

Jericho in the Media

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Abstract

This paper will explore how public perceptions of excavations at Jericho have been created and shaped by a range of media outputs, from newspapers and magazines, to television broadcasting and the internet. These kinds of engagements between archaeologists, journalists, and the public create lasting impressions that characterise how we view Jericho and its history.

Publicity can be a double-edged sword, raising interest and support, along with the burden of expectation. Since the early work by Sellin and Watzinger, excavations at Jericho have always had a high profile. This paper will investigate how the site has been presented, the role played by archaeologists in creating media impressions, and the type of themes explored and how these have changed over time, as our knowledge of the site and its history has grown. It will also consider how the tools available for visual representation of ancient Jericho have developed, and the impact of these changes on public perception.

Whatever the reality about ancient Jericho, some audiences have become fixated on certain issues, which can override and undermine the stories archaeologists might like to tell about the site. In becoming iconic, Jericho has also become notorious as a site where different agendas clash, and controversy reigns. As such, it can become a useful lens for studying wider issues about the role of archaeology as an academic discipline versus archaeology as public entertainment.

Keywords

Jericho, BBC, Garstang, Johnstone, Joshua, Kenyon, Marston, Sellin, Spurgeon, Watzinger, bias, biblical archaeology, fundraising, journalism, media, publicity.

Introduction

Archaeology has two personas: its professional identity as an academic discipline, and its more public identity as a popular, hands-on form of cultural history. These two sides to the subject may be connected, particularly when field projects depend on public support for their funding and validation. This was certainly true of many 20th century projects in Egypt and the Near East (Sparks 2013; Stevenson *et al.* 2016, 285, 287–289; Thornton 2013), while many projects today use crowdfunding and volunteer programmes as important sources of dig income (e.g. Bonacchi *et al.* 2015; DigVentures 2017). The way a site is presented in the media therefore plays an important role in determining how it is perceived by the general public, which in turn can impact on the success of its fundraising for excavation and research.

This paper will use three historic excavations at Jericho to explore how different projects gave their work public appeal, and the degree to which they were able to control their own publicity. These are the fieldwork of the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft, directed by Sellin and Watzinger between 1907 and 1911, John Garstang's excavations from 1930 to 1936, and Kathleen Kenyon's expedition of 1952 to 1958. After a brief introduction to these projects, and a study of some general trends in their use of the media, I will examine the way in which Jericho was marketed in the popular press, drawing on a selected group of English-language publications to identify themes for further consideration. I will then explore the issue of who has editorial control over how a site is presented to the public, considering the relationships that develop between the archaeologists who dig a site, the journalists, editors and producers who report on it or present opportunities for self-publicising, and the audiences they are all

trying to reach. Finally, I will consider changes in media outlets in recent years, and the impact of less official channels, such as social media, and greater worldwide connectivity on relations between archaeologists and the public. As this paper is about the public face of archaeology, the focus will be on the presentation of this material to a general audience, rather than professional dissemination of results.

A History of Excavations at Ancient Jericho

Public perception of Jericho has been coloured by its central role in the story of Joshua's conquest of Canaan, as portrayed in the Old Testament books of Joshua and Judges. These biblical connections led the Palestine Exploration Fund to commission the first investigation of the site in 1868 (Warren 1876, 162–172). However, the excavator, Charles Warren, found it a singularly dull place, and after digging through some substantial mudbrick architecture, he abandoned the site and returned to his illegal tunnelling work in Jerusalem (Davis 2008, 101). This episode received only limited media attention, no doubt because of the lack of spectacular results and Warren's own lack of enthusiasm for the task. For the next few decades, press interest in Jericho seems to have been limited to either its role as a picturesque stop on pilgrim tours of the Holy Land (e.g. *The Pilgrims* 1906, 6), or as a biblical analogy for some other event, such as the 1906 Earthquake of San Francisco (*The Advertiser* 1906, 5).

This situation changed when Ernst Sellin and Carl Watzinger initiated the first serious attempt at excavating Jericho in 1907, on behalf of the *Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft* (Sellin and Watzinger 1913). Several regional, national, and international newspapers carried stories on the excavations, even before work had begun, as short notes, or under the category of 'religious affairs' (e.g. *Architects Magazine* 1907, 139; *The Register* 1907, 10). Follow-up stories subsequently appeared in more substantial sources such as the *Illustrated London News*, *The Graphic* and *Scientific American*, as the excavators began to circulate information

about their discoveries. These articles often refer to correspondents in Vienna, or elsewhere, suggesting second and sometimes even third-hand reporting (e.g. *The British Architect* 1907, 349; Apperson 1913, 362). What is notable about this phase of reporting on the site, is that while the inevitable references to Joshua and the walls of Jericho abound, and there is an obsessive amount of detail describing whatever walls were found, there is also often an air of caution. Thus we might see it being reported on as ‘the supposed site of Jericho’ (e.g. *Illustrated London News* 1909, 212). The tone is usually one of scientific enquiry, rather than sensationalism.

This caution appears to have vanished by the time Garstang came to work at the site in 1930. During Garstang’s field seasons, his sponsor Sir Charles Marston was kept informed of developments and discoveries, and he frequently seems to have issued press releases to the media regarding them (e.g. *The Times* 1932a; 1933a; 1933b). By this time, Tell es-Sultan’s identity as Jericho was unchallenged, and both Garstang and Marston were very active in promoting their work there. The fact that there was now a British Expedition to the site may also have helped it to gain greater exposure in the British press, alongside the changed political situation in Palestine, which was now a British Mandate. Certainly, the UK coverage of this excavation significantly exceeded that of its predecessor.

In 1952, a new phase of excavations was opened, under the directorship of Kathleen Kenyon. This was to last for seven seasons, during which time the site saw considerable attention from the media, periodically increased by the appearance of a whole string of spectacular and significant discoveries. Like Garstang before her, Kenyon was able to exploit this interest and turn it to her advantage, and Jericho at this time had a notable impact on public consciousness, enhanced to no small degree by the growth of public broadcasting and popular television programmes with an archaeological focus.

Jericho in the Popular Press

What is intriguing about the way Jericho has been represented in the press is the breadth of coverage, and the variety of print media that considered it a suitable topic for their readers. To some extent, this may reflect broader trends in profiling archaeology and archaeologists; as the subject gained in popularity, it was reported on in a wider range of contexts and settings. It may also reflect the way news of archaeological discoveries was disseminated, with a single event or press release spreading out to subsidiary and smaller publications, often with publicity wording intact. Thus articles on Jericho appeared not only in the major daily British newspapers, such as *The Times* or *Manchester Guardian*, or in American publications such as *The New York Times*, *Daily Boston Globe* or *Chicago Daily Tribune*, but also in popular weekly and monthly magazines and papers (*The Observer*, *Illustrated London News* and *National Geographic*), science journals catering to both specialists and the informed public (*Nature* and *Scientific American*), religious publications (*Christian Science Monitor*) and publications with more specialised demographics (*The British Architect* and *The Antiquary*). The range of publications demonstrates that this was a subject that could be made widely appealing. Overall audiences were an educated public with a variety of interests that included archaeology; an underlying familiarity with the Christian bible is assumed.

