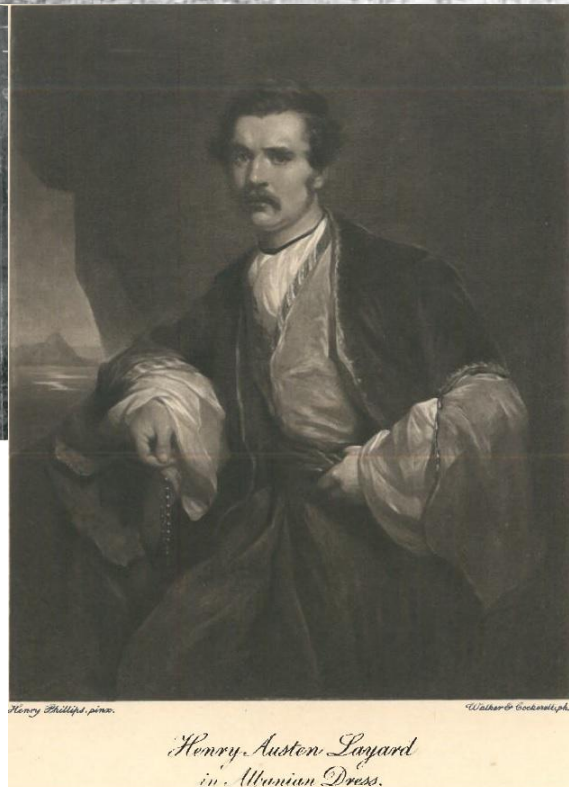


**Archaeologists and autobiography: (self-)fashioning in the public autobiographical writings of Austen Henry Layard (1817 - 1894), William Flinders Petrie (1853 - 1942), and Mortimer Wheeler (1890 - 1976)**



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<sup>1</sup> The word count includes footnotes, but excludes in-text quotes from source-material.

Images, clockwise:

1. William Flinders Petrie in front of a rock-carved tomb which he used as living space during excavations in Egypt.
2. Austen Henry Layard 'in Albanian dress'.
3. Mortimer Wheeler excavating a mosaic in Verulamium

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# Introduction

*‘You want to be a good archaeologist, you’ve got to get out of the library!’*

*‘[A]utobiography is not merely something we read in a book; rather, as a discourse of identity, delivered bit by bit in the stories we tell about ourselves day in and day out, autobiography structures our living.’<sup>2</sup>*

At first sight, the two quotes above seem to be unrelated. In some sense, even, they could not be further apart from each other. The first is spoken by the protagonist of the latest (2008) episode of an international movie franchise centring around a person who, together with other popular focussing on archaeology, undoubtedly inspired many to take up archaeology: Harrison Ford as professor Henry ‘Indiana’ Jones, Jr. The second quote, contrarily, is a passage from the first chapter of literary historian Paul Eakin’s *Living autobiographically*, a work dealing with the role of identity within autobiographical narratives.

Both quotes, however, point at two central pillars of the research presented in this thesis. Central to it is the question: how can differences between the public persona and the images of the practice of (popular) archaeology Austen Henry Layard (1817 - 1894), William Flinders Petrie (1853 - 1942), and Mortimer Wheeler (1890 - 1976) fashioned in their autobiographies, be explained?<sup>3</sup> Firstly, public images of the practice of archaeology and of archaeologists in general during the period of ca. 1850 - 1950, and of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler specifically, are key to this study. Such public images take a textual form as narrative structures, motifs, and topoi. Further, they exist independently of ‘what really happened’, as this was usually not known to the recipients of the text (the readers of the autobiography). The second pillar is made up of how autobiography in general, and written autobiographies in particular, structure not only how we construct our own identity for ourselves, but also, especially in the case of a public figure, for a larger public. As will be shown in the first chapter on a theoretical level, both pillars are tied together in a reciprocal relationship, the one continuously influencing the other and vice-versa.

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<sup>2</sup> Paul J. Eakin, *Living autobiographically: how we create identity in narrative* (Ithaca and London, 2008), 4.

<sup>3</sup> The term self-fashioning was coined by the literary historian Stephen Greenblatt in the context of the Renaissance and was, for example expanded to the nineteenth-century intellectual world by Jo Tollebeek. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance self-fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980); Jo Tollebeek, *Fredericq & zonen: een antropologie van de moderne geschiedwetenschap* (Amsterdam, 2008), 40.

These two pillars also connect this historical research with the present time. The concept of identity has gained in importance during the last decades, both within and beyond the academic world. Outside of academia (and all too often inside of it as well) an ‘identity’ is usually seen as something which is uniform, static, and of which one possesses but one. The following chapters, however, not only show on a theoretical level that anyone possesses a variety of ever-changing identities, but they also point out how the three examined archaeologists actively adapted the identity they showcased in their autobiographies to cater to the expectations of their audience. Furthermore, scholars, especially but not exclusively those from the humanities, are currently increasingly pushed to highlight the contemporary relevance and ‘usefulness’ of their research, besides the more traditional roles they play in larger societal debates.<sup>4</sup> The analysis of the strategies three public archaeologists employed in their autobiographies to reach a large audience can therefore be informative to current and future scholars.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the archaeologists provided this audience with particular images of their discipline and themselves, an analysis of which may also provide insights for current and future scholars.

The three British public archaeologists whose autobiographies are analysed in this research are Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler. Layard undertook two excavation campaigns (1845 - 1847 and 1849 - 1851) around the mounds of Mosul in Ottoman Mesopotamia and was consequently heralded as the discoverer of the Biblical Nineveh (even though he quickly realised he had been digging at Nimrud, not Nineveh). He had a large public presence mainly thanks to his many and immensely popular archaeological writings and their popular renderings, as well as newspaper articles which quickly instituted a ‘Layard myth’.<sup>6</sup> Petrie can be considered of the generation following that of Layard. After some initial explorations

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<sup>4</sup> Julia Olmos-Peñuela, Paul Benneworth, and Elena Castro Martínez, ‘Are sciences essential and humanities elective? Disentangling competing claims for humanities’ research public value’ *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education* 14:1 (2015) 61–78; Eleonora Belfiore, ‘The ‘rhetoric of gloom’ vs. the discourse of impact in the humanities: Stuck in a deadlock?’ In: Eleonora Belfiore and Anna Upchurch (eds), *Humanities in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Utility and Markets* (London, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> See for an overview of some other strategies: Paul Benneworth, ‘Tracing how arts and humanities research translates, circulates and consolidates in society. How have scholars been reacting to diverse impact and public value agendas?’, *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education* 14:1 (2015), 45-60.

<sup>6</sup> Austen H. Layard, *Nineveh and its remains: with an account of a visit to the Chaldaean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or devil-worshippers, and an inquiry into the manners and arts of the ancient Assyrians*, 2 volumes (London, 1849); Austen H. Layard, *The monuments of Nineveh: from drawings made on the spot* (London, 1849); Austen H. Layard, *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon: with travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the desert: being the result of a second expedition, undertaken for the trustees of the British Museum* (London, 1853); Austen H. Layard, *A popular account of the discoveries at Nineveh* (London, 1851); Austen H. Layard, *Autobiography and letters from his childhood until his appointment as H.M. ambassador at Madrid*, 2 volumes (London, 1887); Austen H. Layard, *Early adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia, including a residence among the Bakhtiyari and other wild tribes before the discovery of Nineveh* (London, 1887). The institution of this Layard myth will be examined more closely in chapter three.

existing of measurements of archaeological remains in Great Britain, he left for Egypt in 1880 and would continue to excavate there as well as around Palestine up to his death in 1942. By that time he had become the first professor of Egyptology at University College London (UCL), which offered him a platform for public communication. Starting his career in 1907, Mortimer Wheeler, finally, is usually considered the father of modern public archaeology. His shrewd use of the press and popular interest in archaeology at excavations at Maiden Castle and Caerleon and his appearance in television shows in the 1950s are most notable in this regard.

Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler, then, can be considered parts of successive generations of British archaeologists, all of whom had a large public presence. Additionally, they are the only British archaeologists from this period to have written and published an autobiography covering (most of) their professional lives. The few other autobiographies that exist take the form of memoirs only dealing with specific episodes (the British archaeologist Max Mallowan's *Memoirs* offer an example of this).<sup>7</sup> This is not to say that Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler should be considered representative of their respective archaeological generations; ascertaining this is fraught with difficulties. Yet, I would argue that considering their fame, they represent the most concrete image of the practice of archaeology and of 'an archaeologist' held by the general, non-academic, public in ca. 1850 - 1950.

One final note, which will be expanded upon in the context of education in chapters two and four, is in order: generally, an image that eighteenth-, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century archaeologists usually were aristocrats seems to exist. This can be explained by archaeology's close connection to the idea of the 'Grand Tour' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries during which very high-classed youths — aristocrats or at least with families heavily involved in public service and/or diplomacy — were sent to travel mainland Europe as the final stage in their education.<sup>8</sup> Usually the travellers were accompanied by tutors who could explain the historical and cultural value of the history they encountered. From the seventeenth century onwards, the young men who could afford it

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<sup>7</sup> Max Mallowan, *Mallowan's Memoirs* (London, 1977).

<sup>8</sup> Michael G. Brennan, *The origins of the Grand Tour: the travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville (1649 - 1654), William Hammond (1655 - 1658), Banaster Maynard (1660 - 1663)* (London, 2004), 11-13. Michael Brennan even connects the seventeenth-century origins of the English Grand Tour to concepts of exile and escape in the context of the English Civil Wars. See: Michael G. Brennan, *English Civil War travellers and the origins of the Western European Grand Tour: 2001 annual lecture of The Hakluyt Society* (London, 2002), 7 and 30; Brennan, *The origins of the Grand Tour*, 9-55; Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti: the antic and the antique in eighteenth-century England* (Los Angeles, 2008), 1-2.

bought paintings, ancient sculptures, vases, and other remains as souvenirs.<sup>9</sup> Archaeologist Alain Schnapp traces this early obsession with the classical past back to the medieval period and argues that it coalesced in the Rome of the fifteenth-century, where it was also reserved for the aristocracy.<sup>10</sup> These young travellers, or ‘proto-archaeologists’, then, were indeed wealthy aristocrats, but connected to the rise of a national consciousness, a second strand of early archaeology developed. The proto-archaeologists of this second strand were members of the gentry, or even of the higher echelons of the middle class. Unable to afford a Grand Tour, they engaged in the archaeology of their own estates, for example. For Great Britain, the excavations of Stonehenge and the barrows on Salisbury plains by Richard Colt Hoare (1758 - 1838) and William Cunnington (1754 - 1810) offer an excellent example.<sup>11</sup> During the professionalisation and disciplinisation of archaeology, this second strand would become dominant and would start to work outside of this local context: Heinrich Schliemann (1820 - 1890) was a wealthy businessman, Oscar Montelius’ (1843 - 1921) father worked in the Swedish legal system, Christian Thomsen (1788 - 1865) came from a wealthy merchant family, and Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler were no aristocrats either.<sup>12</sup>

The backgrounds of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler are elaborated upon more closely in chapter three, which also includes an overview of the public images that existed of them during their lifetimes. First, the chapters one and two consist of a theoretical exploration of ‘autobiography’ and an overview of public expectations of archaeology and archaeologists in general in the period of ca. 1850 - 1950. Chapter one offers an overview of different theoretical positions on autobiography, culminating in the articulation of the theoretical position that this study takes, and the introduction of the concept of public autobiographical writing. Furthermore, it highlights theories surrounding several key concepts for this research, such as memory, agency, identity, and the idea of multiple ‘I’s and selves. The latter two help shed light on the different constraints put upon Layard, Petrie and Wheeler from their discursive surroundings. Chapter one also formulates a methodological framework taken from the analysis of historical master narratives to be applied to the three

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<sup>9</sup> Edward Chaney, *The evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian cultural relations since the Renaissance* (London and New York, 1998), xvi and 203-214.

<sup>10</sup> Matthew Johnson, ‘Commentary: archaeology as travel and tourism’, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15:2 (2011), 298-303, esp. 299; Alain Schnapp, *The discovery of the past* (London, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> Schnapp, *The discovery of the past*, 282-283; Johnson, ‘Commentary’, 299-300.

<sup>12</sup> Bo Gräslund, ‘G. Oscar A. Montelius’, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SBL/Presentation.aspx?id=9465>> [consulted on 2-6-2016]; ‘Montelius, släkter’ <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=9457>> [consulted on 2-6-2016]; Bruce Trigger, *A history of archaeological thought* (Cambridge, 1989), 122.



autobiographies. This methodology offers a series of categories with fixed characteristics, into which discursive elements can be slotted. Subsequently, and adding to the public personas explored in chapter three, chapter two explores and seeks to explain general public expectations of the practice of archaeology and archaeologists in the period of ca. 1850 - 1950 on the basis of historiography on travel literature, (popular) archaeology, and the history of archaeology. In this way, chapters two and three together provide a framework against which to place the autobiographies of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler. This highlights their tactics of self-fashioning and of providing an image of the practice of archaeology in general. This analysis, which is based on a close-reading of the three autobiographies, takes place in chapter four, which also aims to explain the differences between the three works. Of course, elements falling outside of the initial framework are incorporated in this close-reading. In this analysis, the professionalisation of the discipline of archaeology and the personal achievements of the archaeologists are two of the most prominent backgrounds, amongst a large variety. All this means that this research is characterised by a literary focus, something of which Dr Jones would probably disapprove.

## Chapter 1 — autobiographical theory

Before engaging with the topic of autobiography and the surrounding theoretical minefield, it is necessary to pose some questions of definition and origin. This serves to illustrate subsequent uses of such terms as ‘life writing’ and ‘autobiographical writing’. More importantly, it brings out the concept of identity formation, which is not only central to defining autobiography, but also to all (historical) theoretical discussions regarding autobiography. This process of identity formation is central to questions relating to the central topic of this research — the public image scientists and scholars provide of themselves and their discipline — since, as is argued later, an autobiography is one form of a narrative identity.

To gain better insight into the relationship between identity formation and autobiography, this section first analyses the different scholarly positions regarding the definition and origin of autobiography. Subsequently, a short overview of the history of critical approaches to autobiography on which this study is grounded is provided, followed by an overview of theoretical concepts central to this study, such as agency, memory, and the distinction between multiple ‘I’'s and selves. Apart from being key concepts, the latter two also provide a methodology for classifying the complex systems of discursive constructions surrounding the public autobiographical writings of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler. Finally, methodological concepts taken from studies dealing with national and regional identity formation are introduced and adapted to be applied to autobiography.

