924
——— 'Archaeology', 3 October 1924
——— 'Stonehenge', 17 October 1924
——— 'Bygone England I. All Sorts and Conditions of Men', 6 February 1925
——— 'Bygone England II. Dress and Dandies', 13 February 1925
——— 'Bygone England III. Mete and Drink', 20 February 1925
Weigall, Arthur, 'Ancient Egypt', 27 February 1925
Winbolt, S. E., 'Where to find the Past I', 29 May 1933
——— 'Where to find the Past II', 13 June 1933
——— 'Where to find the Past III', 19 June 1933
——— 'Where to find the Past IV', 26 June 1933
Woolley, C. Leonard, 'Excavations in Babylonia', 8 July 1924
——— 'Beginnings of History in Babylonia', 22 July 1924
——— 'Ur of the Chaldees', 7 August 1924
——— 'The Moon-God's Temple, from Abraham to Belshazzar', 21 July 1925
———' Recent Excavations at Ur of the Chaldees', 15 July 1926
——— 'Ur of the Chaldees', 4 July 1927
——— 'Ur of the Chaldees', 19 June 1928
——— 'Ur of the Chaldees – The Royal Tombs and the Flood', 28 August 1929
——— 'Next Year's Work at Ur', 25 September 1929
——— 'Digging up the Past I', 11 June 1930
——— 'Digging up the Past II', 18 June 1930
——— 'Digging up the Past III', 25 June 1930
——— 'In the Days of the Flood: Last Year's Work at Ur', 30 June 1930
——— 'Digging up the Past IV', 2 July 1930
——— 'Digging up the Past V', 9 July 1930
——— 'Digging up the Past VI', 16 July 1930
——— 'The Latest Excavations at Ur', 24 June 1931
——— 'Recent Excavations at Ur', 11 April 1933
——— 'Recent Scientific Research. Excavations at Ur', 7 May 1935
——— 'I descended into the Death Pit (at Ur)', 25 June 1937

[2] This series was part of the 'Broadcasts for Schools' programme, aired between 3 and 4 pm.

Appendix 8.3: Archaeological Articles in *The Radio Times*, 1922–1939

Bligh Bond, F., 'Bringing the Past to Life', 14 November 1924, 334
Boumphrey, G. M., 'Along the Roman Roads', 12 May 1934, 420
Gann, Thomas, 'Modern Explorers. The Incurable Wanderer – The Adventurer de Luxe – The Publicity Hound', 30 August 1929, 415; 433
Hogg, Garry, 'Digging Deep for History', 14 January 1938, 89
Massingham, H. J., 'The First Capital of England', 7 September 1928, 419
Mitchell-Hedges, F. A., 'A City of Wonder and Fear', 31 July 1925, 253
——— 'The Pioneer Spirit', 13 November 1925, 343
——— 'Life in the Primitive Wilds', 27 November 1925, 439
——— 'Farther into the Unknown', 19 February 1926, 388
——— 'On the Track of a Lost Civilization', 29 October 1926, 273–274
——— 'Strange Creatures of the Deep', 7 January 1927, 53
——— 'In the Wilds of British Honduras', 4 February 1927, 253–254
——— 'I Admit Frankly – I Was Afraid,', 22 April 1927, 149–150
Pudney, John, 'Broadcast about a Ruin', 19 November 1937, 9
Richmond Brown, [Lilian Mabel Alice], 'Into the Unknown Wild', 25 December 1925, 7
Squire, J. C., 'The Search for the Past', 20 March 1929, 755–756
Steep Holm, 'Early History in Wales', 12 December 1930, 779
Thompson, George W., 'The Hill of Wonders. The Story of the Acropolis', 5 October 1929, 41
Woolley, C. Leonard, 'Digging for History', 27 June 1924, 5
——— 'In the Land of the Moon God', 5 December 1924, 501

Appendix 8.4: Archaeological Articles in *The Listener*, 1929–1939

Ashmole, Bernard, 'The Art of Ancient Greece. From Minoan to Classical Times', *Supplement*, 12 October 1932, i–viii

——— 'Art in Ancient Life I. Reconstructing a Greek City', 19 October 1932, 545–547

——— 'Art in Ancient Life II. History and Art in Greece', 26 October 1932, 587–589

——— 'Art in Ancient Life III. The Achievement of the Greek Potter. I. The Making of the Pot', 2 November 1932, 627–629

——— 'Art in Ancient Life IV. The Achievement of the Greek Potter. II. The Decorating of the Pot', 9 November 1932, 664–666

——— 'Art in Ancient Life V. From Drawing to Sculpture', 16 November 1932, 699–700; 727

——— 'Art in Ancient Life VII. What Do We Look For in Sculpture?', 30 November 1932, 790–792

——— 'Art in Ancient Life VIII. Architecture as an Art', 7 December 1932, 821–823

——— 'Art in Ancient Life IX. Coinage', 14 December 1932, 865–867

Boumphrey, G. M., 'Along the Roman Roads I. On the Portway', 23 May 1934, 855–857