One of the more significant of the British daily papers was *The Times*, a national newspaper, that in the early to mid-20th century frequently ran stories about current archaeological fieldwork, reported on public lectures given by archaeologists, and announced when archaeologists had gone out into the field, or returned home again (e.g. *The Times* 1933b, 17). It also served as a forum for letters and editorials on archaeological topics and controversies. *The Times* had a wide readership and was comparatively cheap, with a special 'picture gallery' section, in which Jericho occasionally featured (e.g. *The Times* 1935a, 18).

It is noticeable that their reporting of work at Jericho started with British excavations: they did not run any news items relating to the 1907–1911 Austro-German fieldwork.

If *The Times* was the best daily newspaper for promoting British-run archaeological projects, the *Illustrated London News* was definitely the pick of the weekly magazines. This graphic publication was more highly priced, visually more impressive, and had a long tradition of promoting new archaeological discoveries around the globe. The paper recruited numerous writers and special correspondents, including John Garstang, who wrote a series of seven articles for the paper in the 1920s on research in Palestine (e.g. Garstang 1922). The graphic format was well suited to reporting on archaeological discoveries, particularly objects, and special colour supplements sometimes took advantage of this (Figure 1; *Illustrated London News* 1935; Kenyon 1953c). As a result, it was a popular outlet for many archaeologists. Black and white photographs of trenches, architecture, and special finds made up the bulk of the illustrations, with the occasional specially-commissioned reconstruction image or landscape view to help readers put themselves on the spot (Kenyon 1956c; see also below).

[Insert Figure 1 here]

A quick survey of feature articles on Jericho indicates the output of the magazine over the period. In 1909, it ran its only article on Sellin and Watzinger's work (*Illustrated London News* 1909). It covered Garstang's work with several pieces through the 1930s (Garstang 1931a; 1933; *Illustrated London News* 1935), and then Kenyon received considerable coverage for her work at Jericho in the 1950s (*Illustrated London News* 1953; 1954; Kenyon 1953a; 1953b; 1953c; 1954; 1956a; 1956b; 1956c; 1956d). The greater number of articles, words and images promoting Jericho in this magazine during Kenyon's excavations may reflect the more spectacular discoveries that were being made at the site, although the fact

that Kenyon had already established good relations with the *Illustrated London News* through her earlier excavations at Leicester and Sabratha may also have been significant.

For a wider overview, Figure 2 shows a comparison of the relative coverage given by both *The Times* and the *Illustrated London News* to the three excavation projects under discussion, expressed as average word counts per year, to allow for the differing lengths of the projects (four years for the Austro-German excavations, and seven years each for the Garstang and Kenyon projects). This shows a trend towards greater coverage over time, at least in these publications. A similar pattern is seen in the number of images devoted to each project — an average of 2.75 images per field season for the Sellin/Watzinger project, 5.7 per season for Garstang's work, and 11.4 images per season for Kenyon's excavations. While the comparatively limited space devoted to the Austro-German fieldwork may reflect a bias towards British-led excavations, other factors were probably involved in the greater coverage given to Kenyon's work, such as the discovery of particularly newsworthy finds, increased exposure of the site in other media outlets such as television, and the promotional work of the excavators themselves, all of which will be discussed further below.

[Insert Figure 2 here]

Publicity Angles and Obsessions

Whether in print media or public broadcasting, the first thing any journalist is keen to do is making the material they wish to promote stand out. In publicising an archaeological site and its discoveries, this begins by finding some way to give the site a clear identity and personality. Every story needs some special 'selling point'; a hook to attract the attention of audiences, and draw them in. With ancient sites, this hook is often based on claims that a site is unique, or has a particular role in solving some historical problem (Bruce 2012, 225), marking out its underlying 'superiority' over other sites or evidence (Ascherson 2004, 148).

In the case of Jericho, there are a handful of clear themes that have dominated media coverage, designed to strike a chord with the reader or viewer and make it memorable. The themes explored here are those of Jericho's biblical credentials, and its role in the story of the Book of Joshua; Jericho's historical credentials, in the guise of the 'Oldest city in the World'; and the human face of Jericho, as expressed through an interest in the lives and activities of the archaeologists who have worked there.

Jericho as The Bible made Manifest

Archaeological research in the Southern Levant, and particularly in Israel and Palestine, was dominated from the outset by an interest in biblical landscapes and history. Historically, if a site could be linked to a biblical narrative, it was, and that narrative quickly tended to control interpretation of the physical remains of the site. This is not the place for a history of the development of biblical archaeology as a discipline, and the difficulty scholars have had in keeping textual and archaeological analyses separate, as these things have been treated in detail elsewhere (see, for example, Dever 1990; 1998; Moorey 1991; Davidson 1996).

Suffice it to say that biblical agendas have been at the forefront of media interest. Underlying this type of reporting, however, has been the broader expectation that archaeology should be a tool to illustrate, prove or solve historical dilemmas, making manifest the words of the Bible.

In the case of Jericho, the dominant biblical narrative is its role in Joshua's conquest of Canaan (Joshua 2:1–6:26). The Book of Joshua puts Jericho centre-stage, in a sensational story that combines the supernatural (a string of miracles), with tension (obstacles to be overcome), intrigue (the story of Rahab and the Israelite spies) and a satisfyingly dramatic resolution (the destruction). In short, it makes a cracking good yarn. It is not surprising, then, that this story has done so much to shape the way that Jericho is presented whenever it

appears in the popular press. This is the key that lets audiences ‘place’ the site, and so whenever new archaeological work at Jericho is reported on, there is a tendency to present some reference to Joshua’s Jericho first, to orient the reader, before any new information is revealed. In the first television documentary made about the site (*The Walls of Jericho*, see below) this reference point was visually achieved by ordering as a stage prop ‘One large practical bible — with the words ‘Holy Bible’ engraved on the front cover large enough to be seen on the screen’ (Johnstone 1956b), which Glyn Daniel proceeded to open slowly and read from in close-up, as he began his introduction to the episode (BBC 1956, 00:51–1:05 minutes).

One of the reasons that this narrative has been so dominant is the physicality of the story, and the link that reporters and those digging the site have made between the famous walls destroyed by Joshua and archaeological remains — where multiple walls and destructions were quickly found. This is the Bible made concrete and real, and visual correlation of the written text with physical landscape and actual remains are an important element in affirming faith (Cartledge 2012, 156).