### Autobiography — the question of definition

The question of how to define autobiography is intimately related to the discussion on whether or not it should be seen as a proper literary genre in itself, or merely as a concept containing several specific characteristics that can occur independent of genre. The argument proposed for the latter revolves around the idea that the term ‘autobiography’ cannot describe all the diverse (historical) forms and practices of life writing, both in ‘the West’ and in the rest of the world.<sup>13</sup> Closely linked to this argument is the idea that autobiography is not so much a historical object in itself, but rather a pattern of the acts of the author which

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<sup>13</sup> Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis and London, 2010), 3.

continuously responds to historically changing ideas about the nature of the self.<sup>14</sup> Without aiming to resolve this discussion, an exploration of the several approaches to defining autobiography and autobiographical writing will offer a clear theoretical framework for the rest of this research.

Discussions surrounding the definition of autobiography seem to have found their fixed starting point in the definition of autobiography provided by literary theorist Philippe Lejeune: '[r]écit retrospectif en prose qu'une personne réelle fait de sa propre existence lorsqu' elle met l'accent sur sa vie individuelle, en particulier sur l'histoire de sa personnalité.'<sup>15</sup> With this definition, Lejeune creates five characteristics that each autobiography should have. It should be (1) a retrospective narrative, (2) written in prose, (3) dealing with one's own existence, (4) with the principal accent on one's own life, and (5) with special attention for the development of one's own personality.

The emphasis on the personal experience of external facts and the author's reflection on this experience can be found in many more definitions of autobiography. This is hardly surprising, as it makes autobiography more than a mere enumeration of the author's life facts. Historian Karl J. Weintraub, for example, states that '[a]utobiography presupposes a writer intent upon reflection on this inward realm of experience, someone for whom this inner world of experience is important.'<sup>16</sup> Literary historian Linda Peterson even links this emphasis on introspection to the trend in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century autobiographies to relate and contextualise personal experience with biblical texts and patterns of biblical history.<sup>17</sup> This way, the life facts of the author serve only as a starting point for an exploration of the experience and, subsequently, the self.

The supposed central position of personal experience and reflection in autobiography has also been critiqued. In the context of this study, the most relevant of these critical remarks come from historian Leen Dorsman. In an edited work discussing the role of (auto)biographies of scholars as source-material for the history of science, he poses the question of how many autobiographies written by scholars entailing the deep personal reflection presupposed by Lejeune and others actually exist. Dorsman subsequently mentions several examples, the autobiographies of Charles Darwin (1809 - 1882) and Pieter Geyl

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<sup>14</sup> William C. Spengemann, *The Forms of Autobiography: Episodes in the History of a Literary Genre* (New Haven and London, 1980), xiii.

<sup>15</sup> Philippe Lejeune, *Le pacte autobiographique* (Paris, 1975), 14.

<sup>16</sup> Karl J. Weintraub, 'Autobiography and Historical Consciousness', *Critical Inquiry* 1:4 (1975), 821–848, esp. 823.

<sup>17</sup> Linda Peterson, *Victorian Autobiography: the tradition of self-interpretation* (New Haven and London, 1986), 1-28.

(1887 - 1966), amongst others, which do seem to include this personal reflection, while at the same time questioning the authors' truthfulness.<sup>18</sup>

In an attempt to broaden the scope of autobiographical study, literary theorists Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson have offered definitions of two concepts closely related to the experience- and reflection-based autobiography: life narrative and life writing. These concepts may be useful in the context of this study, as they are less constrictive in terms of their contents. S. Smith and Watson understand a life narrative '(...) as a general term for acts of self-presentation of all kinds and in diverse media that take the producer's life as their subject.'<sup>19</sup> This, then, is not only constricted to written forms of 'self-representation', but may also include visual, digital and or (otherwise) performative acts. They define life writing, on the other hand, as '(...) a general term for writing that takes a life, one's own or another's, as its subject.'<sup>20</sup> In contrast to their definition of the life narrative, the focus here is solely on writing, although this writing may be done by both the subject of the narrative or by someone else. Taken together, these two concepts can provide a clear definition of the type of narrative under investigation here: written narratives, centring on one life and written by the subject of the narrative. For this research, I will introduce the concept of public autobiographical writing (with the exception of quoting or paraphrasing other scholars) to cover such narratives, adding the term 'public' to denote that they are meant for a large audience, and not restricted to relatively small social groups such as (a number of) friends or family members.

Finally, a further clarification of public autobiographical writing can be attained when it is compared to other forms of personal narratives, such as memoirs, diaries, and letters. In distinction to public autobiographical writing, it is very exceptional for memoirs to cover the entire lifespan of their authors. Rather, they are usually limited to specific periods or experiences, mainly highlighting their author's social experiences and accomplishments, rather than their personal spiritual development, hence the prominence of political or diplomatic memoirs. Furthermore, the only people usually writing memoirs are what S. Smith and Watson call 'the publicly prominent', and it could be said that this is also a general rule of public autobiographical writing.<sup>21</sup> In contrast, it may well be possible to find the personal spiritual development so critical to definitions of autobiography in diaries, and, depending on

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<sup>18</sup> Leen J. Dorsman, 'Ter inleiding: biografie en autobiografie: problematische genres?', in: Leen J. Dorsman and Peter J. Knegtman (eds.), *De menselijke maat in de wetenschap: de geleerden(auto)biografie als bron voor de wetenschappen en universiteitsgeschiedenis* (Hilversum, 2013), 11–24, esp. 14–16.

<sup>19</sup> Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 3–4.

factors such as the addressee and sender, letters. Yet, letters and diaries are written with no, or at best a more limited audience in mind, giving them a unique character altogether.

### **Autobiography — the question of history**

The many different definitions of autobiography and life writing in general are not necessarily symptomatic of different approaches to what scholars consider to be ‘autobiography’ or ‘life writing’. Rather, the different definitions and characteristics usually depend on where the author in question positions the historical start of autobiography, something which already hinted upon when mentioning Peterson’s remarks regarding the supposed autobiographical emphasis on the introspective. The positioning of this historical start of autobiography, in turn, relies on what are considered to be the central characteristics of autobiography.

The anglicist William Spengemann, for example, sees the development of a first form of autobiography as starting in the Renaissance. He terms this form ‘historical autobiography’, and states that it is characterised by ‘historical self-recollection’. This most basic form of autobiography, according to him, surveys the personal memory of past actions of the author from an unmoving point above them.<sup>22</sup> Thusly, a historical autobiography becomes a series of life-facts the author retrospectively selects and connects. This process can be said to be the first step in the direction of introspection, stopping short of actual analysis. According to Spengemann, the second form, ‘philosophical autobiography’, developed during the later eighteenth century. It not only aimed at recollection but tries to analyse memories of past actions and ideas to form some sort of conclusion about them. He calls this process ‘philosophical self-exploration’. Spengemann sees the final form of autobiography, ‘poetic autobiography’, as having started its development in the nineteenth century. Central to this form is its performance of a series of symbolic actions aimed at conveying, and to some extent, realising, the self, or: ‘poetic self-expression’.<sup>23</sup> In poetic self-expression the author not only analyses and conveys his idea of his or her selfhood, but tries to develop it in, and with help of, the text. Curiously, Spengemann takes the blueprint for his tripartite model of the development of autobiography from St. Augustine’s *Confessions*, written between 397 and 400, making it possible to argue he sees this work as the start of the genre.

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<sup>22</sup> Spengemann, *The Forms of Autobiography*, xiv and 32-33.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv and 32-33.

Weintraub, on the other hand, argues that autobiography only ‘assumes a significant cultural function around A.D. 1800.’<sup>24</sup> Intelligently avoiding to state that autobiography only began in 1800, the argument for his thesis is that autobiography could only achieve its ‘full dimension and richness’ when historical understanding had been developed. This way, he links the development of autobiography to the development of historicism.<sup>25</sup> Later on, however, it seems that his emphasis shifts slightly. Having surveyed several Classical and Medieval ideals of the individual life which he seems to judge to be too descriptive and demanding, Weintraub pivots to what seems to be his real reason for having autobiography start around 1800. According to him, the Renaissance heralded the end of the medieval and classical models of personhood: ‘(...) Western man has by a series of complex and gradual developments formed a particular attachment to the ideal of personality we call an individuality. This ideal is characterised by its very rejection of a valid model for the individual.’<sup>26</sup> That this might be too optimistic a view in terms of rejecting models will become very clear later on, but for now it suffices to say that the notion that public models of personhood or individuality are no longer important in the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries seems to me incorrect, even though such models might in this period have become more heterogeneous.<sup>27</sup>

Both Weintraub’s as Spengemann’s ideas about the start of autobiography can be found in a remark in Paul de Man’s ‘Autobiography as De-facement’, which seems to show that De Man subscribes to Spengemann’s blueprint (although the latter articulated it five years later): ‘[c]an there be autobiography before the eighteenth century or is it a specifically pre-romantic and romantic phenomenon? Generic historians tend to think so, which raises at once the question of the autobiographical element in Augustine’s confessions (...)’.<sup>28</sup> This position, pointing to St. Augustine as the first (tentative) start of autobiography will be followed here.

The relevance in finding an origin for public autobiographical writing for this research lies not so much in the origin itself, but rather in identifying the generic traditions, strategies and developments surrounding public autobiographical writing in the nineteenth- and twentieth century. Specifically for nineteenth-century English literature, Linda Peterson adds

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<sup>24</sup> Weintraub, ‘Autobiography and Historical Consciousness’, 821.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 821.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 838.

<sup>27</sup> The idea that a singular ideal or model once existed within a specific collectivity also seems optimistic at best.

<sup>28</sup> Paul De Man, ‘Autobiography as De-facement’, *MLN* 94:5 (1979), 919–930, esp. 919-920.

a religious element to these traditions. She builds on the argument literary theorist John N. Morris' proposes in his *Versions of the self* (1966) that in the period he examines, autobiographers '(...) value[d] the private and the inward more highly than the public and the outward'.<sup>29</sup> Peterson identifies this personal spiritual sensibility in nineteenth-century autobiographies as being at the root religious. The religious root can, according to Peterson, be seen in the resemblance of the formal features of a nineteenth-century autobiography to those of a sermon or segment of biblical commentary: a quotation or pericope, a contextualisation and narrative redaction of the pericope and, finally, an interpretation.<sup>30</sup>

By 1800 all these elements, including the historical self-recollection, philosophical self-exploration, and poetic self-exploration identified by Spengemann, and the development of historicism and individuality — taking into account my reservations noted above — seen by Weintraub are present and start to be developed more freely by British Victorian autobiographers.<sup>31</sup> This process has been described as the transformation of self-writing to self-making, with writers exploring their own subjectivity rather than claiming objective knowledge.<sup>32</sup> Writers from this point on also have more freedom in the fashioning of their selves, which, in the case of public autobiographical writing, means that they are able to exert more control over their public image, or: public persona, than they could in the more strict conventions before. All this is in line with the ideas leading Weintraub and other of De Man's 'generic historians' to see the starting point of autobiography at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Finally, to return to the concept of public autobiographical writing, all authors mentioned above seem to have neglected the possible public aspect of autobiography. This may mean they implicitly accept the public nature of the writings they study, or that they do not find this a worthwhile aspect to include. When the role of narrative, and consequently autobiographical writing, in identity formation is explored later on in the chapter, it will become clear the latter position does not stand.

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<sup>29</sup> John N. Morris, *Versions of the self: studies in English autobiography from John Bunyan to John Stuart Mill* (New York, 1966).

<sup>30</sup> Peterson, *Victorian Autobiography*, 7-8.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19. The combination of all these developments in the form and popularity of autobiography has prompted Smith and Watson and Michael Mascuch to argue that through its 'formation of the Western subject as an accomplished and exceptional individual', autobiography was an important factor in the legitimization of imperialism, see: Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 194 and Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the individual self: autobiography and self-identity in England, 1591-1791* (Cambridge, 1997).

<sup>32</sup> Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 103-125.

## Autobiography — critical approaches

It was also during the nineteenth century that autobiographical writing became the subject of critical enquiry, with a first wave of critical approaches starting late in the century and running into the beginning of the twentieth century. Spengemann has already identified three developments that contributed to this surge. First of all, he notes an increasing number of life narratives reaching an interested (and literate) public. Secondly, these life narratives were bound to an increasing number of critical essays focussed on these texts. He connects these two developments to a large range of other, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century phenomena. These include an emphasis on what he terms the ‘transcendent and universal mind’ developed from Enlightened thinking, revolutionary movements striving for greater democratisation, radical individualism, ideas of evolutionary progress, the myth of the self-made man, history-writing through an emphasis on ‘great men’, the development of psychoanalytic methods for self-reflection, and the sheer rise of literacy.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, Spengemann notes the influence of historian Wilhelm Dilthey (1833 - 1911) as an important development in the start of critical enquiries into autobiography. Dilthey aimed at distinguishing the humanities from the natural sciences by emphasising the importance of human experience in the former. Human experience, according to Dilthey, could help historians to gain an intuitive grasp — *verstehen* — of the actions of historic human actors. Central to getting close to the human experience of the historical actor was the autobiography of this actor, in the eyes of Dilthey, providing a semi-direct insight into his or her experiences. This led him to define autobiography as ‘(...) the highest and most instructive form in which the understanding of life comes before us.’<sup>34</sup>

However, Dilthey was, and would be for quite some time, but one of the few historians taking autobiography seriously as a historical source which could be more than a mine for biographical details.<sup>35</sup> The reason for this can be found in the professionalisation of the discipline of history, which separated it from earlier forms of historical writing which were often very closely linked to the first-person narrative. During the formation of history as an academic field in the nineteenth century, historians — in the words of historian Jeremy Popkin — started to construct a wall between history and autobiography, on the basis that

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<sup>33</sup> Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 193-194; Spengemann, *The Forms of Autobiography*.

<sup>34</sup> Wilhelm Dilthey, *Pattern and meaning in history: thoughts on history and society*, transl. Hans P. Rickman (New York, 1962), 85-86.

<sup>35</sup> David Carlson, ‘Autobiography’, in: Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann (eds.), *Reading primary sources: the interpretation of texts from nineteenth- and twentieth-century history* (Abingdon, 2009), 175–191, esp. 175-178.



history should deal with the collective (both in terms of time as in terms of experience) and the objectively verifiable. Furthermore, in the discipline of history the need was seen for a separation between the historian and his or her subject in order to be able to reach this objectively verifiable knowledge. In almost all ways, autobiography was considered the polar opposite of this idea of history: it adopts a subjective time-frame — the life of the narrator — and an inherent subjective perspective — again, that of the author. Finally, autobiography's claim to authority does not come from an aspiration of objectivity through a radical separation of author and subject, but rather from their concurrence, something which was immediately suspect for objectivity-seeking historians. As a result, autobiography came to be seen only as a secondary source, providing biographical details. In a way, then, autobiography started to serve as Edward Saïd's 'other', against which history was contrasting itself in order to be recognised as a science.<sup>36</sup>

The wall historians constructed between their discipline and autobiography lasted, despite some efforts to break it down by Dilthey and amateur historians interested in 'low' topics, until the advent of post-structuralism in the 1960s and 1970s which heralded the second wave of interest in autobiography.<sup>37</sup> The influence of post-structuralism saw the development of a new approach to autobiography: a transition from 'historical' approaches to autobiography to 'fictional' ones. The older 'historical' approaches were based on the separation of history and autobiography as described above. The 'fictional' approaches, on the other hand, consider autobiographies to be imaginative acts of self-definition in which an author usually both consciously and unconsciously constructs an image of himself.<sup>38</sup> Fictional approaches therefore let go of the idea that 'objective knowledge' could somehow be found in autobiographies. Their influence can be seen in the studies mentioned above which placed the start of autobiography around the beginning of the nineteenth-century.