——— 'Along the Roman Roads II. The Fosse Way', 30 May 1934, 909–911

——— 'Along the Roman Roads IV. Down Ermine Street', 13 June 1934, 993–995

——— 'Along the Roman Roads V. The Icknield Way', 20 June 1934, 1032–1035

——— 'Along the Roman Roads VI. Helen's Way', 27 June 1934, 1091–1094

——— 'Along the Roman Roads VII. Hadrian's Wall', 4 July 1934, i; 12–16

Brailsford, H. N., 'Buried Cities of the Indus', 8 July 1931, 43–46

Brown, John, 'The World's Most Ancient City', 1 September 1937, 456–457

Casson, Stanley. 'The Hidden Life of Ancient Sparta', 6 March 1929, 272–273

——— 'Where Once Stood Troy', 13 March 1929, 319–320

——— 'Delphi – The Wisdom of a Thousand Years', 20 March 1929, 355–356

——— 'The Tragic City of Mycenae', 27 March 1929, 391–392

——— 'Olympia – The Temple of Sport', 10 April 1929, 456–457

——— 'The New York of the Ancient World', 3 April 1929, 427–429

——— 'Fishing for Art. Masterpieces of Ancient Greece Rescued from the Sea', 23 July 1930, 126–127

——— 'New-Found Marvels of Byzantine Art', 3 September 1930, 350–351

——— 'Should the Elgin Marbles Be Restored?', 25 March 1931, 489–490

——— 'Treasures of Ancient Greece in Bulgaria', 2 September 1931, 351–352

——— 'Recent Discoveries in Greece', 31 August 1932, 299–300

——— 'A Village That Treasures Its Past', 5 October 1932, 490–491

——— 'Excavator's Progress I. What the Archaeologist Wants to Do', 5 July 1933, 3–5

——— 'Excavator's Progress II. Western Europe', 12 July 1933, 54–57

——— 'Excavator's Progress III. The East - From Iraq to India', 19 July 1933, 90–93

——— 'Excavator's Progress IV. Central Europe and Asia Minor', 26 July 1933, 134–136

——— 'Excavator's Progress V. Greek Lands', 2 August 1933, 159–161

——— 'Excavator's Progress VI. Etruria, Rome and Italy', 9 August 1933, 205–207

——— 'Excavator's Progress VII. Russia, Turkestan, Mongolia, Siberia and China', 16 August 1933, 246–248

——— 'Excavator's Progress VIII. America', 30 August 1933, 310–312

——— 'Excavator's Progress IX. Africa', 13 September 1933, 384–386

——— 'Excavator's Progress X. The Far East', 20 September 1933, 422–424

——— 'The Art of the Maya', 17 October 1934, 648–649

——— 'The Empire at Work. Cyprus: Britain's Unknown Island', 31 July 1935, 200–201

——— 'Unknown Languages of the Past', 18 September 1935, 475–476

——— 'More Light on Early Britain', 27 November 1935, 961–963

——— 'Mediterranean Discovery', 15 April 1936, 718–719

——— 'Greece and Rome: Art and Discovery', 22 July 1936, 156–157

——— 'The Dark Ages in Ireland', 17 February 1937, 295–296

——— 'Discovery in Early Britain. A Survey of Last Season's Archaeological Work', 10 March 1937, 441–443