It is not surprising, therefore, that walls feature heavily in the agendas of the three 20th century expeditions. When Ernst Sellin led Austro-German investigations, the *Illustrated London News* ran a two-page picture spread, with the headline: ‘The Walls of Jericho Unearthed: Discoveries on the Site of the City That Fell before Joshua’s Trumpets’, followed by several rather dull photographs of ancient walls. In the text, the author is more cautious, reserving judgement on whether the site was actually ancient Jericho, and whether Joshua’s walls had been found (*Illustrated London News* 1909, 212). A contemporary report in the *Scientific American* shows similar reserve, although this does not prevent the use of biblical allusions throughout (Shepstone 1909, 42). Other reports describe the walls that have been found, often in what might seem like obsessive detail, but manage to avoid giving them

biblical labels (e.g. Manchester Guardian 1909; Warwick Examiner and Times 1909), although the use of headlines like ‘The Walls of Jericho’ provided sufficient biblical allusion in themselves.

In 1922 John Garstang wrote a series of popular articles as a special correspondent for the *Illustrated London News* on archaeological research in Palestine. The series was called ‘Digging in Sacred Soil’, and had a strong biblical narrative, as might be expected from the title. In one of these articles, he noted that Jericho was worth further excavation, commenting that ‘Doubtless some learned society will come forward in the future to undertake the task in a modern fashion’ (Garstang 1922, 890). Garstang’s article maintained the previous obsession with Jericho’s walls, referencing them in both text and image, with the usual biblical allusions. As it happened, the person given the task of re-excavating Jericho some years later was himself, when he gained financial support from Sir Charles Marston to investigate the site further. Marston was a devout Christian, and his support of archaeological projects like this one came from a desire to find evidence to illustrate the Old Testament (Cobbing 2009, 73). Reporting on Garstang’s work at Jericho was often filtered through Marston, who would pass information coming to him out of the field to reporters, sometimes framed as part of broader biblical questions, such as the date of the Exodus (e.g. New York Times 1932). This ensured that the biblical aspects of the site’s history were at the top of the reporting agenda.

Garstang’s first major article on his work appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, as an impressive four-page spread with 15 black and white illustrations. Titled ‘The Walls of Jericho Excavated: New Archaeological Light upon Joshua’s Storming of the City, its Structure, and Gates of Inner and Outer Fortifications’, this made no bones about the claim that the defenses of Joshua’s Jericho and its destruction had been found — the accompanying picture spread was headed ‘Jericho and its Walls, Whose Collapse Has Now Been Proved by

Excavation, the City in Joshua's Time' (Garstang 1931a). Other headings reporting on his discoveries are equally assertive: 'Scientists at Jericho find Confirmation of the Bible: Evidence of Sudden Disaster Revealed by Excavators and Date of Destruction is Substantiated by Relics Recovered' (Garstang 1932); 'Evidence Joshua burned Jericho in 1400 B.C. Found in Scarabs Dug from Ancient Tombs' (New York Times 1932) and so on.

When Kenyon initiated her own excavations at Jericho, walls were still very much on her agenda, and the hope was that further work would confirm the Israelite destruction of the site (Kenyon and Tushingham 1953, 853). However, Joshua's Jericho proved hard to find, and while the popular articles and books that Kenyon wrote showed that she believed in its existence, she could not point to any clear supporting evidence. Not surprisingly, she quickly moved on to other questions. In Kenyon's own writing, while there are walls in abundance, and multiple periods of destruction, they do not belong to Joshua, and she does not claim that they do. Yet despite this, when she came to report on Bronze Age Jericho, even Kenyon appears to have been unable to resist the lure of biblical Joshua when it came to choosing headlines: 'Mankind's Earliest Walled Town: Uncovering the Walls of Towers of Jericho from Neolithic Times to the Sack of Joshua' (Kenyon 1953b), 'The Jericho of Abraham's Time; and the City which Joshua Destroyed' (Kenyon 1956c).

Journalists reporting on Kenyon's Jericho also displayed a fondness for walls, with the headline 'Walls of Jericho Tumbled at Least 24 Times' making the front page of the New York Times in 1955 (Love 1955, 1). Here, foreign correspondent Kennett Love makes the latest discovery at Jericho, of the oldest wall found at the site to date, interesting to his readers by linking it to the better known wall of Joshua's time, while the total absence of the latter is explained away as having 'long since been washed away by rain' (Love 1955, 2). A quick survey of articles about excavations in Jericho demonstrates the apparent inseparability of Jericho's walls and its archaeological remains. Even the seemingly impartial and secular

New Scientist cannot avoid a passing reference, although very briefly within their substantial two page profile of Kenyon (The New Scientist 1957, 23). Even so, this article inspired a letter correcting the journalist's one-line reference to the unsolved issue of the walls (Shaw 1957), which in turn inspired Kenyon's colleague, environmental archaeologist Ian Cornwall, to reply somewhat tartly 'No archaeologist, German or otherwise, has ever seen Joshua's walls — or ever will' (Cornwall 1957, 42).

An underlying need to 'find' the walls destroyed by Joshua has therefore dominated both archaeological and journalistic agendas for much of the history of work at the site; and although archaeological opinion eventually shifted towards the view that the available evidence does not support the biblical narrative (e.g. Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, 72–96), this has done little to stifle views that Jericho *was* destroyed by Joshua, and that archaeology can, will, or *has* proven this. This view continues to appear in amateur or theological online discussions, and in countless documentaries and docudramas on the subject, and is unlikely to go away any time soon. This has led to the development of another theme in the representation of the site, which has become beloved of the biblical documentary film maker: Jericho as a battleground between sceptical archaeologists and those who want to view the bible as historically accurate (e.g. Moreland 2012, 119–120).

Jericho as the Oldest City in the World

Another major theme that developed was that Jericho was the 'Oldest City in the World'. This claim first emerged during Garstang's work, with the discovery of a series of stratified Neolithic house floors in his fifth season, made public when *The Times* reported on a lecture Garstang had given in Paris: 'The whole sequence of Palestinian cultures is thus established in outline, and incidentally Jericho appears for the time being to mark the site of the oldest

city of Palestine, and one of the earliest settled communities in the Near East' (The Times 1935b).

When Kenyon embarked on new excavations at Jericho, this concept of the 'oldest site' quickly became the central theme of her work, eventually ousting the issue of Joshua and the walls of Jericho in the amount of media coverage received — although its sub-theme, the 'oldest wall' successfully merged both elements of the brand together. Thus we see headlines such as 'Jericho, the World's Oldest Town' (Kenyon 1956d), 'Oldest Town Wall in the World' (Kenyon 1954), and the somewhat unfortunate hyperbole of Jericho as the 'Town That has Altered the World's Estimated Age' (The Times 1957a). As many of these stories were penned by Kenyon herself, she clearly had a role in creating this identity for the site. Within the stories, the focus was placed on spectacular finds such as the Neolithic tower or the plastered skulls (Figure 3); the latter quickly became synonymous with Jericho, and media stars in their own right, appearing in a full page colour supplement to the *Illustrated London News* (Kenyon 1953c), in a specially posed shot of Kenyon and her conservator for *National Geographic Magazine* (Kenyon and Tushingham 1953, 857), and with news of their discovery even making the cover of the *New York Times* (Love 1953, 1, where it was described as 'the most important archaeological discovery in modern times'; see also Fletcher in this volume). The visual marketability of both these discoveries are probably what gave Neolithic Jericho much of its public appeal, and were exploited fully in the press coverage.