The fictional approaches are drawn from a vast range of theories, mostly stemming from theorists influenced by post-structuralism and post-colonialism in the broadest sense. The most relevant of these theories for this study are those from Jacques Lacan, Jacques Derrida, Jean-François Lyotard, Michel Foucault, Mikhail Bakhtin, and areas of study such as anthropology. Lacan attacked the idea of the autonomous self and instead proposed a split subject constituted in language, which, coupled with Bakhtin's theories on the dialogism of

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<sup>36</sup> Jeremy D. Popkin, *History, historians, and autobiography* (Chicago, 2005), 11-19; Edward Saïd, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

<sup>37</sup> Popkin, *History*, 19-32.

<sup>38</sup> Carlson, 'Autobiography', 176-177; Spengemann, *The forms of autobiography*, xii.

the word, cleared a path for the concept of multiple 'I's' being present in autobiographical writing, without them being consciously presented by the author. Each of these 'I's' speaks from '(...) a multitude of concrete worlds, a multitude of bounded verbal-ideological and social belief-systems.'<sup>39</sup> In essence, then, these different 'I's' are varying aspects of the author's self interacting with different discourses. Regarding ideas of the attainment of self-knowledge, a central part of autobiography, Foucault showed that historically specific regimes of truth alter the way persons come to self-knowledge, which in turn is in line with the notion proposed by Derrida that meaning is always processual. In other words, the process of trying to attain self-knowledge will differ depending on the discursive and historical context. Finally, and perhaps most importantly regarding the truth claims of both history and autobiography, Derrida and Lyotard's critique of 'master narratives' challenged generic truth claims and blurred the boundaries between fact and fiction. This challenge was, for Western thought specifically, reinforced by anthropological research into non-Western ideas of selfhood, which showed that the Western ideas were indeed not as universal as thought before. It was possibly the biggest blow dealt to the wall between autobiography and history.<sup>40</sup>

Since the 1970s a general middle position has arisen which is attentive of the presence of powerful discourses of self and identity, and their influence on autobiographical writing, but also leaves open the possibility of individual agency within these discourses. This position can no longer be described as completely 'fictional', but rather takes up an in-between position. A critical historical approach of autobiography, therefore, should strive to bring the personal narrative present in the text into an intertextual relationship with other evidence in order to implicitly question the truth claims of the autobiographical narrative, and will show where and under what circumstances other discourses have influenced the author.<sup>41</sup> Such a process can first of all be understood in the sense of 'checking' claims in autobiographies against, for example, archival material, something which has very successfully been done with regard to the autobiographies of Heinrich Schliemann (1822 -

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<sup>39</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, *The dialogic imagination: four essays*, transl. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, 1981).

<sup>40</sup> Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 204-206; Jacques Lacan, *The language of the self: the function of language in psychoanalysis*, transl. Anthony Wilden (Baltimore, 1968); Jacques Derrida, *The ear of the other: autobiography, transference, translation*, transl. Peggy Kamuf (New York, 1985); Jean-François Lyotard, *The postmodern condition: a report on knowledge*, transl. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis, 1984); Michel Foucault, 'Technologies of the self', in: Luther Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick Hutton, *Technologies of the self: a seminar with Michel Foucault* (Amherst, 1988), 16-49; Bakhtin, *The dialogic imagination*.

<sup>41</sup> Popkin, *History*, 11-32.

1890).<sup>42</sup> Yet secondly, on a more theoretical level, it can also be understood as decentring discourse with discourse. Thus, the discourses underlying and influencing the autobiographical narrative in question (which can be understood as a discourse in itself) can be identified and analysed in order to come to a better understanding of the autobiography and the historical context through which it came into existence. Further, it will show where and when the author did not (exclusively) follow existing discourses, showing his or her agency.<sup>43</sup> This is the approach taken in this study.

### **Agency, 'I's, selves, identity and the public**

Agency will be one of a number of central concepts in analysing the public autobiographical writings of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler. The other concepts are 'memory', the existence of multiple 'I's, and multiple selves, which relate to possibly the most important notion: identity. The intended audience of the public autobiographical writings is a final aspect which needs to be taken into consideration. A close examination of the theoretical bases for these various concepts is necessary before relating them to the three autobiographies here studied, as they shed light on the narrative-identity formation in them, as well as on the influence the authors could wield over their public image. The role of agency within the prevailing historical discourses at the time of autobiographical writing has already shortly been touched upon above, but a closer examination is in this case still fruitful.

It is appealing to see autobiographical writings as the epitome of human agency, showing the protagonist acting, rather than as a passive subject of larger identity-models and discourses. Unfortunately, human agency is not only checked by existing discourses. The notion of complete human agency has, for example, also been challenged by psychoanalytics. Another constriction on complete human agency was seen and expressed by Jacques Derrida in his idea that meanings in language are continually deferred and thus are never fixed, making any narrative or discourse ever-changing and any act post-factual. In other words: as soon as an instance of autobiographical writing is published it starts influencing the discourses on which it bases itself and therefore starts to shift in meaning.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Examples include: William M. Calder III, 'Schliemann on Schliemann: A Study in the Use of Sources', *Roman and Byzantine Studies* 13:3 (1972), 335–353; David A. Traill, 'Schliemann's "Dream of Troy": the making of a legend', *The classical Journal* 81:1 (1985), 13–24; D. F. Easton, 'Heinrich Schliemann: hero or fraud?', *The Classical World* 91:5 (1998), 335–343; David A. Traill, 'Schliemann's mendacity: a question of methodology', *Anatolian Studies* 36 (1986), 91–98; David A. Traill, 'Schliemann's discovery of "Priam's treasure": a re-examination of evidence', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 104 (1984), 96–115.

<sup>43</sup> Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 235–251.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 54–55.

Finally, Louis Althusser has argued that people are continually the subject of ‘ideology’ in the broad sense of the word. Althusser sees ideology as ‘(...) pervasive cultural formations of the dominant class (...)’, which make states fit subjects into particular behavioural patterns through either directly coercive state institutions, or less direct institutions that ‘hail’ subjects to these patterns.<sup>45</sup> Most importantly in this model is that the subjects themselves have no idea of these coercive powers held over them. In response to this, Foucault has argued that rather than a form of more or less institutionalised power pushing subjects into patterns, power is capillary and distributed throughout society. This way, society itself pushes its parts — the subjects — into patterns.<sup>46</sup> Consequently, in the light of autobiography, all these phenomena could be said to steer the author into certain narrative constructions, with limited room for deviation; these are variations on the models of individuality Weintraub incorrectly sees ending around 1800.<sup>47</sup> To conclude, one should say that an author in his identity-construction is always determined by a range of factors, be they the biological function of the human brain, Althusser’s ideology, or less coercive forms of societal discourse. This position combines the realisation that powerful models and discourses regarding identity-construction exist, without denying the possibility of individual agency and innovation within these contexts.<sup>48</sup>

Memory, one of the most central concepts concerning autobiography, is also heavily subjected to these influences. Not only are choices made regarding what to remember, but also with respect to what to ‘forget’. Furthermore, these choices themselves will change over time. This remembering and forgetting consists of more than a simple scrolling through the images in one’s head as through a photo album, the choices, and our conscious or unconscious alterations of our memories, reflect a process of personal meaning making and subsequent identity formation. It is this process of meaning making that is crucial in ‘fictional’ historical studies of autobiography, as it betrays how historical actors perceive the past, and their role in it. Through being attentive of the selections made by authors, and the contemporary discourses surrounding the author, light may be shed on if, where, and how the author has tried to change or subvert the discourses, and which part(s) of his own constructed identity he chooses to show.

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<sup>45</sup> As quoted in: Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 55-56.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 55-56.

<sup>47</sup> Weintraub, ‘Autobiography and Historical Consciousness’, 838.

<sup>48</sup> Carlson, ‘Autobiography’, 182.

De Man named the constructed identity shown in an autobiography the ‘subjective ‘I’’, that is: the ‘I’ that is the subject of the narrative. He contrasted this with the ‘autobiographical ‘I’’, which he considered the ‘I’ at the time of writing.<sup>49</sup> De Man’s distinction led later critics to abstract to an ‘I-now’ and ‘I-then’, however, this still is too simplistic an understanding of the different ‘I’s present in autobiography, as S. Smith and Watson show.<sup>50</sup> To improve this understanding, Literary scholar Françoise Lionnet proposed the concept of the ‘narrated ‘I’’, contrasting it with the ‘narrating ‘I’’. The narrated ‘I’ is the protagonist of the autobiographical narrative and is created by the narrating ‘I’, or narrator.<sup>51</sup> With regard to public autobiographical writing, the narrated ‘I’ is the image the narrating ‘I’ wants to convey of his- or herself. It is the narrating ‘I’ that chooses which parts of his or her life he or she recalls and puts to paper as his or her autobiographical story.

Although this seems to be a clear distinction, it can be complicated, as it takes a chronologically ordered autobiography as given. For example, the narrated ‘I’ becomes splintered when the narrating ‘I’ does not use the singular pronoun, fragments the narrated ‘I’ thematically, fragments the autobiography itself in multiple chapters or even texts or formats, or when the narrating ‘I’ produces a narrated ‘I’ which subsequently becomes the actual narrator. Finally, and following Bakhtin, the narrating ‘I’ itself is not unitary, but rather composed of a heteroglossia of voices and inherently unstable as the subject positions from which it works are mobile. S. Smith and Watson provide the example of the narrating ‘I’ of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* speaking as ‘(...) an angry black man challenging the racism of the United States, a religious devotee of Islam, a husband and father, a person betrayed, [and] a prophet of hope, among others.’<sup>52</sup>

Apart from the narrated and narrating ‘I’s, two others can be distinguished: the ‘real’ or ‘historical ‘I’’, and the ‘ideological ‘I’’. Of these two, the real ‘I’ is the most clear-cut: it is the historical person behind the narrative presented in the autobiography. The existence of this person can be verified through government records and all kinds of other archives, including the memory of others.<sup>53</sup> The life of this historical ‘I’ was far more diverse than the story being presented in the autobiographical narrative, and the historical ‘I’ can

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<sup>49</sup> Carlson, ‘Autobiography’, 180; De Man, ‘Autobiography as De-facement’.

<sup>50</sup> Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 71-79.

<sup>51</sup> Françoise Lionnet, *Autobiographical voices: race, gender, self-portraiture* (Ithaca, 1989), 193.

<sup>52</sup> Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 73-74.

<sup>53</sup> Chantal Mouffe, ‘Feminism, citizenship, and radical democratic politics’, in: Judith Butler and Joan Scott, *Feminists theorize the political* (New York, 1992), 369-84, esp. 376; Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 72.

consequently, in a utopian situation, be viewed as the pool from which the narrating 'I' freely chooses the elements and motifs which form the narrated 'I'. Such an ideal situation will never occur, however, as, as was shown above, the agency of the narrating 'I' is constricted by a variety of factors. These factors were subsumed in the 'ideological 'I's' by cultural theorist Paul Smith and he defined them as '(...) the concept[s] of personhood culturally available to the narrator.'<sup>54</sup> They are multiple because they are both historically contingent and continually changing. In this research, I use the term 'ideological 'I'' in a more general sense, not limiting it to concepts of selfhood but including all kinds of ideological factors limiting the agency of the narrating 'I'.

Eakin has termed the part of the autobiographical author which interacts with these ideological 'I's the 'conceptual self'. The idea of a conceptual self is part of a distinction pioneered by the cognitive psychologist Ulric Neisser, which Eakin applies to autobiography.<sup>55</sup> Neisser saw five different types of selves, each with their own domain and age of development. First of all, he mentions the ecological self, which is the self related to the physical environment. Secondly, Neisser discerns the interpersonal self which is constrained to social interactions with other persons, so long as these are immediate and unreflective. Thirdly, there is the extended self, the domain of which is the self existing outside the present moment. Fourthly, Neisser sees the private self, which is formed by conscious experiences that are not available to anyone else. Lastly, the conceptual self is the part of the self which interacts with its discursive environment.<sup>56</sup>

Eakin sees identity as one manifestation, or better, result, of the conceptual self, as this self is — or rather, these selves are — '(...) the version of ourselves that we display not only to others but also to ourselves whenever we have occasion to reflect on or otherwise engage in self-characterisation.'<sup>57</sup> When this product of the conceptual self is drawn into a historical context it becomes the extended self, which he sees as the primary subject of autobiography. Consequently, according to Eakin, autobiography thus is a narrative identity; a story of how the conceptual self of the author evolved over time and became his current conceptual self, or at least the conceptual self the author wants to present in his autobiography. The personal history this narrative becomes should be seen as the extended

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<sup>54</sup> Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 76-78; Paul Smith, *Discerning the subject* (Minneapolis, 1988), 105.

<sup>55</sup> Ulric Neisser, 'Five kinds of self-knowledge', *Philosophical Psychology* 1:1 (1988), 35-59.

<sup>56</sup> Eakin, *Living autobiographically*, ix-xiv.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv.

self. He further emphasises that this whole process usually happens unconsciously, as we have become conditioned to not question this concurring of identity and narrative.<sup>58</sup>

The combination of Eakin's appliance of selves to public autobiographical writing with the theories concerning the different 'I's present in autobiography provides a clear justification for the importance of studying public autobiographies as well as an overview of how identity is constructed through autobiographical narrative. The author, or rather, his narrating 'I'('s), chooses from his historical 'I' those events, emotions and other factors from which he wants to shape his or her, or a particular, narrated 'I'('s). The author's choices, however, are restricted by his or her ideological 'I's, or, in Eakin's terms: the conceptual self available to the author at the point of writing. The resulting narrated 'I'('s) consist of the author's narrative identity/extended self. According to Eakin, this extended self can be equated to 'identity's signature'.<sup>59</sup>

One more remark is in place here: in such a process of identity formation, many 'choices' are made unconsciously. But, this does not take away the possibility for an author to consciously construct his or her identity, or, in the context of public autobiographical writings, his or her narrated 'I' and consequent public image. Nonetheless, one cannot invent an identity out of thin air, as rules and penalties seem to govern the autobiographical process of identity formation. While these rules seem to be ever-changing and hard to define, Eakin argues that their source lies within both other people as well as ourselves: '[o]thers police our performance [of narrative identity-formation], and it is also true that we do this policing ourselves.'<sup>60</sup> This brings the system full-circle as this policing takes the form of ideological 'I's and conceptual selves: discursive systems which may shed light on autobiographies and vice-versa.