——— 'Recent Discoveries in Greece', 8 September 1937, 493–495

——— 'Discoveries in the Near East', 21 July 1938, 123–125
——— 'British Archaeology: The Past Season's Work', 15 December 1938, 1286–1288
——— 'Recent Discoveries in Greece', 1 June 1939, 1148–1150
Childe, V. Gordon, 'Chronicles in Stone', 8 December 1937, 1245–1246
Collinson, Clifford, 'The Romance of Buried Treasure', 8 January 1930, 53–54
Cornish, Vaughan, 'From Housesteads on the Roman Wall', 4 August 1937, 226–227
Flinders Petrie, Hilda, 'The Home of the Shepherd Kings', 28 May 1930, 942–943
Foster Forbes, J,. 'The Unchronicled Past. This England – 4000 Years Ago', 15 September 1937, 563–564
——— 'The Unchronicled Past. Monuments of the Stone Age', 22 September 1937, 621–623
——— 'The Unchronicled Past. Circles and Hieroglyphics', 6 October 1937, 737–738
Fox, Cyril, 'A Folk Museum for Britain?', 1 August 1934, 178–180
Gann, Thomas, 'Treasure Trove in Central America', 28 August 1929, 276–277
——— 'A New Voyage of Discovery to Central America', 4 September 1929, 304–305
——— 'A Mystery of the Bush', 16 October 1929, 501–502
——— 'Further Adventures in Search of a Treasure Temple', 4 June 1930, 969–970
——— 'The Last of the Maya Temples?', 22 July 1931, 132
——— 'Development and Discovery in Central America', 9 August 1933, 199–200
Garrod, Dorothy, 'Looking Up Our Ancestors', 8 June 1939, 1198–1199
Garstang, John, 'The Neighbours of Canaan', 4 May 1938, 950–951
——— 'Exploring Bible Lands. The Fenced Cities of Palestine', 11 May 1938, 1015–1017
——— 'Digging Up the Past I. How It Is Done', 22 September 1938, 587–589
——— 'Digging Up the Past II. What Do We Find?', 29 September 1938, 653–655
Grimes, W. F., 'Does Stonehenge Belong to Wales?', 29 September 1938, 641–643
Hawkes, Jacquetta, 'Ancient Britain Out of Doors. Digging Up the Past', 3 April 1935, 567–568
Hawkes, Jacquetta, and Stuart Piggott, 'Ancient Britain Out of Doors. Britain Before the Romans', 10 April 1935, 620–622
Home, Gordon, 'Novel Holidays I. A Holiday in Roman Britain', 26 June 1929, 905–906
——— 'The Passing of Old London Bridge', 29 July 1931, 179–180
Jolly, Stratford D., 'Treasure-Hunting in Bolivia', 10 September 1930, 396–398
Kendrick, T. D., 'The Art of the Vikings', 6 December 1933, 852–854
Leakey, L. S. B., 'Deserts, Lions and Swamps', 18 January 1933, 93–95
Lowe, T. A., 'The Lost City of Angkor', 18 September 1935, 477–478
Mais, S. P. B., 'Along the Roman Wall', 10 February 1932, 219–220
Massingham, H. J., 'How Ball Games Began', 3 August 1932, 145–147
Moore, Henry, 'Mesopotamian Art', 5 June 1935, i; 944–946
Murray, Margaret A., 'The Supernatural in Life and Literature. I – The Devil and His Worshippers', 18 December 1929, i–iii
Myers, J. N. L., and Hawkes, Jacquetta, 'Ancient Britain Out of Doors. Rome and After', 24 April 1935, 690–693
Myres, J. N. L., 'Where Did Civilization Begin', 29 May 1929, 745–755
——— 'The Living Past in Greek Lands', 14 October 1936, 700–702
Newstead, Robert, 'Where Imperial Rome Still Lives', 27 April 1932, 592–594
Ormsby Gore, W., 'Great Britain's Ancient Monuments', 21 August 1936, i; 300–302
Paterson, T. T., 'The Story of the Rocks. The Ice Age and After', 1 December 1938, 1179–1180
Piggott, Stuart, 'Tombs and Temples 4000 Years Ago', 15 December 1937, 1312–1314
Postgate, Raymond W., 'A Prehistoric Pompeii', 11 September 1929, 329–330
Smith Woodward, A., 'Man in the Making', 4 December 1929, 743–744
Spain, G. R. B., 'An Outpost of the Roman Empire. New Discoveries at Wallsend Fort', 15 January 1930, 103–104
Talbot Rice, David, 'Byzantine Mosaics', 13 September 1933, 378–380
Wilenski, R. H., and Ashmole, Bernard, 'Art in Ancient Life VI. Is There Any Greek Sculpture?', 23 November 1932, 754–756
Winbolt, S. E., 'Archaeology in Great Britain, 1930', 29 October 1930, 694–696
——— 'Desirable Villa Residence' – Roman Style', 22 April 1931, 672–674
——— 'The Winter's Work in Excavating England', 20 May 1931, 844–846
——— 'The Summer's Archaeology in England', 11 November 1931, 810–813

——— 'The Winter's Archaeology in England', 6 April 1932, 491–494
——— 'The Past Summer's Archaeology in England', 26 October 1932, 590–594
——— 'A Winter's Work with the Spade', 5 April 1933, 526–528
——— 'Where to Find the Past', 7 June 1933, 889; 914
——— 'History at Home', 6 September 1933, 360–361
——— 'The Summer's Digging', 27 September 1933, 458–461
——— 'Maiden Castle and Verulam', 19 September 1934, 482–483
——— 'Camulodunum at the British Museum', 27 December 1934, 1070–1071
Woolley, C. Leonard, 'The Royal Tombs and the Flood', 4 September 1929, 297–300
——— 'Why Dig up the Past?', 18 June 1930, 1061–1062
——— 'The Archaeologist at Work', 25 June 1930, 1104–1106
——— 'Building Up the Past', 2 July 1930, 9–10
——— 'The Witness of Bricks and Mortar', 9 July 1930, 50–51
——— 'Treasures of the Grave', 16 July 1930, 89–90
——— 'Buried Lives', 23 July 1930, 133–134
——— 'In the Days of the Flood', 30 July 1930, 165–166
——— 'Town-Planners of Antiquity', 1 July 1931, 5–7
——— 'New Light on the City of Ur', 26 April 1933, 648–659; 684