[Insert Figure 3 here]

The Anthropology of a Dig

A third trend in the presentation of the archaeology of Jericho was to focus on the process of archaeology, rather than the material produced, looking at what it was like to be on a dig, and the day-to-day routines of the archaeologists there. This was not a new approach; others

such as Flinders Petrie had done much to explain the life of a field archaeologist (e.g. Petrie 1886; 1904). With Jericho, however, this idea found expression via various forms of public broadcasting. In 1938 Garstang presented two radio programmes on the BBC, called ‘Digging up the Past: How it is Done’, in which he gave an account of a typical diggers’ day, based on his experiences working in the Near East (Garstang 1938a; 1938b). In 1952, Kenyon did something similar in a lecture to the Palestine Exploration Fund on the topic of ‘Excavation Life in Jericho’ (The Times 1957b).

Television was able to carry this approach further by adding visuals, and archaeology started to find a wider audience as the BBC began developing a series of programmes designed to bring archaeology into the living room. While this process had begun in the late 1930s (Perry 2017), wider exposure was achieved in 1952 with the creation of the popular *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* series, in which a panel of experts identified a string of mystery objects from museums around the UK and Europe. In 1955 Kenyon appeared as a guest on this programme, alongside her mentor Mortimer Wheeler (Davis 2008, 143). The man behind this programme, Paul Johnstone, then had the idea of filming a series about significant archaeological discoveries, and the *Buried Treasure* series was born, running from 1954 to 1959. In 1956, it was Jericho’s turn to be the star of the show. While this reflects the increasing popularity of archaeology as entertainment — an estimated 5,000,000 people were said to have watched the first series (Daniel 1954, 203) — the audience was not an inclusive one. Only an estimated 36.5% of British households owned a television at the time (Brittain and Clack 2007, 11). The tone of the programme was very much designed to appeal to its white, comparatively affluent middle class core audience; an audience perhaps not dissimilar to the readership of some of the newspapers and magazines already discussed.

For Johnstone, who headed out to Jordan with a camera crew in March 1956 for a ten day stint filming the site (BBC Publicity Department 1956), Jericho proved something of a

disappointment: an unimpressive, ‘untidy’ tell with somewhat dull trenches. To make things worse, the glaring sun and deep shadows made filming difficult, and Joshua’s Jericho was nowhere to be seen (Figure 4; Johnstone 1957, 36). What had drawn him to the site was the discovery of major Neolithic fortifications that suggested Jericho was at the forefront of the so-called ‘Neolithic Revolution’, which was something of a buzzword at the time (Johnstone 1957, 35). On arrival, the plan shifted, to shine a light not only on the archaeology of the site, but also on the lifestyle and routines of the archaeologists themselves.

[Insert Figure 4 here]

[Insert Figure 5 here]

In this, Johnstone was tapping into the public’s fascination with the stereotype of the archaeologist as pioneer and adventurer (Ascherson 2004, 145). Well before Indiana Jones, this image had been boosted by various autobiographical accounts of life on a dig, from the experiences of Flinders Petrie in Egypt and Palestine (Petrie 1931), to Agatha Christie’s accounts of her experiences in Syria and Mesopotamia (Mallowan 1946), and Mary Chubb’s accounts of her time at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, or Eshnunna in Iraq (Chubb 1954; 1957) — amongst many others (e.g. MacWilliams 1934; Woolley 1953). *Buried Treasure: The Walls of Jericho* fed this public interest, and gave them a colourful and at the same time realistic account of a British dig abroad — which Johnstone described as ‘Part picnic, part safari, part epic’ (Johnstone 1956a). Archaeological activities such as the men assembling for work (Figure 5), excavating skeletons, surveying, processing finds or washing pottery, are mixed with more informal activities such as eating ‘thick marmalade sandwiches’ (BBC 1956, 5:43), bandaging minor injuries, or a demonstration of staff drumming skills. The episode came out the same year as Margaret Wheeler’s autobiographical musings on working at Jericho, which had a similar approach and was so popular it saw three editions published within four years (Wheeler 1958, first published 1956; see also Butler in this volume).

Johnstone's documentary provided both a snapshot of archaeological thought about the site, and a good overview of archaeological process. What was notable about this production was the measured and reasoned approach given to its material. The archaeologists were allowed to speak for themselves, and the audience was given several perspectives to enjoy: dig director Kathleen Kenyon, field hand Margaret Wheeler, and the familiar and hugely popular television personality, Mortimer Wheeler, who provided a sort of authoritative overview to proceedings. It managed to encapsulate both the dedication and hard work of a dig, and the air of romance added by its Middle Eastern setting, which would have seemed very exotic to the British TV viewer of the day. The dichotomy of this was perhaps best summed up by Kenyon herself, when she wrote:

The world at large seems to be divided between those who think of archaeology as conducted by desiccated elderly professors, poring through microscopes at potsherds and flints, and those who regard it as a wild adventure searching for buried treasure, carried out by picturesquely attired young men (Kenyon 1958a, 5).

Buried Treasure didn't feature any desiccated professors, but it did carry a sort of dry authority, relieved throughout by splashes of local colour and activity. The show itself aired on 31 July 1956, and Kenyon asked for a copy of the film to show to the workmen at the site (Davis 2008, 144). As she reported back to Johnstone:

If ever one of your programmes had a howling success, it was when we showed Walls of Jericho to our workmen last week. Clapping began as soon as there was the shot showing the camp Every time anyone was recognised there was a roar of appreciation, and when they recognised themselves there was an excited shriek. It

really was most tremendous fun, and I wish you could have been here to see and hear it. I am sure that Buried Treasure has never had such a reception. (Kenyon 1958b).

Back in the United Kingdom, in official BBC documents the programme received a good audience rating (a reaction index of 71, slightly up on several previous editions of the series; BBC Audience Research Department 1956). Some of those surveyed, however, felt Kenyon's television style too formal, and Lady Wheeler's attitude 'detached'. This view was mirrored by one of the programme's reviewers, who commented that the script: '... was written without a gleam of inspiration from its remarkable theme and it was spoken as if we were being read to in bed by the light of a flickering candle' (Pound 1956, 211). This said, in the BBC audience report the intimate details of dig life were well received, and there were favourable comments about the immediacy of seeing a dig as it was happening. The full programme of *Buried Treasure: The Walls of Jericho* can now be viewed online by those living in the UK via the BBC iplayer (BBC 1956).