Finally, when examining public autobiographical writing, the public forms a factor of special importance and one which has often been neglected. Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler were not writing down stories of their lives for themselves, as all three were more than aware of the fact that the autobiographies would be published. This means that all three may have been very active in fashioning their own identities to suit the expectations they were anticipating this larger public could have. It also implies that all three may have wanted to correct or amend certain popular images of themselves that existed in the minds of these readers. Having said that, it will have been impossible for them to exactly know who would

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<sup>58</sup> Eakin, *Living autobiographically*, ix-xiv and 3.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 24.

read their texts, meaning that a disjunction will almost certainly have existed between the implied reader, or addressee(s), and the consumers.<sup>61</sup> Signalling and analysing this disjunction may provide more information regarding the identity formation process of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler.

## A methodology

A useful overview of the textual infrastructure of identity formation can be found in an article by archaeologist Ulrike Sommer.<sup>62</sup> Although dealing with collective identity formation and regional identities, the overview, based on Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the folktale*, can handily be adapted in order to apply it to public autobiographical writing as both are formed, reinforced and sometimes undermined through the construction of narratives.<sup>63</sup> The definitions as provided by Sommer serve as a methodological framework in the analysis of the autobiographies of Layard, Petrie and Wheeler.

Sommer distinguishes four levels within texts aiming at establishing a (regional) identity: the historical master narrative, motifs, topoi, and epitheta. The historical master narratives offer '(...) a clear perspective on present or hoped-for political conditions (...)'.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, they both provide social cohesion and at the same time describe differences to other groups. Finally, she remarks that such historical master narratives are slow to change, even though they are responsive to the social and political context.<sup>65</sup> Master narratives do not seem immediately relevant for this study, but it may be argued that the literary templates, such as those identified by historian Herman Paul in the context of Dutch nineteenth-century scholars and the archaeologist-as-hero and self-made man introduced in chapter two, are similarly responding to the social and political context and equally slow-changing.<sup>66</sup>

The second level, motifs, can be defined as '(...) a self-contained "scene" that relies on the existence of a master narrative already known to the recipients.'<sup>67</sup> The motifs themselves usually do not contain a specific message, rather, they serve to strengthen the master narrative

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<sup>61</sup> Smith and Watson, *Reading autobiography*, 88-90.

<sup>62</sup> Ulrike Sommer, 'Methods used to investigate the use of the past in the formation of regional identities', in: Marie L. S. Sørensen and John Carman (eds.), *Heritage Studies: methods and approaches* (London and New York, 2009), 103-120.

<sup>63</sup> Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the folktale*, red. Laurence Scott (Austin, 1958).

<sup>64</sup> Sommer, 'Methods used to investigate the use of the past', 109.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>66</sup> Herman Paul, "'Werken zoo lang het dag is": Sjablonen van een negentiende-eeuws geleerdenleven', in: Leen J. Dorsman and Peter J. Knegtman (eds.), *De menselijke maat in de wetenschap: de geleerden(auto)biografie als bron voor de wetenschappen en universiteitsgeschiedenis* (Hilversum, 2013), 53-73.

<sup>67</sup> Sommer, 'Methods used to investigate the use of the past', 109.



through being ‘good stories’, with the ideological charge coming from the topoi and epitheta which are used to make up the motif.<sup>68</sup> Their characteristic of being ‘good stories’ brought one specific motif from three English academic autobiographies — the potential visit to a brothel while being abroad — to the attention of classicist William Calder III. He wonders when such a scene can be said to constitute a motif (he himself confusingly calls them topoi), his main question being whether one needs to prove whether they were meant to work as such before qualifying them as motif.<sup>69</sup> In a response, fellow classicist Thomas Knoles, perfectly states their value: ‘[t]he frequency with which Englishmen in the first half of the twentieth century are depicted as finding a visit to a brothel an unsettling or unsatisfying experience may or may not suggest that the incident is a common part of the life of the Englishman, whether or not he is a scholar, but it may well say something about the culture from which these men come. (...) [A] *study of the way in which the topos* [i.e. motif] *is used (...) can provide historical information about the culture which created its initial popularity. And changes in the way a topos is used can be a useful indicator of cultural change.*’<sup>70</sup>

On a lower level to motifs and historical master narratives, topoi function as the building blocks for the levels above them. They consist of collective symbols and cultural stereotypes such as ‘the dark primeval forests of prehistory’.<sup>71</sup> The topoi are possibly the most important bearers of ideological messages. Moreover, they, together with motifs, are characterised by their long lifespan. This lifespan may even outlast the disappearance from public discourse of the master-narrative they were originally attached to.<sup>72</sup> Their function in autobiography is very comparable to their function in historical master narratives.

Lastly, epitheta are the smallest narrative level within texts. They only consist of one word or a fixed word-combination and are almost always adjectives. As adjectives, they are very efficient in transferring an ideological message, such as ‘warlike Germans’, or ‘ignorant Arabs’. They are, in contrast to motifs and topoi, easily changeable and do so quickly.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Sommer, ‘Methods used to investigate the use of the past’, 109.

<sup>69</sup> William M. Calder III, ‘The spurned doxy: an unnoticed topos in English academic autobiography’, *The Classical World* 73:5 (1980), 305–306.

<sup>70</sup> Thomas Knoles, “‘The spurned doxy’ and the dead bride: some ramifications for ancient topoi”, *The Classical World* 74:4 (1980), 223–225, esp. 224. Emphasis mine.

<sup>71</sup> Sommer, ‘Methods used to investigate the use of the past’, 109.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 109.

## Conclusion

Concluding, a central thread of identity formation — and connected to this: (personal) meaning making — can be discerned in the various discussions regarding the definition and origin of autobiography. The reason for this is not hard to find: most participants in these discussions subscribe in some way or another to ideas and notions first posited during the second wave of autobiographical criticism of the 1960s and 1970s. In their most radical form, these ideas saw autobiography as completely fictional, but they have since settled on a middle position allowing for a certain amount of authorial agency within a bandwidth determined by a range of factors such as psychology and ideology. The ideas so central to the notion of autobiography as a form of identity formation and narrative identity, such as the different ‘I’s and selves proposed by the likes of Eakin, Lionnet, S. Smith and Watson, and P. Smith, are heavily reliant upon the definition of autobiography as a pattern of authorial choices in narrating, which continuously respond to historically changing ideas connected to the nature of the self. The emphasis on personal experience and the author’s reflection on these experiences — on their selves —, which was traced to a religious root by Peterson, became dominant only during the nineteenth-century shift from self-writing to self-making. While, for this reason, this theoretical framework may have its limits when dealing with autobiographies written before this shift, in this study of the public archaeological writings of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler, which were all published in the twentieth century, it offers a firm ground for analysis. Sommer’s definition of the concepts master narrative, motif, topos and epitheta will serve as the actual tools for this analysis.

Before conducting this analysis, the theoretical considerations outlined above have made it clear that the contemporary public images of the archaeologists themselves and of the practice of archaeology and ‘an archaeologist’ should be examined, as they, as ideological ‘I’s, limit the agency of the narrating ‘I’. The exploration of the concepts of ‘archaeology’, and of the personal characteristics and background of ‘an archaeologist’ is the main goal of the next chapter. These are in chapter three combined with the second factor making up the ideological ‘I’s: contemporary public images of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler.

## Chapter 2 — public expectations of the practice of archaeology and ‘an archaeologist’

*‘From the mass of recollections, those have been chosen which influenced my life and work and which helped or hindered the final outcome of each endeavour.’<sup>74</sup>*

As much as Petrie would have liked this quote in his autobiography *Seventy years in archaeology* (1932) to be completely true, the theoretical framework of chapter one has shown it to be only a limited explanation of his choices while writing the work. Petrie, then, did not yet know that the personal agency of the narrating ‘I’ in public autobiographical writing is limited on two counts. Firstly, the narrating ‘I’'s agency is limited by public expectations of *the person* writing the autobiography. I have termed this the ‘micro-level’ of the ideological ‘I’'s and it is the focus of chapter three. Secondly, it is limited by existing general discourses surrounding the self and the profession and societal role of the author — in the case of this research: contemporary discourses and the public expectations surrounding the general concepts of ‘archaeology’ and ‘the archaeologist’ linked to these discourses. One might call this the ‘macro-level’ of the ideological ‘I’'s, and this is the focus of this chapter.

Central to this chapter, then, are public expectations of ‘archaeology’ in general, of the personal characteristics the public supposed and expected an archaeologist to have, and of public ideas about his background. The former consists of expectations of how, when, and where archaeology takes place, amongst other things. The latter deals with public expectations of, for example, the behaviour, social background and physical characteristics of ‘an archaeologist’. Finally, rather than dealing with the public expectations of the personal background of archaeologists in, for example, a direct social sense, what I have termed the ‘background of the archaeologist’ deals with the larger discursive structure they are embedded in. In this instance it is not so much the public expectations which are under scrutiny, but rather the larger societal role archaeologists played in the period. Examining the large historical processes which formatted all these images and expectations, although interesting in themselves, lies beyond the scope of this chapter. Yet, taking them together, this overview, together with chapter three, provides a framework against which to ‘test’ the public autobiographical writings of Layard, Petrie and Wheeler in chapter four. The different

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<sup>74</sup> William F. Petrie, *Seventy years in archaeology* (London, 1932), 1.

elements identified in this chapter, while firmly based on historiography, were never combined and elaborated upon to form the framework proposed here.

Regarding the macro-level of this framework, it must be noted that it consists of (elements of) narrative constructions, motifs, and topoi taken from a relatively large time-scale: roughly from 1850 up to the 1950s. For some, scholars have already shown that they run through the whole of this period, while others have been signalled only in the context of smaller periods within 1850 - 1950, or in the case of specific 'kinds' of archaeologists (such as the colonial archaeologist).<sup>75</sup> Secondly, several elements will not necessarily have their origin in archaeological discourse, but were identified in scholarly work on fields such as travel writing, or, more generally, public images of European intellectuals and historians. Their inclusion in this section will help highlight what other, sometimes more general, traditions existed, and whether archaeologists followed such traditions in their narratives. Furthermore, they all are closely related with public images of archaeology and archaeologists. The consequence of all this is that it cannot be expected that the public autobiographical writings of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler will tick every box, not least because they leave open the possibility of personal authorial agency, nor that the following framework will be an exhaustive overview of public perceptions of archaeology in this period. Nevertheless, I propose viewing the following framework as elements of a potential variety of historical master narratives regarding public expectations of archaeology and archaeologists in this period. Not only are the elements which follow slow to change, they also consist of motifs, topoi, and epitheta contributing to a public narrative, or even several public narratives, of archaeology and archaeologists. Finally, the elements surveyed here may well be arranged differently and/or under different overall categories, yet, all of them are embedded in a larger historiography from which was only deviated for reasons of emphasis and/or clarity, or when the arguments given in the historiography seem insufficient.

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<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, with regard to these public images, journalist and historian Neal Ascherson and archaeologist Warwick Bray argue that 'the clock stopped' in 1939, and that the images prevalent then still are so today (or, at least in 2004), see: Neal Ascherson, 'Archaeology and the British media', in: Nick Merriman (ed.), *Public Archaeology* (London, 2004), 145-158, esp. 153; Warwick Bray, 'Archaeological humour: the private joke and the public image', in: John D. Evans, Barry Cunliffe and Colin Renfrew (eds.), *Antiquity and man: essays in honour of Glyn Daniel* (London, 1981), 227-228.

## The practice of archaeology

An article written in 1960 by archaeologist Robert Ascher offers an interesting starting point for the examination of public images of the practice of archaeology. The small article focuses on a very specific topic and time-period, as he states: ‘I read every article on archaeology in *Life* magazine in the ten-year period 1946-55 in an attempt to identify major themes.’<sup>76</sup> This specificity should, perhaps, be considered a weakness, yet the four major themes Ascher identifies are not only instantly recognisable to anyone who ever read historical (public) archaeological narratives, but some of them also return in some form or another in other, more recent, research on the reception of archaeology and related fields. Unfortunately, he does not offer an analysis on why these themes occur. Ascher neither takes into account who wrote the articles (archaeologists or journalists), as when the articles were written by archaeologists themselves they might be expected to contain elements of internalist and positivist historiography celebrating the progress of archaeological science.<sup>77</sup>

The first theme Ascher sees is that an emphasis is placed on archaeological techniques. These techniques are often described in detail, despite the fact that the majority of *Life* readers will not be archaeologically educated and may therefore have some difficulty grasping these technicalities. At the same time, of course, this is part of the educational value of such articles.<sup>78</sup> Regarding the larger context of this research, this theme is an excellent example of the influence of the professionalisation and disciplination of archaeology on its public discourse. It might be expected that in times before 1946 - 1955, when new archaeological techniques were still only beginning to be developed, such an emphasis on technique only occurred when a special find is made.

The professionalisation is also visible in the second theme Ascher spots: no matter how adventurous and ‘romantic’ the original circumstances of an archaeological find are, as soon as an expert is called for excavation, the adventurousness is replaced by the ‘boring’ professional excavation.<sup>79</sup> The initial phase of ‘romantic discovery’ is in line with the observation made by historians Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff with regard to

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<sup>76</sup> Robert Ascher, ‘Archaeology and the public image’, *American Antiquity* 25:3 (1960), 402-403, esp. 402.

<sup>77</sup> *Life* magazine seems to have worked exclusively with professional journalists. For a clear overview of internalism in the history of archaeology, see: Oscar M. Abadía, ‘The history of archaeology as colonial discourse’, *Bulletin of the history of archaeology* 16:2 (2006), 4-17; Oscar M. Abadía, ‘The history of archaeology as a field: from marginality to recognition’, in: Stephen Chrisomalis and Andre Costopoulos, *Human expeditions: inspired by Bruce Trigger* (Toronto, 2013), 90-101; Oscar M. Abadía, ‘The history of archaeology as seen through the externalism-internalism debate: historical development and current challenges’, *Bulletin of the history of archaeology* 19:2 (2009), 13-26.

<sup>78</sup> Ascher, ‘Archaeology and the public image’, 402-403.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 402.

colonial archaeologists, who are portrayed first as adventurers travelling to exotic places, and only secondly as archaeologists.<sup>80</sup> Of the three archaeologists whose public autobiographical writing are under scrutiny here, only Wheeler his whole career worked within such disciplinary and professional boundaries, whereas during the lifetimes of Layard and Petrie, these structures were in different phases of development. It is thus notable that by the period Ascher examines, this dichotomy between amateur and expert, as a result of the disciplination and professionalisation of archaeology, had become very much grounded.