The Archaeologist as Celebrity

As archaeology became more popular with the general public, the archaeologists acting as spokespeople for their sites sometimes found themselves at the centre of a story, rather than at its edge. Thus we see Mortimer Wheeler being voted British Television Personality of the year in 1954 (Hawkes 1982, 301) and Glyn Daniel gaining this award the following year (Brittain and Clack 2007, 11). In their case, frequent on-screen appearances in *Animal*, *Vegetable*, *Mineral* led to greater media exposure and popularity. But the phenomenon can be noted for others who did less to put themselves in the public eye, including two of the directors of excavations at Jericho.

Garstang, for example, appeared in a photographic spread of notable figures in the *Illustrated London News* 'Personalities of the Week' section in 1931, alongside his sponsor Sir Charles Marston (*Illustrated London News* 1931, 83); work at the site had been reported on elsewhere in that issue. This part of the paper featured an eclectic mix of politicians, financiers, adventurers such as aviators, sportsmen and so on, depending on who had been doing something of interest that week. In a similar vein, Garstang's movements were reported on in the Court Circular section of *The Times*, noting when he departed for excavations, and when he came back into the country (e.g. *The Times* 1933b, 17), as well as any public lectures he gave, which were part of the social calendar. This sort of treatment was accorded to other notable archaeologists of the period, including Flinders Petrie and Leonard Woolley; their activities were considered newsworthy.

Kenyon was similarly fêted: her departure for the field was in the News in Brief section of *The Times*, and like Garstang, her public lectures were announced in the paper and often reviewed by journalists afterwards (e.g. *The Times* 1953b; 1955b; 1958). Her public profile increased considerably when the discovery of the plastered Neolithic skulls at the end of the 1953 Jericho season created something of a publicity storm and generated wide exposure both for the site and herself (Davis 2008, 133). She was sufficiently noticed to be named in the honours list in January in 1954 (Davis 2008, 137). This was followed by invitations to appear on *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* in November 1955, be guest of honour at the Forum Club's inauguration of their new 'archaeological section' in December (*The Times* 1955a), and take part in the *Buried Treasure* TV broadcast in July 1956 (Davis 2008, 135; BBC 1956). Later that year, she became guest of the week on the BBC Light Programme's *Woman's Hour* (Boswell 1956; *Radio Times* 1956). Kenyon was becoming something of a celebrity.

In February 1957, Kenyon was chosen as the subject of a feature profile in the comparatively new weekly magazine, the *New Scientist*. Kenyon featured alongside articles about science in industry, irradiation as a method for preserving food, antibiotic treatments for whales, and what goes on inside a cooling tower (The New Scientist 1957a, 3). She was an interesting choice; other figures profiled in this magazine were typically chemists, physicists, engineers, industrialists, or politicians — usually people who were near the end of their careers, already honoured with baronetcies and knighthoods (Kenyon had a more modest CBE), and predominantly male. Her inclusion is probably a reflection of the high profile of her work at Jericho, although the *New Scientist* itself only ever ran two further stories on excavations there (The New Scientist 1957b; 1959). Three years later, *The Times* made her the focal point of another biographical feature (The Times 1960). As the director and spokesperson for a British Expedition to an iconic site like Jericho, this attention is perhaps not surprising, although it was something that might never have happened had the finds at Jericho been less spectacular, and the media less interested in promoting them.

Visualising Ancient Jericho

Explaining archaeology to a popular audience is a skill, and it helps to give the reader or viewer tools to help them visualise the past, so they can move beyond photographs of trenches, walls and pots to an ancient landscape, ideally populated with people ‘just like them’. Print media achieves this in one of two ways. It can be achieved verbally, by using simple analogies that lead the audience to imagine themselves in the past, or relate it to their own contemporary present — and this technique often appears in popular reports. An even greater impact can be achieved with images that reconstruct the past, helping readers visualise how things might have been. Such images, of course, derive from what is known archaeologically and historically at a given point, and as such, can become quickly dated

when new discoveries are made. In addition, as with all forms of art, they often carry an intrinsic style that places them very much in the decade or era in which they are made.

Most of the print reporting on excavations at Jericho occurred in newspapers where the opportunity for graphics was limited. However, there were some exceptions, most notably the *Illustrated London News*, *The Graphic*, *The Sphere* and *National Geographic Magazine*, for whom this type of visualisation was key to their success. Another place where they found a ready home was in books aimed at a popular readership, such as *The Foundations of History: Joshua–Judges* (Garstang 1931b), *The Story of Jericho* (Garstang and Garstang 1940), *Digging up Jericho* (Kenyon 1957) and *The Walls of Jericho* (Wheeler 1958).

Several reconstructions of ancient Jericho were produced in the 1930s by dig illustrator Mabel Ratcliffe, based on Garstang's excavations (Garstang 1931a, as a double page spread, 96–97; 1933, fig. 17; Garstang and Garstang 1940, frontispiece; Marston 1934, pl. opposite p. 162; see Figure 6). Three of these included both the inner walls and derelict outer walls, which Garstang had made much of; when published in the *Illustrated London News*, captions emphasised the 'scientific' basis of the reconstruction. All the images place the site in an atmospheric local setting with low hills and the occasional cactus and palm tree, sometimes adding a few figures for scale. They are set in the period of Joshua's conquest, although none visualise the actual moment of destruction.

[Insert Figure 6 here]

In 1956, the *Illustrated London News* commissioned Alan Sorrell to create a new reconstruction drawing of Jericho for Kenyon's latest article. Sorrell had previously undertaken commissions of this type for the magazine, after being introduced to archaeological reconstruction by Kenyon when she was working on Roman Leicester in 1936 (Sorrell 1981, 13; Johnson and Perry 2012, 25, 27). Following Kenyon's instruction, he pictured the city at the moment of the attack that ended its Middle Bronze Age phase, with

smoke sweeping over the tell, its impressive sloping *glacis* topped by walls with hypothetical crenelated towers at intervals and a rather modest army of chariots and foot soldiers attacking. The densely-packed houses and stepped streets inside the walls match what Kenyon had been excavating. This was an action shot of ancient Jericho, and as such had a more dramatic impact than Ratcliffe's sleepy Bronze and Iron Age towns, designed to accompany Kenyon's headline advertising the 'City which Joshua Destroyed' — despite the reconstruction being dated to around 1600 BC, and *not* actually depicting the moment of Joshua's alleged destruction.

One of the most striking images to come out of Kenyon's fieldwork, however, was a reconstruction drawing made by Michael Ricketts, who worked as an artist for the excavations in 1953 (Figure 7). This incorporated details observed in the Middle Bronze Age tombs, to create an idealised image of the interior of a Jericho house; here Kenyon was interpreting tombs as 'houses of the dead', with grave goods representing what one needed to take from this life into the next (Kenyon 1957, 251). This image first appeared in an *Illustrated London News* item, 'The Everyday Home Life of Jericho 3650 Years Ago' (Illustrated London News 1954). This image proved to be an effective piece of promotion, allowing the reader to visualise and bring the ancient city to life. Tushingham was impressed enough to direct his readers to the article, commenting that the reconstruction was 'very well done' (Tushingham 1954, 103 note 3).

Kenyon used the image more than once: it appeared in the endpapers for her book *Digging Up Jericho*, and then again in *Archaeology in the Holy Land*. Each time, she stressed how factual the reconstruction was (Kenyon 1957, 251–252; 1985, fig. 63, 175). Indeed, all the objects used to populate the scene match items found in the tombs: an inlaid box, wooden platter and pomegranate shaped bowl, alabaster ram's-head handled bowl, stools, baskets and so on. More than this, the way in which certain items are used echoes their placement in the

tombs — a dipper juglet suspended in the mouth of a storage jar, a lamp sitting in a wall niche, a toggle pin pushed through a garment near the left shoulder, and a scarab worn as a finger ring. Dever later borrowed this image for his popular overview of the Canaanite Bronze Age (Dever 1987, 166), and it has inspired physical room reconstructions in the Eretz-Israel and Royal Ontario Museums (Ziffer 1990, 9*, fig. 9; Dever 1987, 167). This image has come to be iconic of a typical Canaanite house from the end of the Middle Bronze Age, and its attention to detail may well explain its longevity. Rickett's original drawing, now mounted and framed, may be found in the collections of the British Museum (accession number 2009,6013.1).

[Insert Figure 7 here]

Who Creates the News?

One question that arises was whether the media attention generated during periods of excavation was driven by those digging the site, or by journalists looking for a story to report. Is there any evidence that the directors of the Jericho field projects attempted to generate or manipulate media interest in the site? Certainly, Garstang appears to have issued numerous press releases during his time there, while in Kenyon's case, it has been suggested that she had picked up the value of publicity from her mentor, Mortimer Wheeler, an acknowledged fundraising expert (Davis 2008, 50; Moshenska and Schadla-Hall 2011), and would have been aware of how biblical connections helped raise the profile of her work (Davis 2008, 104).

A survey of the major newspapers and magazines that ran these stories suggests that it was the archaeologists who usually provided the information about what had been found, along with photographs and plans to help make sense of the data. This can be seen both through the choice of images — which also appear in their own academic publications — and in the type

of archaeological details that are presented, using terminology that betrays a level of professional expertise. In several cases, the archaeologist is listed as the author of the feature article or news story, a common practice in this period; in others they are quoted directly or indirectly.

Although we may expect the archaeologists involved in publicising their work to have a strong scientific or academic agenda, and an interest in accurate reporting, this does not mean that they were unaware of what would attract attention and make a good story. A letter from Jericho draughtsman Terry Ball to his parents in 1957 shows how conscious the dig team was of the importance of good publicity in the matter of fundraising:

There is considerable excitement in the camp. For weeks now it has been known that the purse is empty — some mistake was made in the organization sometime — all sorts of appeals have been written to try and raise cash. Somehow they will carry on to the finish — perhaps on an overdraft (this does not mean I don't get my money). As well as this shortage of ready the digging has not produced much of excitement. If they had a good 'newsy' find it would be easier to raise money for the dig (Ball 1957).

In fact, the team did make some spectacular finds that season — and as Terry goes on to describe in his letter, they had just uncovered a tomb with particularly well preserved organic remains; he may be seen drawing one of the rare wooden pieces of furniture from this tomb in Figure 8 (Tomb P19, later published in Kenyon 1965, 388–410). Yet similarly rich tombs had been found in previous seasons, and despite the quality of the finds, this group appears to have received little press attention; perhaps it was insufficiently different from what had gone before.

[Insert Figure 8 here]

So how did the archaeologists turn media interest into ready cash? One income stream appears to have come from the process of publicity itself, as we find ‘lecture and article fees’ listed amongst the sources of income contributing to Kenyon’s Jericho account, and while it is not indicated how these are individually broken down, the sums raised could be quite significant (Kenyon 1960, 113). For example, the total amount raised by these means was greater than the money raised by individual donations and appeals over the same seven year period (£3,152 as compared to £2,527). Of course, the two income streams were often linked, as all publicity for the site was likely to increase success in raising donations for their work. Fees from appearances in BBC radio and television recordings were also put onto the dig account (e.g. Boswell 1956). What is not clear is how often these kinds of publicity opportunities were offered by the media, as opposed to the excavators actively seeking them out.

While most articles, lectures and public broadcasts were made by excavation directors, other team members sometimes contributed. In the case of Garstang's dig, his sponsor Sir Charles Marston played an active role in publicising their discoveries, and frequently acted as a spokesperson for the dig, particularly when Garstang was still in the field. He is quoted in several newspaper features about the site, either passing on Garstang’s site reports, or providing his own views about the evidence (e.g. *The Times* 1932b; 1933a). More rarely, we might find individual team members writing their own pieces for the papers —as when Dorothy Marshall wrote up her impressions of the site and its modern inhabitants for the *Glasgow Herald* (Marshall 1952).

Beyond this there are clear examples where press coverage is produced by journalists, and the information they have obtained from their sources has been digested and reinterpreted. Their stories may be triggered by academic publications, press releases, public

announcements and events like lectures, but are filtered before the key points are selected and passed onto their own readership. Reporting in regional newspapers very much follows this type of pattern, not only in the UK but also in Australia and the USA. On occasion, publications will put the archaeologist's words in direct quotations, to add an air of authority, or will report on a letter *verbatim* (e.g. *The Times* 1933a, 11). More often, however, they do not, and the common source of a story only becomes apparent when comparing key facts or the phrasing used. In some cases, it is possible to detect a single news wire being transmitted down the line to multiple regional publications, without any major modifications being made. In others, subtle differences in readership can be detected by those facts which get omitted, or embellished.

Reports can also get distorted in transmission. Sellin's 'citadel' had become a 'castle' by the time it reached the editors of *The British Architect* (1907, 349), while publicity for Bronze Age material discovered by Garstang eventually led to the garbled headline 'Jericho project unearthed Bronzes' (*Christian Science Monitor* 1933, 3). Even the national papers were subject to occasional inaccuracies, such as when a journalist writing for *The Times* made a hash of describing previous work at the site:

Professor Garstang himself is said to have realized that evidence was obtainable of unprecedentedly ancient settlement, but the news apparently alarmed his patron, Sir Charles Marston, who, happening to believe in Archbishop Ussher's calculation that the world began in 4004 B.C., withdrew his support from the impious work (*The Times* 1957a, 6).

This was of course, total nonsense, and Marston did nothing of the sort, as an eagle-eyed reader in Edgware was quick to point out in a subsequent letter to the editor (Legerton 1957, 7).