Besides an emphasis on archaeological techniques, Ascher identifies a second archaeological emphasis as his third major theme, which he terms ‘the firstest with the mostest’. Apparently, archaeological finds are only interesting if they are (considered to be) ground-breaking in some form: the object must be the oldest, best-preserved, most elaborately decorated, only, etc.<sup>81</sup>

While this may be dismissed as a quirk of journalistic writing, the fascination with such ‘extremities’ (the best, largest, tallest, all-encompassing, etc.) can already be found in the higher regions of European early nineteenth-century society. From there, it subsequently became internalised in the large-scale international exhibitions and world fairs originating in the second half of the nineteenth century in an attempt to educate the visitors ‘(...) not by selective instruction but by the presentation of every aspect of existence (...)’.<sup>82</sup> This, in turn, led to it being incorporated into what sociologist Tony Bennet has termed the ‘exhibitionary complex’ of the nation state, through which the state exercised ideological control over its subjects. In this process the ‘unusual’ or ‘extreme’ slowly made way for the common object, now given a representative function.<sup>83</sup> Bennet here builds on Michel Foucault’s explanation of the panopticon as means of instilling a fear of punishment when societal rules are broken, hereby creating self-regulatory citizens.<sup>84</sup> The history of this theme, then, goes back further than may initially be suspected.

Finally, and perhaps most interestingly, Ascher spots a peculiarity in the ways of discovery of new archaeological objects. Of those featured in *Life* magazine, more than half

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<sup>80</sup> Martijn Eickhoff and Marieke Bloembergen, ‘The colonial archaeological hero reconsidered: post-colonial perspectives on the “discovery” of the prehistoric past of Indonesia’, *Historiographical Approaches to Past Archaeological Research* 32 (2015), 133-164, esp. 134.

<sup>81</sup> Ascher, ‘Archaeology and the public image’, 403.

<sup>82</sup> Patrick Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral vistas: the expositions universelles, great exhibitions and world’s fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester, 1988) 20.

<sup>83</sup> Tony Bennet, ‘The Exhibitionary complex’, in: Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (eds.), *Grasping the World: the idea of the museum* (Aldershot, 2004), 413-441; Tony Bennet, *The birth of the museum: history, theory, politics* (London, 1995), 96.

<sup>84</sup> Michel Foucault, *Serveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* (Paris, 1975).

were not discovered by an archaeologist. Furthermore, if the discovery is somehow part of archaeological research, it is often described as accidentally stumbled upon by the archaeologist(s). This may just seem to highlight the apparent importance of luck in archaeology — although professional archaeologists will probably contest that it plays this big a role —, but the implications are much larger. If many discoveries are made by amateurs, and if even archaeologists often make their biggest discoveries by accident, or at least unexpectedly, anyone can ‘be an archaeologist’ and join in the adventure that is archaeology.<sup>85</sup> All this ties into the dichotomy present in the ‘exit of adventure’ theme Ascher spotted as it brings together both the exit of adventure — although the archaeologist may share in this — and the arrival of the expert, with knowledge of techniques. He therefore concludes: ‘[t]o be an archaeologist, more often than not, is to be an expert technician on call.’<sup>86</sup>

The supposed adventurous aspects of archaeology were also noted by archaeologist and historian Neil Silberman, who ties it to a larger context of the archaeologist-as-hero in the Proppian sense. Putting aside this larger context, which will be examined later on in this chapter as it is more applicable to the person of the archaeologist, Silberman adds a further aspect to the public perception of the practice of archaeology in general: the ignorance or even hostility of the local population to the archaeological project.<sup>87</sup> It might be argued that this ignorance and hostility are two sides of the same narrative coin: ways to show the superior local (and historical) knowledge of the archaeologist by contrasting it to the simple not-knowing of the local population, be they Middle-easterners, or Italian or British peasants, who, thusly become a narrative *other*. The more extreme version of this motif, then, is the superstitious local population fearing, for example, some divine or spiritual retribution if the archaeologist continues his work, while the archaeologist, together with the audience of the narrative, knows this is of course ridiculous. Both versions usually also serve to highlight the perseverance of the archaeologist against the odds.<sup>88</sup>

One aspect of the practice of archaeology has still been left unattended: the fact that it deals with past material culture.<sup>89</sup> While this seems rather obvious at first glance, the

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<sup>85</sup> Ascher, ‘Archaeology and the public image’, 403.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 403.

<sup>87</sup> Neil A. Silberman, ‘Promised lands and chosen peoples: the politics and poetics of archaeological narrative’, in: Smith, Laura Jane (ed.), *Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology* (Cambridge, 1995), 249-262, esp. 251.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>89</sup> Eickhoff and Bloembergen, ‘The archaeological hero reconsidered’, 134.

realisation opens up the possibility of a comparison to descriptions of discovery in better studied literary traditions, such as the narratives of the Victorian explorers of Africa. Where these explorers explored the ‘unknown’ first and foremost in a spatial sense, archaeologists could be said to explore the ‘unknown’ in a temporal sense, prompting Ascherson to describe public images of him as ‘a sub-species of explorer’.<sup>90</sup> This similarity was already noted by Petrie himself: ‘[a] passion for discovery I owe to my grandfather [navigator Matthew Flinders, 1774 - 1814], though his was in space, and mine was in time.’<sup>91</sup>

Thus, the following ‘blueprint of discovery’ identified by literary scholar Mary Louise Pratt also becomes applicable to archaeology:

‘[a]s a rule the “discovery” of sites like Lake Tanganyika involved making one’s way to the region and asking the local inhabitants if they knew of any big lakes, etc in the area, then hiring them to take you there, whereupon with their guidance and support, you proceeded to discover what they already knew.’<sup>92</sup>

Any early archaeologist working in an area with which he would initially be somewhat unacquainted would follow the same steps. Using ancient literary texts as well as earlier travel narratives to get a rough idea for the (historical value of) the area, he would subsequently ask locals if they knew of any hills or fields where old remains or bones had been found or were maybe even still visible, and if they could take them there. After this, he would attempt to excavate the area and translate into ‘European knowledge’ what the local inhabitants already knew.<sup>93</sup> The dichotomy between local knowledge and its conversion through excavation or ‘discovery’ into a form of European knowledge may well have been an important factor in the formation of the motif of the ignorant local population, with the lack of understanding between the two parties leading the westerners to conclude that the locals were ignorant.

Pratt identifies a single motif in all descriptions of Victorian discovery which she terms the ‘monarch-of-all-I-survey scene’, of which she mentions an example from the writings of explorer Richard Burton (1821 - 1890). According to her, this motif consists of three elements, the first of which being an aestheticization of the landscape under scrutiny.

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<sup>90</sup> Ascherson, ‘Archaeology and the British media’, 145. I use the word ‘unknown’ here cautiously, as both the explorers and archaeologists would, of course, have had some idea of what they were looking for.

<sup>91</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 5.

<sup>92</sup> Mary L. Pratt, *Imperial eyes: travel writing and transculturation* (London, 1992), 202.

<sup>93</sup> Eickhoff and Bloembergen, ‘The archaeological hero reconsidered’, 134.



Usually, the ‘discovery’ in question can be found in this landscape. This way, the landscape is presented as a painting with the description being ordered in terms of back- and foreground, and with emphasis on symmetries. At the same time, and this is the second element, to many elements of the landscape epitheta are fixed in an attempt to make the passage as dense with meaning as possible. This density of meaning is amplified by showing the richness, in material terms, of the subject-area. Pratt also notices that scientific vocabulary is usually absent, only following after the initial discovery. Thirdly, Pratt states that such a scene is always static and pretends that the landscape is supposed to be viewed from the vantage point of the discoverer.<sup>94</sup> This final strategy fits in with theories about the imperial and (post-)colonial gaze proposed by postmodern scholars such as E. Ann Kaplan and Saïd.<sup>95</sup> Finally, Pratt notes that the monarch-of-all-I-survey scene is rather strongly gendered: ‘[e]xplorer-man paints/possesses newly unveiled landscape-woman.’<sup>96</sup>

### **‘The archaeologist’: personal characteristics**

Having a sense of what public expectations of the practice of archaeology were during ca. 1850 - 1950, the question now is: what public images of ‘an archaeologist’, functioning in this practice of archaeology, existed in this period? As noted in the introduction to this chapter, this image is split into two parts: the personal characteristics ‘the public’ expected ‘an archaeologist’ to have, and the professional and discursive background expected of ‘an archaeologist’. The personal characteristics seem to show the largest diversity, although many of them can be centred around two concepts: the self-made man, and the archaeologist as hero. These will be the starting points of this section, which will later isolate other characteristics.

Starting with the latter, the basic makeup of the archaeologist-as-hero makes the process of archaeological discovery an adventure story, complete with central moral which makes it resemble a historical master narrative. Silberman, taking his inspiration from Propp, describes it as follows:

‘[f]rom often humble beginnings, and often with a childhood fascination for antiquity, the archaeologist leaves familiar surroundings to undergo exacting professional

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<sup>94</sup> Pratt, *Imperial eyes*, 201-208.

<sup>95</sup> E. A. Kaplan, *Looking for the other: feminism, film, and the imperial gaze* (New York, 1997); Saïd, *Orientalism*.

<sup>96</sup> Pratt, *Imperial eyes*, 213.

training under a series of mentors and when armed, at last, with the intellectual weapons of the profession, sets off for unfamiliar or exotic realms, braving opposition and danger to solve an ancient mystery.’

Examples which roughly follow this narrative-template according to Silberman are retellings of the lives of Layard, Schliemann, Arthur Evans (1851 - 1941), Howard Carter (1874 - 1931), and fictive archaeologist Indiana Jones.<sup>97</sup> It is important to note here that Silberman emphasises the ‘retelling’, hinting that he himself does not feel the ‘original’ lives of these archaeologists necessarily fit the template. Nevertheless, in chapter four I argue that most of these archaeologists themselves steered their public image in this direction.<sup>98</sup>

Following Silberman, the archaeologist-as-hero narrative structure can be tied to the ‘Nationalist’, ‘Colonialist’, and ‘Imperialist’ archaeological story patterns first identified by archaeologist Bruce Trigger, and this way ties into the master narrative of the nation state.<sup>99</sup> According to Silberman and Ascherson, the archaeologist-as-hero narrative pattern is the most important reason for an archaeological narrative to be nationalist, colonialist, or imperialist, as it embeds a metaphor of progress into the narrative. This metaphor of progress usually takes the form of the archaeologist discovering some form of ancient trait on the basis of past material culture. The trait is subsequently celebrated as ‘noble and timeless’ and linked to the present, emphasising the long years of ignorance and neglect between its discovery and initial demise. Usually, this link with the present comes in the form of a link to the nation state controlling the area where the ancient material culture was found.<sup>100</sup>

Silberman further notes that this narrative structure, as ‘(...) an effective literary form to legitimise sudden changes or revelations in our understanding of the past (...)’, can often be found in public communications of archaeology, be they magazine, novel, documentary, or film. To this, archaeologist Kevin McGeough adds that in popular culture, the hero usually embodies ‘(...) exaggerated forms of the values held by society more generally (...)’.<sup>101</sup> He notes the example of the writings of explorers and publicists Frederick Catherwood (1799 - 1854) and John Lloyd Stephens (1805 - 1852) detailing their ‘(...) hacking away in the

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<sup>97</sup> Silberman, ‘Promised lands and chosen peoples’, 251.

<sup>98</sup> Robin Hoeks, “‘Many great treasures’ of “great beauty”, or “crude and cramped”? The appraisal of “Nineveh’s remains” by Austen Henry Layard, Stratford Canning, and Henry Rawlinson’ (publication pending).

<sup>99</sup> Bruce Trigger, ‘Alternative archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist’, *Man* 19:3 (1984), 355-370.

<sup>100</sup> Silberman, ‘Promised lands and chosen peoples’, 255-256; Ascherson, ‘Archaeology and the British media’, 148.

<sup>101</sup> Kevin McGeough, ‘Heroes, mummies, and treasure: Near Eastern archaeology in the movies’, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 69:3 (2006), 174-185, esp. 176.

jungles of Guatemala (...)'.<sup>102</sup> This way the motif '(...) deeply colors the general public's understanding of all archaeological work.'<sup>103</sup> Yet, the hero-motif goes further than a mere public image, as palaeoanthropologist Misia Landau has shown. In her monograph, Landau exposes how scientific narratives of human evolution also follow the motif of the hero-tale with either humanity, or a specific 'exceptional' primate as its hero.<sup>104</sup> The hero narrative structure, then, is almost omnipresent in (popular representations of) science.

Finally, Silberman, following Trigger and archaeologist Mark Gordon, sees the metaphor of progress inherent in the archaeologist-as-hero story as an attempt of the new nineteenth-century middle class to attack the dominant aristocracy. This aristocracy is often associated with a romantic view of the past (and consequently of archaeology), looking back and 'picking their favourite cultures', whereas the middle class, more and more prominent in archaeology from the second half of the nineteenth-century as was shown in the introduction, held more evolutionary views in which progress played a large role. Nonetheless, Silberman himself states that in the past, this dichotomy might have been overdrawn, although he himself still subscribes to the 'attack of the middle class'.<sup>105</sup>

To the narrative of the archaeologist-as-hero, several topoi may be added which reinforce and support the images inherent in the larger narrative structure. First of all, anglicist Susanne Duesterberg notes the importance of the archaeologist's zest for action and adventure in order for him to reach a wide public. This, of course, reinforces the use of the archaeologist-as-hero narrative structure as adventure story. In this light, Duesterberg mentions Egyptologist Giovanni Belzoni (1778 - 1823) as one of the first to bring archaeology 'to the masses'. A process in which this emphasis on a zest for action and adventure became important, as shown by a children's version of Belzoni's *Narrative of the operation and recent discoveries within the pyramids, temples, tombs, and excavations, in Egypt and Nubia* (1819) in which his 'indefatigable zeal' and 'arduous employment' are referred to.<sup>106</sup> Also linked to Belzoni, Duesterberg stresses the importance for the

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<sup>102</sup> Quotes taken from: Silberman, 'Promised lands and chosen peoples', 252; Frederick Catherwood and John L. Stephens, *Incidents of travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatán* (New York, 1845).

<sup>103</sup> Silberman, 'Promised lands and chosen peoples', 252. Interestingly, in popular culture it is sometimes reversed to the archaeologist being an intruder into realms or worlds that should not be violated, see: McGeough, 'Heroes, mummies, and treasure', 178-180.

<sup>104</sup> Misha Landau, *Narratives of human evolution* (New Haven, 1991), 10-16.

<sup>105</sup> Silberman, 'Promised lands and chosen peoples', 255-256; Mark Gordon, 'The social history of evolution in Britain', *American Antiquity* 39:2 (1974), 194-204.

<sup>106</sup> Giovanni, B. Belzoni, *Narrative of the operation and recent discoveries within the pyramids, temples, tombs, and excavations, in Egypt and Nubia; and of a journey to the coast of the red sea, in search of ancient Berenice, and another to the oasis of Jupiter Ammon* (Brussels, 1819). The quotes are taken from Susanne Duesterberg,

archaeologist/hero to have ‘perseverance, courage, strength, and ambition’, as she sees these as crucial (British) nineteenth-century moral values.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, she identifies similar characteristics ascribed to Schliemann.

Archaeologist Matthew Johnson also sees the presentation of archaeology as a physically demanding activity, and, therefore, the archaeologist as physically strong or resilient. To illustrate this, he points to the foreword of John Williams-Freeman’s (1858 - 1943) *Field Archaeology as illustrated by Hampshire*, in which the author, in poetic wording, points to the many physical feats he, and his friends, had to perform while surveying the archaeology of rural Britain: ‘(...) [we] clambered up the heights and slid into the depths (...) often assumed the gait and sometimes the diet of the serpent (...)’.<sup>108</sup> The emphasis on physical resilience and strength may also express itself in an emphasis on repeatedly falling ill and recovering. This construction finds its roots in Victorian and Edwardian fears of degeneration and decline due to contact with the spatial or temporal others and their newly discovered bacteria.<sup>109</sup> In a larger context, historian Herman Paul pointed to ‘(...) het verzetten van buitensporige, soms bijna onmenselijke, hoeveelheden werk (...)’ as a topos in the lives of nineteenth-century scholars. Although the work of the scholars Paul has in mind may have been of a less direct physical character than that of archaeologists, the emphasis on ‘onmenselijke hoeveelheden’ still signifies a certain physical aspect in emphasising that it goes beyond what a ‘normal’ human body can bear. According to Paul, the topos was taken from the writings and works of what some consider the founding father of modern history: Leopold von Ranke (1795 - 1886).<sup>110</sup> A similar topos in nineteenth-century scholarly

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*Popular receptions of archaeology: fictional and factual texts in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain* (Bielefeld, 2015), 125-126. The full reference of the children’s adaptation is: L. S. A. Wilson, *The fruits of enterprize exhibited in the travels of Belzoni in Egypt and Nubia. Interspersed with the observations of a mother to her children* (Boston, 1821).

<sup>107</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 126-127.

<sup>108</sup> John P. Williams-Freeman, *An introduction to field archaeology as illustrated by Hampshire* (London, 1915), as quoted in Johnson, ‘Commentary’, 303. Williams-Freeman is known as the inventor of field archaeology, situating prehistoric humankind in their natural surroundings, see: O. G. S. Crawford and Mark Pottle, ‘Freeman, John Peere Williams-’, *Oxford database of national biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36932>> [consulted on: 29-4-2016].

<sup>109</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology* 63-86; Patrick Brantlinger, *British literature and imperialism, 1830-1914* (1990, Ithaca and London); Patrick Brantlinger, ‘Victorians and Africans: the genealogy of the myth of the dark continent’, *Critical Inquiry* 12:1 (1985), 166-203; Deborah Brunton, *The politics of vaccination: practice and policy in England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland. 1800 - 1874* (Rochester, 2008); Laura Forsberg, ‘Nature’s invisibilia: the Victorian microscope and the miniature fairy’, *Victorian Studies* 57:4 (2015), 638-666. These also mention: Philip Sarasin, *Bakteriologie und Moderne. Studien zur Biopolitik des Unsichtbaren, 1870 - 1920* (Frankfurt, 2007).

<sup>110</sup> Ranke, in turn, had been strongly influenced by the contemporary genre of *Bildungsroman*, see: Paul, “‘Werken zoo lang het dag is’”, 59-60; Hans-Marrin Kruckis, ‘Biographie als literaturwissenschaftliche Darstellungsform im 19. Jahrhundert’, in: Jürgen Fohrmann and Wilhelm Vosskamp (eds.),

(auto)biographies, which was also inspired by Ranke, Paul posits, was the tendency of exceptional scholars to defuse crises through a double devotion to their work. This way, such crises were simply subdued by longer and more intensive working hours.<sup>111</sup>

The second concept and narrative structure with a large influence on public perception and popularity of archaeologists is that of the self-made man: someone coming from low(ly) beginnings to slowly work his way to the fulfillment of a life-goal, and who could also clearly communicate his work to a larger public. Again, Duesterberg points to the two prime examples of her monograph, Belzoni and Schliemann. Regarding Schliemann, who became immensely popular in Great Britain, she notes that he became the embodiment of the rigid Victorian moral system. His position as someone who rose up from humble beginnings made Schliemann exceptionally suitable for this role, as this rise itself was considered to only have been possible for a person possessing this set of Victorian moral values. The main goal of these supposed humble beginnings, and the archaeologist as self-made man narrative structure in general, is to make archaeologists characters with whom the section of the public not usually concerned about such things as archaeology, the middle and lower classes, could easily identify; they were seen, at least, as originally ‘one of us’.<sup>112</sup>

Other characteristics which contributed to the popular view of archaeologists as self-made men was the fact that many were, in some way, experienced showmen, had a clear goal in life, and seemed to have a gradual and continuous life-development. The extravagant showman characteristic can, for example, be found in Belzoni, who had a history as circus performer and barber, something which also adds to him starting from humble beginnings.<sup>113</sup> Schliemann, similarly, became a storyteller of both his own life-story, as well as of the Ancient Greek myths which were the foundation of his excavations. Cleverly constructed, this life story intended to show how Schliemann really had already been obsessed with Troy since childhood, which made his business-career a ‘necessary evil’ to attain this goal. The

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*Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Germanistik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 1994), 550-575, esp. 561; Denis Sdvizkov, *Das Zeitalter der Intelligenz. Zur vergleichenden Geschichte der Gebildeten in Europa bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Göttingen, 2006), 73.

<sup>111</sup> Paul, “‘Werken zoo lang het dag is’”, 59-60; Marianne H. Gottfried and David H. Miles, ‘Defining Bildungsroman as a genre’, *PMLA* 91:1 (1976), 122-123.

<sup>112</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 98 and 211-226; Calder III, ‘Schliemann on Schliemann’; Traill, ‘Schliemann’s “Dream of Troy”’; Easton, ‘Heinrich Schliemann: hero or fraud?’; Traill, ‘Schliemann’s mendacity’; Traill, ‘Schliemann’s discovery of “Priam’s treasure”’.

<sup>113</sup> Peta Rée, ‘Belzoni, Giovanni Battista’, *Oxford dictionary of national biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2072>> [consulted on 29-4-2016]; Romain Rainero and Claudio Barocas, ‘Belzoni, Giovanni Battista’, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-belzoni\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-belzoni_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)> [consulted on 3-6-2016]. The *Dizionario* also emphasises his ‘carattere avventuroso’ and ‘umile famiglia’.

popularity of such narratives emphasising a clear goal in life is illustrated by the fact that Schliemann's 'life' shows strong parallels with the heroes of some of Charles Dickens' (1812 - 1870) novels.<sup>114</sup> On a more scholarly level, such a clear goal may be abstracted to be an intellectual development that is as complete as possible, yet another topos taken from Ranke.<sup>115</sup> Connected to this aiming at a clear goal was the idea of a gradual life- and career development. An illustration for this again comes from Dickens and Schliemann. In a comment in his literary periodical *All the Year Round*, Dickens mentions Schliemann as example of the phrase 'labor omnia vincit', pointing not only to resilience and perseverance, but also to a continued effort to attain a career goal, something which was also seen as a topos by Paul in the context of nineteenth-century scholars in general.<sup>116</sup>

Another characteristic noted by Duesterberg which I would like to isolate from the twin concepts of the archaeologist-as-hero and the self-made man, although not completely unrelated, is enthusiasm. This characteristic is embedded in a more general mentality summarised in 'the Romantic mind'.<sup>117</sup> Of course, enthusiasm is a contributing factor to the (expected) showmanship of the archaeologist, as well as to the general public image of the archaeologist, but it serves a further function. The personal characteristic of enthusiasm, and especially the related emotionality, seems to be contradictory to the archaeologist, who was (and sometimes still is) seen as concerned with *rational* investigation and past material remains; concepts which are usually seen by the public as 'objective'. Duesterberg argues that this combination of enthusiasm and emotionality with rational investigation was one of the reasons archaeologists held such a large public position in nineteenth-century Great Britain. The public expected archaeologists to be more than 'a mere writer of catalogues', relying on their imagination and emotionality as much as on their rationality to re-construct the past and captivate the public with his re-construction, where their showmanship becomes important again.<sup>118</sup>

Duesterberg sees this re-creating of the past as two steps in an identity-forming process. It happens on two counts: the actual excavation and the subsequent interpretation. The process gives meaning to both the past and, since the present is always seen as related to

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<sup>114</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 214-216.

<sup>115</sup> Paul, "'Werken zoo lang het dag is'", 59-60; Gottfried and Miles, 'Defining Bildungsroman' 122-123.

<sup>116</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 214-216; Paul, "'Werken zoo lang het dag is'", 59-60.

<sup>117</sup> Kieran Egan, 'Teaching the Romantic mind', *The English Journal* 83:4 (1994), 16-25, esp. 16.

<sup>118</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 226. Quote taken from an example Duesterberg gives, *Illustrated London News* artist William Simpson: William Simpson, 'The Schliemannic Illium', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* (July, 1877), 1-16.

and defined against the past, the present.<sup>119</sup> Similar processes still happen today: archaeologist Yannis Hamilakis argues that modern Greek archaeologists serve a priestly function in the secular religion of the nation state as mediators between the past and present, presenting an ‘imagined’ history fitting into the nation state’s master narrative.<sup>120</sup>

The role the archaeologist plays in identity formation consequently can be used to explain why wealth and prosperity are two other characteristics often ascribed to nineteenth-century archaeologists. This explanation, first proposed by cultural scholar John Storey and elaborated upon by Thomas Richards, argues that in Victorian Britain, consumption and identity were closely intertwined, with consumptive choices adding to identity in a rapidly industrialising society. Richards traces the start of this entwinement to the 1851 Great Exhibition, which he titles ‘a monument to consumption’.<sup>121</sup>

When departing from the basis from which Duesterberg works a final public image can be added to those mentioned above: that of the eccentric. Bloembergen and Eickhoff link this status as eccentric and social outsider to Silberman’s theme of the archaeologist-as-hero: even though — or maybe: because of — he is eccentric and works outside most social structures, his discoveries eventually make the archaeologist a public hero.<sup>122</sup> As illustration of the combination of the archaeologist as outsider and as hero, they mention C. W. Ceram’s *Götter, Gräber und Gelehrte*, a work outlining the progress of archaeology following the lives of the most famous archaeologists, such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717 - 1768), Schliemann, Evans, Petrie and Layard. In the work not only the archaeologist-as-hero concept is present — a section of the chapter on Jean-François Champollion (1790 - 1832) is titled ‘[s]eine *wundersame* Geburt’ — but many, most notably Belzoni, are also described as eccentrics.<sup>123</sup> Eccentricity, then, seems also to have been a prerequisite for the nineteenth-century archaeologist.

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<sup>119</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 243-246.

<sup>120</sup> Yannis Hamilakis, *The nation and its ruins: Antiquity, archaeology, and national imagination in Greece* (Oxford, 2007), 39-40. ‘Imagined’ here can have a double function: (1) ‘made-up’, or (2) converted into popular images. Both meanings stand at opposite ends of a spectrum and are usually mixed. According to Hamilakis, Greek archaeologist Manolis Andronikos (1919 - 1992) is the best example of a modern Greek archaeologist acting as mediator. Andronikos for example often emphasised his dreams and imaginations in a context of national identity (he was the discoverer of the tomb at Vergina, allegedly that of Philip II of Macedon). See: Hamilakis, *The nation and its ruins*, 125-168.

<sup>121</sup> Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (London, 1991), 3; John Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture: From Folklore to Globalization* (Oxford, 2008); Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 32-33 and 271-273.

<sup>122</sup> Eickhoff and Bloembergen, ‘The archaeological hero reconsidered’, 134.

<sup>123</sup> C. W. Ceram, *Götter, Gräber und Gelehrte: Roman der Archäologie* (Hamburg, 1949). Emphasis mine.

I would argue the idea of the archaeologist as eccentric and social outsider also fits in very well with Duysterberg's concept of the archaeologist as self-made-man, as he would, apart from having all the moral virtues outlined above, have had to step outside of social conventions to reach his success. In line with this, Bloembergen and Eickhoff mention the example of Pieter Vincent van Stein Callenfels (1883 - 1938), a Dutch civil servant who from 1906 until 1908 'wandered around Java' cultivating close relations with the natives. Finally, in 1915 Van Stein Callenfels became a self-made archaeologist in the service of the Oudheidkundige Dienst. Eventually, Van Stein Callenfels would receive the nickname 'Iwan de Verschrikkelijke' — he called himself 'de laatste echte Germaan' — and had his 1.92 meters long, 140kg heavy frame carried around Java in a sedan chair.<sup>124</sup> So, despite 'going native' for a period, he eventually 'rejoins' society as an accomplished heroic archaeologist.

The fact that Bloembergen and Eickhoff's example Van Stein Callenfels 'went native' for several years ties into another topos of the nineteenth-century image of an exemplary scholarly life: an aversion of luxury accompanied by a total dedication to science. Again, the source, and perhaps the best example, can be found in Ranke, who reputedly even spent his Christmas Evenings working, rather than at a banquet.<sup>125</sup> This aversion to luxury also seems to tie in to several of the other images of an archaeologist as outlined above. Especially the adventurous and exotic nature of archaeology and its locations are relevant here, as these rarely go hand in hand with luxury. The same can be said of the idea of the archaeologist-as-hero motif, with its emphasis on adventure, action, physical strength, courage, and perseverance. However, the topos of wealth and prosperity connected to the archaeologist seems to form a contrast here.

To conclude, the public image of the personal characteristics of 'an archaeologist' during the period of ca. 1850 - 1950 contained a large variety of elements, most of which can be related to the two narrative structures Duysterberg and Silberman noted: the self-made man, and the archaeologist-as-hero. The concept of the hero-tale seems to be deeply embedded in Western historical narratives as a mechanism helping society cope with sudden and large revelations about the past. It can be no surprise, then, to see one of the professions responsible for such revelations, the archaeologists, cast as heroes, and to see the narrative-structure return in archaeological and scientific narratives in general, where it always serves

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<sup>124</sup> Eickhoff and Bloembergen, 'The archaeological hero reconsidered', 139-140; Quote taken from: F. G. P. Jaquet, 'Stein Callenfels, Pieter Vincent van', *Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland* <<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn3/steincallenfels>> [consulted on: 29-4-2016].