Many editors attempted to get better quality stories by employing foreign correspondents to collect their news. While most of these remain nameless ('our archaeological correspondent', 'our Middle East correspondent' and so on), some became well-known figures and went on to have successful journalistic careers, such as the *New York Times*' Kennett Love (Love 1953; 1955), or Britain's Harold Shepstone, who was hired to write about Jericho for the *Scientific American* (Shepstone 1909). An even closer relationship was sometimes achieved, by making a newspaper part of the direct funding stream of an excavation. The *Daily Telegraph* had famously provided funding to send George Smith to Nineveh to search for missing fragments of the cuneiform 'flood' tablet in 1872 (Stronach and Lumsden 1992, 227), later sponsoring R.A.S. Macalister's work at Ophel in Jerusalem (Cobbing 2009, 73), while the *Daily Mail* sponsored Mortimer Wheeler's work at Caerleon in Wales (Moshenska and Schadla-Hall 2011, 52; for other examples, see Ascherson 2004, 156). Modern day analogies may be seen in sponsorship provided by the National Geographic Society for projects such as the Ulu Burun excavations, with substantial coverage appearing in their magazine as a result (e.g. Bass 1987, 709).

This also happened at Jericho. The National Geographic Society appear to have given \$2500 to the excavations, presumably in return for running a story on the site (Kenyon 1953d; Kenyon and Tushingham 1953), although strangely this sum does not appear in the final site accounts (Kenyon 1960, 112–113). Then in 1955, Kenyon's Assistant Director, A.D. Tushingham, suggested she look to one of the Toronto newspapers for support:

I think our best bet is to raise the money from one of our Toronto newspapers. If they would put up the money to contribute a lump sum of £1000 or £2000 to the general fund, plus travel costs for four people, plus a little over — say \$8000.00 all told ... You might consider the possibility of feeding the same stories to an English paper (Tushingham 1955).

This suggestion appears to have resulted in a collaborative sponsorship agreement between the Toronto *Globe and Mail* and the Royal Ontario Museum, who jointly provided some £1440 to the 1956 field season (Kenyon 1956a, 67; 1960, 112). Tushingham, who had by that time become head of the Art and Archaeology division at the museum, was joined in the field by fellow Canadians Winifred Needler and doctoral student Bill Power (The Times 1956, 7). The *Globe and Mail* sent one of their staff reporters, science journalist David Spurgeon, whose brief was to provide on-site coverage as the dig developed. Some 16 Jericho news items were wired back to Canada as a result. His paper heavily promoted his role as Middle Eastern correspondent, with sidewalk posters and even the side of a Toronto bus being used to publicise his reports from the field (Calamai 2015; B. Spurgeon 2015).

Being able to work alongside members of a dig in progress provided many journalistic opportunities, not only allowing the writer to develop a closer understanding of the material being reported on, but also a better understanding of the archaeological process itself. Spurgeon maintained different perspectives, sometimes presenting himself as an outsider looking on at ‘the archaeologists’, and at other times identifying himself as a member of the team. This is not surprising, as within a few days of arriving at Jericho, the canny Kenyon had put Spurgeon into his own trench, blurring the lines between observer and participant (D. Spurgeon 1956a). His reports begin to get sprinkled with archaeological terminology, mostly correct — we can forgive a rare and ill-advised reference to ‘obsidian flints’ (D. Spurgeon

1956d) — as well as the names of his fellow archaeologists, a level of detail less common in other journalists' reports on the site, who gained access primarily through the site director.

Spurgeon also took his own photographs, which added additional depth to his reports, as he had a better appreciation of the types of images needed to make his stories come alive, and have an impact on the audiences back home. It is notable, for example, how often people feature in Spurgeon's shots, usually in close-up, with lengthy captions that bring their activities, and even conversations, to the fore. Even images designed to convey the nature of the landscape or the setting are full of action — figures trudging down a hillside, filling water at the spring, or carrying baskets of spoil away from the camera (Figure 9). Kenyon and her archaeological predecessors, in contrast, tended to illustrate their newspaper reports with photographs of architecture, *in situ* finds, or trench shots with a few static figures placed for scale; her *National Geographic Magazine* article with its vibrant colour images was a rare exception to this rule, and one suspects due to direction from magazine staff, who sent their own photographers to the site (Kenyon and Tushingham 1953). Some of Spurgeon's photographic material is now archived as part of the Non-professional Archaeological Photographs Project (NPAPH).

[Insert Figure 9 here]

Spurgeon's reports also contained a healthy dash of humour, which no doubt added to their popularity back in Canada. With the heading '3,500 year-old-tomb hot, stuffy', he began one account:

I entered a tomb today that had not been opened for 3,500 years. It was 15 feet beneath the earth's surface in a rock-cut vault, and it was hot in there, and smelled indefinably. I stayed only long enough to take a few pictures (D. Spurgeon 1956b).

Some elements of his work seem designed to feed the interest of the outside world in the 'odd' goings on of archaeologists, and what life was like on a dig, as capitalised on in popular biographies and contemporary television. What prevented his reporting being lightweight, however, was the juxtaposition of light-hearted anecdotes with material fed to him by his archaeological colleagues. Being on the spot, he was able to combine colour and local flavour with accuracy, immediate reporting on the latest discoveries (stories were filed once or twice a week), and interpretations of the material direct from source. In this respect, his work shares similarities with 'popular' archaeology books produced by insiders on the dig, such as Kenyon and Margaret Wheeler, but with a stronger understanding of how to connect with a non-academic audience and produce good media copy.

Jericho from the 20th to the 21st Century

Throughout the period from 1907, when Sellin and Watzinger first began to excavate at Jericho, to 1958, when Kenyon completed her last season of fieldwork there, media interest in the ancient site of Jericho waxed and waned. While Jericho continues to attract sporadic interest as a tourist destination on the bible trail (see Butler in this volume), or as a place where political tensions sometimes peak, it has always achieved its greatest news coverage whenever the site is archaeologically active. Interest is at its strongest during or immediately after a field season, when the excavators begin to send in newspaper accounts of their latest discoveries and go onto the lecture circuit to try to raise further funds, with big finds acting as catalysts to increased media interest. The often strong degree of control which archaeologists have had over publicity has done much to shape how Jericho has been perceived, although at times one suspects they were limited by their own perception of public expectations — as the repetition and recirculation of certain ideas attests. The development of these kinds of 'story-

telling habits' has also been noted in the development of archaeological narratives elsewhere (Robson 2017).

As the latest excavation projects create their own vision of what is significant about the site (see Nigro and Taha in this volume), and an appreciation of the wider Jericho landscape becomes increasingly important to marketing the area as a potential World Heritage site (see Green, and Finlayson and Burtenshaw in this volume), the question of how Jericho is perceived by audiences continues to be relevant today. Of course new discoveries will continue to have an impact on the academic community, through presentation in appropriate, peer-reviewed journals and books. But if those discoveries are to have a wider impact beyond academia, then they need to be publicised; and this means finding effective ways to communicate with a non-specialist public, without feeling the need to draw on tired tropes and well-worn narratives. This transition, from archaeology in its professional setting, to archaeology in a more public arena where material is expected to both inform and entertain, can be something of a challenge.