<sup>125</sup> Paul, "Werken zoo lang het dag is", 54-55.



an ideological purpose similar to that of a national master narrative. The personal characteristics connected to the archaeologists in this narrative structure in order to make him a hero all central around ideas of courage, adventurousness, perseverance and physical and mental strength. The archaeologist as self-made man incorporated elements of being a showman, having a clear goal in life, as well as having a continuous life-development to form a public image which was instantly identifiable to the larger public. In reaching a large public, the main importance of the idea of being a self-made man lay in the way it made the archaeologist someone with whom the lower and middle classes, groups which until then were not usually engaged in archaeology, could identify. Furthermore, these two narrative concepts are themselves closely connected, with the self-made archaeologist often functioning as hero in their own narrative identity.

The role archaeologists played in creating meaning and identity on a larger level is visible in the combination of enthusiasm, emotionality, and imagination with rationality. Combining these characteristics, archaeologists were expected to not just relay their 'objective' findings, but to bring the past to life, relating it to the present. That ideas about identity also worked in the other direction, from society in general to expectations of 'an archaeologist', becomes clear from the wealth and prosperity, according to Storey key values in 'Victorian identity', often ascribed to archaeologists. Yet, the emphasis on wealth seems to contradict the ascribed aversion to luxury, which, in turn, was connected to expectations of eccentricity and of the archaeologist as social outsider.

### **'The archaeologist': personal and discursive background**

Finally, the larger discursive background of public expectations should be examined. Four themes can be discerned in this regard: the role of the archaeologist in identity formation, both individual and collective, the role of the archaeologist in exploring unfamiliar sides of the self and other, the amateurism and hobbyism surrounding archaeology, and, finally, the gendered aspect of the archaeologist. All of these themes have already been shortly touched upon above, but a closer analysis is still fruitful as this offers a larger background to some of the motifs and topoi mentioned above and helps to tie some together.

It is clear that the archaeologist played an important role in both individual and collective identity formation through their excavation and interpretation of antiquities. In this light, Duysterberg notes that the archaeologist not only creates identity, through naming and classifying his finds, but also offers continuity by creating an (interpretative) narrative around his finds. Such a process creates meaning for both the past civilisation which initially created

the antiquities, but, also for the present, as the latter is always seen in relation to and contrasted with the former. Storey reformulates it as identity formation being determined by two factors: memory — the (re-)constructed past — and desire — the future never to be reached.<sup>126</sup> The future had during the nineteenth century, thanks to large-scale societal developments creating a feeling of alienation, or loss of sense of place, become a modernised form of a romantic past in which people were thought to have lived in harmony with each other and with nature.<sup>127</sup>

This, then, closely resembles Silberman's metaphor of progress which is responsible for making an archaeological narrative nationalist, colonialist, or imperialist and which is an important building block for the archaeologist-as-hero narrative structure. The narrative structure, further, creates an identity for the archaeologist in question, making the process of archaeology directly responsible for an individual identity-formation process. Such an individual identity-formation process, Duesterberg argues, was made collective through popular expressions of archaeology which invited the audience to identify with the archaeologist. Identification took place through motifs and topoi such as the self-made man and archaeologist-as-hero, and his search for meaning and identity. In this light, it is important to note that for the larger public, it was irrelevant whether what archaeologists claimed was real. Rather, what was important was that it felt real to them — Layard was heralded as the 'discoverer of Nineveh' long after he himself had admitted it was Nimrud — and this was done by making the public able to identify with the protagonist. Often, archaeologists had an extreme advantage, as they seemed to prove right age-old myths or Biblical stories.<sup>128</sup> These offered the general public stability and orientation against a Victorian background of feelings of insecurity and imperial anxiety, which caused the public to want to believe the archaeologists.<sup>129</sup>

When accepting the role of archaeology and the archaeologist in Storey's concept of identity formation, the archaeological remains themselves become ambivalent. On the one hand, they are sites of memory, both individual and collective, and this way represent the past, while on the other hand being sites of a desire for a future which will never be reached, namely a terminating of the feeling of alienation. The archaeological sites, then, become

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<sup>126</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 41; Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture*.

<sup>127</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 47-58. See also works on the rise of heritage such as: Laura Jane Smith, *Uses of heritage* (London, 2006); David Lowenthal, *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history* (Cambridge, 1998); Kevin Walsh, *The Representation of the past: museums and heritage in the postmodern world*, (London and New York, 1992).

<sup>128</sup> Schliemann and Layard offer great examples of this.

<sup>129</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 260-261.

places of ‘(...) departure into the realm of the “other” in an attempt to (re)discover a more complete self (...)’.<sup>130</sup> Archaeologists and the narratives of their discovery consequently promised to the larger public to attempt to take away this collective feeling and replace it with a feeling of wholeness through an exploration of unfamiliar sides of the self and the *other* in both a temporal as well as spatial sense.<sup>131</sup>

Amateurism and hobbyism is a third theme that can be found in the discursive background of public expectations of archaeology and the archaeologist. As mentioned in the introduction, archaeology originated in the sixteenth- and seventeenth centuries as an amateur activity of the British and European aristocracy who could afford, both in terms of time and money, to travel Europe and the Mediterranean, usually connected to the Grand Tour. Early examples of this tradition can be seen in the establishment in 1734 of the *Society of Dilettanti*, and of the Society of Antiquaries in 1707.<sup>132</sup> Already in the seventeenth century this resulted in the travellers collecting artefacts from the Mediterranean, and thanks to the Romantic movement with its emphasis on the national history, this spread to the European homelands and other social classes than only the aristocracy.<sup>133</sup>

In the nineteenth century, and especially in its second half, archaeology started to professionalise and to become a proper academic discipline. It is important to note, however, that large numbers of archaeologists working in this professionalising discipline were still either complete laymen or people educated in other fields: Schliemann was a trained businessman, Belzoni a circus performer, Layard a barrister, and Botta a naturalist, to name but a few examples. Archaeology here seems to be behind on other areas of historical study, in which the amateur was ‘dethroned’ by the first decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>134</sup>

The amateur tradition consequently became an important background to concepts of the archaeologist as self-made-man, eccentric, social outsider, prosperous and showman, and many more.<sup>135</sup> Drawing this even further, the ‘chance discovery’ motif identified by Ascher in *Life* magazine suggests that this amateur tradition still influenced public expectations of

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<sup>130</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 168.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>132</sup> Johnson, ‘Commentary’, 299-300; Schnapp, *The discovery of the past*; Brennan, *The origins of the Grand Tour*, 9-55; Brennan, *English Civil War travellers*, 7 and 30; Redford, *Dilettanti*, 1-2.

<sup>133</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 90-91; Johnson, ‘Commentary’, 299; Schnapp, *The discovery of the past*; Chaney, *The evolution of the Grand Tour*, xvi and 203-214.

<sup>134</sup> Redford, *Dilettanti*, 173-182. Redford even argues the exact moment of ‘dethronement’ is the parliamentary inquiry on the purchase of the Elgin Marbles in 1816.

<sup>135</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 97-98.

archaeology and archaeologists in the 1950s.<sup>136</sup> It could be argued, then, that the amateur tradition present in public archaeological discourse was crucial in creating popularity for archaeology, archaeologists, and archaeological remains by providing the archaeological narratives with easily identifiable protagonists.

Finally, a short overview of the gendered aspect of archaeology is in order. As only indirectly touched upon above — by only using the male pronoun — all archaeologists in the period of ca. 1850 - 1950 were expected to be male.<sup>137</sup> This is not to say no women archaeologists existed, as especially around the end of the nineteenth-century they become more prominent as, for example, Nina Layard (1853 - 1935, a cousin of Austen Henry), Jeanne Dieulafoy (1851 - 1916), Harriet Boyd Hawes (1888 - 1967), and Agatha Christie (1890 - 1976), show.<sup>138</sup> Furthermore, women archaeologists have for long remained a blank spot in the historiography of archaeology.<sup>139</sup> Duesterberg takes the gendered aspect of archaeology one step further, pointing to the fact that archaeological sites were often referred to as female and, in my eyes somewhat excessively, arguing: '[t]he ancient site thus becomes the luring virgin that casts her spell on the explorer, waiting to be taken by him for the first time, while the western archaeological pickaxe becomes the penetrating phallus, conquering spheres that have never been touched before.'<sup>140</sup>

## Conclusion

It is now clear that the different narrative structures, motifs and topoi which made archaeology popular in 1850 - 1950 are not as isolated as the analysis above may make them seem to be. Rather, they almost all are interconnected, with each structure, motif or topos relating to, and reinforcing, several others. In essence, then, they constitute the discursive structure of popular (views of) archaeology in this period. Furthermore, as discursive structure and ideological 'I's, they not only steered popular expectations of archaeology and the archaeologist, but will also have influenced how archaeologist presented themselves to a larger public.

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<sup>136</sup> Ascher, 'Archaeology and the public image'.

<sup>137</sup> Eickhoff and Bloembergen, 'The archaeological hero reconsidered'.

<sup>138</sup> See the 'Trowelblazers' project for a large collection of early female archaeologists and their biographic information: <http://trowelblazers.com/>.

<sup>139</sup> For an overview, see: Floris Meens, *Archeologe en muze: Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli en het culturele leven in Rome tijdens het Fin de siècle* (Rotterdam, 2015), 181-185.

<sup>140</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 174.

All in all, some general public images of the practice of archaeology during ca. 1850 - 1950 can be discerned. For the public, it is an activity striving to (re)gain the past material culture in exotic places, with which adventure is inherently connected. Apart from this exotic adventure, the finds themselves are most relevant, especially when they can be categorised as ‘the best’ of some category. The discovery of these finds is supposed to be more a matter of luck rather than skill, although skill and technique become important after the initial discovery. Furthermore, the archaeologist serves some sort of rescuing or educational goal, as the local population is usually considered ignorant or even hostile towards the investigations and the remains themselves. Finally, it is interesting to see how descriptions of archaeological discovery relate to their counterparts in narratives of Victorian exploration.

The public presentations and expectations of ‘an archaeologist’ will have included an element of amateurism and fortune, which is connected to the two most important narrative structures regarding the personal characteristics of an archaeologist: the idea of the self-made man and of the archaeologist-as-hero. Further, the amateurism and fortune also ties into ideas of eccentricism and the archaeologist as (initially) a social outsider. All this made the archaeologist someone with whom the public could identify and someone who could captivate the public with his reconstructions of ancient cultures, based on a blend of enthusiasm, imagination and rationality. It also meant the archaeologist was someone who created and explored identities, past and present, as can be attested by the topos of the ignorant local population becoming a narrative *other*. Thanks to the popularisation of archaeology and archaeological discoveries, these identities became not only his own, but also of the country and even social group to which he belonged. This exploration, both in the literal sense as in the sense of identity-formation, added an element of adventure, perseverance and danger to the activities of the archaeologist, which, in turn, is connected to the idea of archaeologist-as-hero.

A multitude of these kinds of connections can be made based on the macro-level of the framework synthesised in this chapter, yet, it is not necessary to explore each and every one of them. So, instead of lingering on such an exploration, the next chapter will complete the framework necessary for the analysis of the public autobiographical writings of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler by exploring the micro-level of their ideological ‘I’'s.

### Chapter 3 — The lives and public persona of Austen Henry Layard (1817 - 1894), William Flinders Petrie (1853 - 1942), and Mortimer Wheeler (1890 - 1976)

*‘First, it was my conviction at the outset that our work should be broadly based in public opinion.’*<sup>141</sup>

At the end of his autobiography *Still digging: interleaves from an antiquary’s notebook* (1955), Wheeler stresses the importance for basing archaeology in public opinion: what currently is usually called societal relevance, or valorisation. However, he does not mention another form of public opinion that he had to take into account while writing *Still digging*: the public opinion with regard to his person. As was noted, the narrating ‘I’’s agency is limited by public expectations of *the person* writing the autobiography: the micro-level of the ideological ‘I’’s. If the narrated ‘I’ present in the public autobiography consequently is completely different from the public persona already existing in society, the policing aspect of narrative identity formation as identified by Eakin comes into play and the autobiography, and quite possibly the historical person him- or herself, will be dismissed as a fraud. Nevertheless, even on this ideological ‘I’’s ‘micro-level’, the narrating ‘I’ still possesses some agency to fashion his or her pre-existing public image. In a study of the personal personas being conveyed by public autobiographical writings, it is therefore crucial to generally identify these pre-existing public images, in this case of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler. This is the focus of the following chapter, which firstly introduces Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler more closely.

Yet before continuing, one reservation must be made. When researching the basic details of the lives of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler, one encounters a problem already aptly expressed by Calder III regarding Heinrich Schliemann’s autobiographies: ‘[a]ll published biographies of Schliemann are based almost entirely on documents written by Schliemann himself.’<sup>142</sup> A similar situation presents itself with regard to Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler. Layard’s *Autobiography and letters from his childhood until his appointment as H.M. ambassador at Madrid* (1903) served as the most important basis for journalist Gordon Waterfield’s *Layard of Nineveh*, which was published in 1963 and still is the only full-

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<sup>141</sup> M. Wheeler, *Still digging: interleaves from an antiquary’s notebook* (London, 1955), 231.

<sup>142</sup> Calder III, ‘Schliemann on Schliemann’, 335.

fledged autobiography of Layard.<sup>143</sup> Similarly, Petrie's *Seventy years* forms the most important source for Egyptologist Margaret Drower's *Flinders Petrie: a life in archaeology* (1985), although research for this biography was more thorough than Waterfield's research for *Layard of Nineveh*.<sup>144</sup> Finally, for Wheeler no other large biography exists. This problem of sources poses challenges regarding the use of the autobiographies as anything more than sources for basic biographical data — that is: basic biographical data that was chosen to include in the narrative. Fortunately, this is the main purpose of the introductions offered below.

### **Austen Henry Layard: 'discoverer of Nineveh'**

Layard was born in Paris on 5 March 1817 to Henry Peter John Layard (1783 - 1834), who had worked in the Ceylon Civil Service, and Marianne Austen, who was the daughter of a London banker. His parents' marriage only took place after Henry Layard had returned from Ceylon (Sri Lanka), having there contracted chronic asthma. Shortly after travelling the European mainland, which was now again open to English nationals, and the subsequent birth of his last child Austen Henry in Paris, his condition forced them to look for a favorable climate. The family travelled around Europe, living in Florence, Great Britain, Moulins in France, and Florence again, respectively..<sup>145</sup>

In the spring of 1829 Layard was sent to Benjamin and Sara Austen, his uncle and aunt in England for a 'proper' education, and Layard consequently received the standard grammar school education in Latin and Greek. After leaving this school in 1833, Layard started working at Benjamin Austen's legal office.<sup>146</sup> Layard was discontent in working at his uncle's firm, which culminated in his uncle admitting that he did not see Layard taking over the business. Subsequently, another uncle, Charles Layard, advised Layard to come and work with him in Ceylon as a barrister. A month after having obtained the certificate needed to be enrolled as an attorney and solicitor in June 1839, Layard left for Ceylon.<sup>147</sup>

Layard did not follow the usual sea-route to Ceylon but instead decided to make the journey over land, which meant he would traverse the Balkans and pass through Constantinople before continuing through the Ottoman Empire. Just over a year after having

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<sup>143</sup> Gordon Waterfield, *Layard of Nineveh* (London, 1963).