The difference today, is that, with the advent of social media, and many different online platforms, control of 'the story' is not always in the hands of those who originate it. In the days of Sellin, Garstang or Kenyon, it was possible to control the dissemination of archaeological information, through publication in carefully selected academic journals, by penning popular accounts of new discoveries, and by collaborations with journalists and producers who often seemed happy to let the archaeologists tell their stories in much their own way; how else can we explain the obsession with building methods, measurements and minor details of chronology? While these same tools may still be available today, a whole new suite has also been added, with an active online community in which the user often takes control of the news. We now face massive, sometimes unpredictable audiences, and have to acknowledge that what we send out may not be recognisable by the time it arrives somewhere

else. This lack of editorial or quality control is of concern, although it is not entirely true to say that the web lacks peer review (*contra* Magness 2012, 91), as anyone can respond to an inaccurate piece. What is lacking, however, is a way for readers to measure the authority and reliability behind the many voices and opinions now available. The challenge facing those who work with this material today, therefore, is to ensure that archaeological perspectives contribute effectively to ongoing debates about the value and significance of this iconic site.

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Figure Captions

Figure 1. Clippings file, showing a rare colour spread published in the *Illustrated London News* in 1935. The face vase had appeared in an earlier article, dramatized as a possible portrait of a Hyksos leader (*Illustrated London News* 1933, 994). Courtesy of the UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections archives, photograph by Rachael Sparks.

Figure 2. Comparative outputs for the three excavation projects in *The Times* and the *Illustrated London News*. Individual word and image counts were recorded for each year, then an average obtained based on the duration of the projects.

Figure 3. Plastered skull in situ. This image was used to illustrate an article about the seven plastered skulls found at the end of the 1953 field season (*The Times* 1953a); one of the rare occasions where this newspaper illustrated its Jericho reports. Courtesy of the UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections (Kenyon archive: Jericho 1953.384).

Figure 4. Producer Paul Johnstone, cameraman Leonard Newson and his assistant Eddie Best filming *The Walls of Jericho* episode of *Buried Treasure* in March 1956. Courtesy of the UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections (Kenyon archive: Jericho 1956.100).

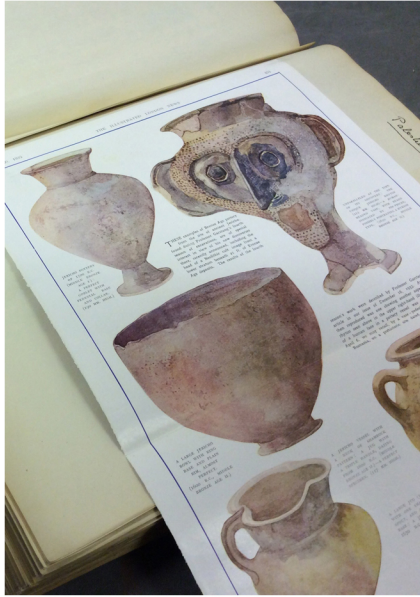
Figure 5. One of the scenes Johnstone chose to illustrate dig routines featured workers ascending from the dighouse to the tell (BBC 1956, 5:53). This colour photo shows a similar scene with Kenyon standing at the centre of the image, with the stairs leading up to the tell on the right. Courtesy of the UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections (Kenyon archive: Jericho unmarked 33).

Figure 6. Reconstruction view of Jericho city IV, by Mabel Ratcliffe; painted in 1939, and published as the frontispiece in Garstang and Garstang (1940). An almost identical image was previously published in the *Illustrated London News* in 1933 (Garstang 1933, fig. 17).

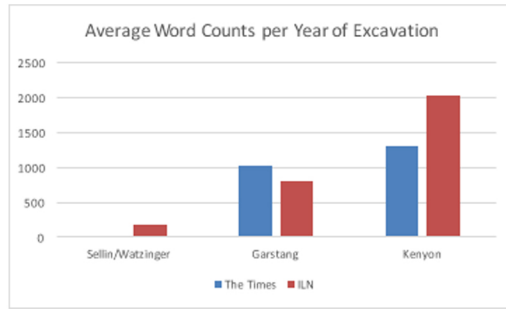
Figure 7. Michael Ricketts' reconstruction of a Canaanite house interior at Jericho. Courtesy of the UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections (Kenyon archive: Jericho no number).

Figure 8. Hoping for a 'newsy find': Terry Ball drawing wooden table 2 from tomb P19; for the finished drawing, see Kenyon 1965, fig. 200. Courtesy of the UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections (Kenyon archive: Jericho S2 R20A 27).

Figure 9. One of David Spurgeon's photographs showing activity around Elisha's Fountain, (published in Spurgeon 1956c). Courtesy of the Non-Professional Archaeological Photographs project (cSpurgeonpSultan9).



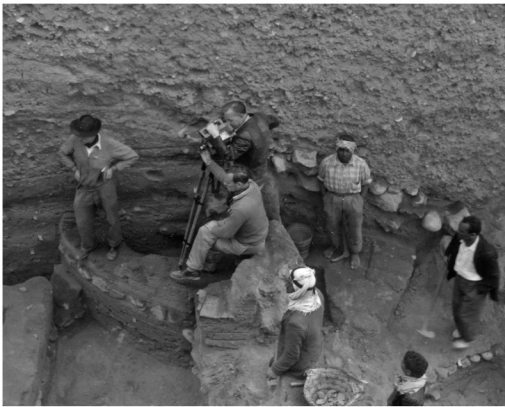
Sparks fig 01.tif



Sparks fig 02_graph.tif



Sparks fig 03_Skull.tif



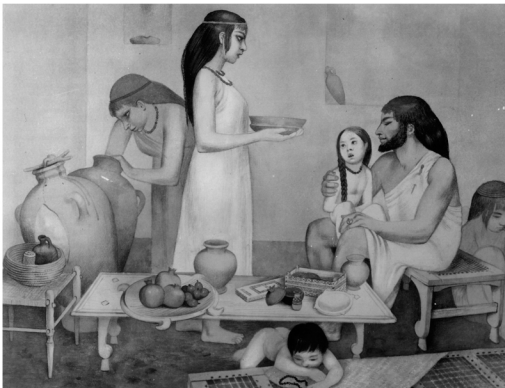
Sparks fig 04_filming.tif



Sparks fig 05_start of wo...



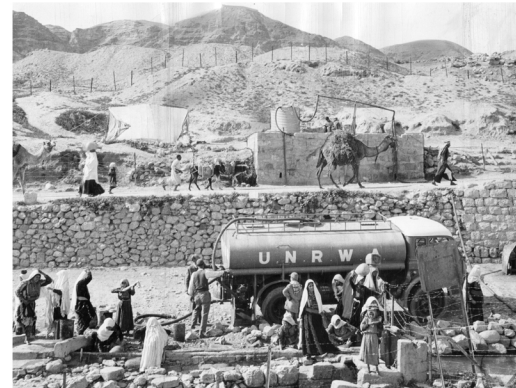
Sparks fig 06_Ratcl#628...



Sparks fig 07_Ricke#628...



Sparks fig 08_Terry Ball.tif



Sparks-fig-09_Spurg#9D...