<sup>144</sup> Margaret Drower, *Flinders Petrie: a life in archaeology* (London, 1985).

<sup>145</sup> John Parry, 'Layard, Sir Austen Henry', *Oxford dictionary of national biography*

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16218?>> [consulted on 19-3-2015]; Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 9-36.

<sup>146</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 36-42.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, I: 43-101.

set off, Layard gave up on going to Ceylon and started touring Mesopotamia and visiting the mounds near Baghdad and Mosul, where Botta had recently started excavating. Subsequently, Layard found informal employment under Stratford Canning (1786 - 1880), the British ambassador in Constantinople, for whom he fulfilled various (semi-)official diplomatic roles in the Ottoman Empire. In 1845, he convinced Canning to support excavations on the mounds near Mosul.

Regarding the motives for these excavations, Layard himself remains relatively vague, only citing his interest, which had been triggered after his earlier travels in the area and his correspondence with Botta.<sup>148</sup> He seems to have handily combined his interest in the area's history with the role an aspiring diplomat — his main goal — as himself could play as informant on various geopolitical topics for Canning. In this sense, Layard's excavations and travels in the area fit perfectly with the idea of 'archaeology as informal imperialism', as archaeology provided an occasion and excuse for colonial enterprises.<sup>149</sup> At the same time, this was a way of extending British economic and strategic influence in Mesopotamia, an area which was being pacified after numerous rebellions and which had started to grow in importance as a British route to India.<sup>150</sup> The attempt of extending British influence was, just as Layard's archaeological work, also tied up in a European rivalry between the major powers.<sup>151</sup>

Until July 1847, when he returned to Constantinople, Layard occupied himself mainly with the excavation of the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nimrud.<sup>152</sup> In December 1847, Layard returned to London and the following year he devoted to writing what became *Nineveh and its remains*.<sup>153</sup> Both volumes of this monograph were published in 1849 and were shortly followed by a large two-part illustrated folio based on Layard's own drawings: *The*

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<sup>148</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 152; Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, I: 31.

<sup>149</sup> Shawn Malley, 'The Layard enterprise: Victorian archaeology and informal imperialism in Mesopotamia', in: Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldern (eds.), *Scramble for the past: a story of archaeology in the Ottoman empire, 1753-1914* (Istanbul, 2011). More generally see: Charlotte Trümpler (ed.), *Das Grosse Spiel: Archäologie und Politik Zur Zeit des Kolonialismus* (Cologne, 2010); Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (eds.), *Nationalism and archaeology in Europe: an introduction* (London, 1996); Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *A world history of nineteenth-century archaeology: nationalism, colonialism, and the past* (Oxford, 2007); Philip Kohl and Clare Fawcett (eds.), *Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology* (Cambridge, 1995).

<sup>150</sup> Shawn Malley, *From Archaeology to Spectacle in Victorian Britain: the case of Assyria, 1845-1854* (Farnham, 2012), 3-4; Malley, 'The Layard enterprise', 99-123, 100 and 105; Thabit A. J. Abdullah, *A short history of Iraq: From 636 to the present* (London, 2003), 100-101.

<sup>151</sup> Trümpler, *Das Grosse Spiel*; Díaz-Andreu and Champion, *Nationalism and archaeology in Europe*; Díaz-Andreu, *A world history of nineteenth-century archaeology*; Kohl and Fawcett, *Nationalism, politics and the practice of archaeology*.

<sup>152</sup> Parry, 'Layard'.

<sup>153</sup> Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*.



*monuments of Nineveh*.<sup>154</sup> In the meantime, Layard had already returned to Constantinople. *Nineveh and its remains* was met with an enthusiastic reception and became a bestseller. This prompted his publisher, John Murray (III, 1808 - 1892), to insist he wrote an abridged popular version: *A popular account of the discoveries at Nineveh* (1851).

The popularity of his finds and writings was partly due to the arrival at the British Museum of Layard's first exported monuments.<sup>155</sup> Another aspect of the popular reception was the discussion raging in and around the British Museum about its mission. This discussion centered around the question of access to the museum. Up to then, access was restricted to the highest classes of British society, who artistically disliked Layard's sculptures. The rejection by the high-classed art critics of the Assyrian sculptures was contrasted with both historical and aesthetic admiration by the middle- and working classes. For them, with progressive religious thinker William Johnson Fox (1786 - 1864) as one of their most prominent advocates, Layard's Assyrian remains became both symbols of as well as stakes in a struggle for further democratisation. This struggle was embedded in a larger class conflict in Great Britain and Europe which saw the middle- and working classes separately actively campaigning for similar goals. In Great Britain this was exemplified in the Anti-Corn-Law League for the middle classes, and the Chartists for the working classes.<sup>156</sup> Finally, Layard himself would from October 1849 until April 1851 pursue one more excavation campaign, this time funded by the British Museum, after which he devoted himself to a political and diplomatic career.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Layard, *The monuments of Nineveh*. A small number of these images were already printed in *Nineveh and its remains*.

<sup>155</sup> The book sold 8.000 copies in its first year and the abridged version, released in 1851, sold 14.000 copies in its first year, see Richard D. Altick, 'Nineteenth-century English best-sellers: a third list', *Studies in bibliography* 39 (1986), 235-241, esp. 239.

<sup>156</sup> See: Bennet, *The birth of the museum*, 70 for an overview of how the British Museum initially limited its visitors to the 'not exceptionable'. In the rest of this work Bennet highlights the importance of this restriction for the political and social function of museums in the nineteenth century. Frederick Bohrer, *Orientalism and Visual Culture: imagining Mesopotamia in nineteenth-century Europe* (Cambridge, 2003), 111; Edward Royle, *Modern Britain: a social history 1750 - 2011* (London, 2012), 148.

<sup>157</sup> Parry, 'Layard'; Layard, *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*.

### The myth of 'Layard of Nineveh'

Anglicist Shawn Malley has traced the origin of what he terms the myth of 'Layard of Nineveh', and the 'Layard myth of heroism' to an article in *The Times* dated to February 9, 1849.<sup>158</sup> The article praised 'the talent, courage, and perseverance of its author', and placed Layard among elite British explorers such as arctic explorers William Parry (1790 - 1855) and James Clark Ross (1800 - 1862).<sup>159</sup> Furthermore, the article sees Layard as the paragon of 'usefulness' to Great Britain, and praises his 'thirst for knowledge' and 'love of travel and adventure'. The reason for all this praise comes later on in the article, when the author attempts to create pity for the fact that Layard did not receive a reward and is still only an 'honorary attaché' at the embassy in Constantinople. What is more, the article emphasises that Layard unselfishly used money from the British Museum that was intended as remuneration for his services to finance his excavations.<sup>160</sup>

Malley notes that the tone of the article can largely be explained by the fact that it was written by Sara Austen, who seems to have tried to help her nephew in his career.<sup>161</sup> Layard himself, however, was initially uneasy with this type of attention. The reason for this was that he feared it would be detrimental to his career in the diplomatic services, fostering jealousy with the other personnel.<sup>162</sup> Nevertheless, Layard quickly realised that nurturing a public image of himself along the lines of the *Times* article might actually secure the career as a diplomat he coveted. This is in line with the fact that, despite citing a long-standing archaeological interest in his *Autobiography*, Layard above all wanted to be a diplomat.<sup>163</sup>

The *Times* article written by Sara Austen took on a life of its own in the contemporary public imagination, a process during which Layard as a person became entwined with his finds. The fact that this unsung hero chose to return to the adventurous wilderness of Mesopotamia and his physically exhausting excavations there while his fame in Great Britain was growing fast worked as a catalyst on this public persona of Layard. The emphasis of the article on certain character-traits displayed by Layard served as a basis upon which later articles started building an even more extreme version of 'Layard'. For example, the *Quarterly Review* termed him the 'industrious and persevering discoverer', while the *British*

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<sup>158</sup> Malley, *From archaeology to Spectacle*, 45.

<sup>159</sup> It seems that for some reason Malley mentions the twentieth-century documentary-maker and indigenous rights activist Bruce Parry (born 1969) instead of the nineteenth-century arctic explorer William Parry.

<sup>160</sup> Malley, *From archaeology to Spectacle*, 45-48. All quotes are taken from Malley.

<sup>161</sup> Unfortunately, little else is known of Sara Austen.

<sup>162</sup> Malley, *From Archaeology to Spectacle*, 45-48.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4; Malley, 'The Layard enterprise', 100 and 105.

*Quarterly Review* praised his ‘integrity, chivalrous honour, good nature, and bounding spirits (...)’.<sup>164</sup>

In the public sphere, Layard, then, seems to have rapidly become a container for all kinds of character-traits the Victorian British found positive: hard-working, humble, honest, good-natured, and with a thirst for knowledge and exploring. Finally, all these characteristics seem, in the case of Layard, to be connected to the fact that he was perceived not to be belonging to the highest classes in British society and was nevertheless successful. These character-traits are all combined in a Layard caricature in a 1869 *Vanity Fair* of which the description reads: ‘[h]e combines the love of truth and art with equal devotion and success.’<sup>165</sup> After some short hesitation, he embraced this public image as a means to create a career for himself.

### **William Flinders Petrie: archaeological explorer of Egypt**

William Matthew Flinders Petrie’s early life was perhaps less geographically spread out than Layard’s, but it may well have been equally diverse. Petrie was born in 1853 in Charlton as the only child of William Petrie (1821 - 1908) and his wife, Anne (1812 - 1892). Anne’s father was Captain Matthew Flinders (1774 - 1814), who had undertaken several explorations of Australia, eventually circumnavigating the continent. Drower states the young Petrie was ‘too delicate to be sent to school’, something which Petrie himself clarifies in his autobiography: ‘(...) as I had chronic asthma which kept me indoors half the year, it was hopeless for me to get any regular education (...)’.<sup>166</sup> Therefore, he received his education from his parents, his father being an engineer and surveyor and his mother a scholar who had published on the relation between mythology and scripture. His father’s background as a surveyor resulted in Petrie starting to survey the earthworks and monuments of the south of England. This culminated in a new, more accurate, survey of Stonehenge which he completed together with his father.<sup>167</sup>

It also was his father who eventually landed Petrie in Egypt. Sometime in the 1870s, Petrie had become interested in the astronomer Charles Piazzi Smyth’s (1819 - 1900) theories surrounding Pyramid metrology. Smyth, building on ideas known as early as the sixteenth

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<sup>164</sup> Quotes taken from: Malley, *From Archaeology to Spectacle*, 46.

<sup>165</sup> ‘Statesmen No. 30: Caricature of the Rt Hon Austen Henry Layard’, *Vanity Fair* (28 August 1869). See appendix A.

<sup>166</sup> Margetet Drower, ‘Petrie, Sir (William Matthew) Flinders’, *Oxford database of national biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35496>> [consulted on 28-4-2016]; Petrie, *Seventy years*, 7.

<sup>167</sup> Drower, ‘Petrie’. He deposited the survey in the British Museum.

century but most prominently voiced in 1859 by London publisher John Taylor (1781 - 1864), contended that the pyramids were built as storehouse for a metrological system of divine origin and that the modern British people had inherited these standards.<sup>168</sup> Inspired by this and anxious to measure the pyramids more accurately, Petrie left for Egypt in 1880. His father was supposed to follow him later on, but never did.<sup>169</sup> Petrie's measurements were published in 1883 as *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, and they disproved Smyth's theories which Petrie was, apparently, quick to abandon.<sup>170</sup> The work also brought him to the attention of novelist and traveller Amelia Edwards (1831 - 1892). Edwards, founder of the *Egypt Exploration Fund* (EEF, from 1919 the *Egypt Exploration Society*), hired Petrie as archaeologist. This was no fruitful cooperation, however, and, after having worked independently for some years, in 1887 Edwards again agreed to finance him. This time Petrie would work outside of the EEF. Later, in 1890, Petrie was employed by the *Palestine Exploration Fund* (PEF) to explore Tell al-Hesi.<sup>171</sup>

For Petrie, stability came in 1892, when Edwards died. She left a collection of Egyptian antiquities and her library to UCL. Furthermore, she bequeathed UCL enough money to start the first chair in Egyptology in England, a position she wanted Petrie to occupy. This was the start of a regular academic career for Petrie, who could now spend each winter digging, and alternate his excavations with training students and setting up public exhibitions of his finds. Initially his main area of activity was Egypt, but in 1926 he moved this to Palestine, where he would dig until he retired from the Edwards chair in 1933.

After having retired as professor, Petrie would excavate irregularly until 1939. The last years of his life he lived in Jerusalem, where he died in 1942. He was subsequently buried in a Protestant cemetery there, but one part of his body would still spend several years at the location where Petrie spent his last years: the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem (reportedly either in the school's refrigerator, among the school's study artefacts,

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<sup>168</sup> Hermann A. Brück, 'Smyth, Charles Piazzi', *Oxford database of national biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25948>> [consulted on 2-6-2016]; Charles P. Smyth, *Our inheritance in the Great Pyramid* (London, 1864); John Taylor, *The Great Pyramid: why was it built? And who built it?* (London, 1859); David Gange, 'Religion and science in late nineteenth-century British Egyptology', *The historical journal* 49:4 (2006), 1083-1103; Eric M. Reisenauer, "'The battle of the standards': great pyramid metrology and British identity, 1859-1890", *The Historian* 65:4 (2003), 931-978, esp. 932-936. Reisenauer also shows how pyramid metrology was part of a process of British identity formation.

<sup>169</sup> Drower notes he 'never plucked up courage to go': Drower, 'Petrie'.

<sup>170</sup> Joseph A. Callaway, 'Sir Flinders Petrie: father of Palestinian archaeology', *Biblical Archaeological Review* 6 (1980), 44-55, esp. 48-49; William F. Petrie, *The pyramids and temples of Gizeh* (London, 1883).

<sup>171</sup> Drower, 'Petrie'.

or under the bed of his wife, Hilda Petrie). In the autumn of 1944, Petrie's head was finally sent to England and arrived at the Royal College of Surgeons in London.<sup>172</sup>

### **Petrie, eugenics, and exhibitions**

The fact that Petrie's head was, most probably on his own request, conserved after his death may be dismissed as just an eccentric last wish. However, Silberman, basing himself on Drower, has connected it with a larger influence in the work of Petrie: his belief in the popular Victorian scientific theory of eugenics.<sup>173</sup> Petrie's association with eugenics was not limited to his purely academic work, but also seems to have played a large part in the public image of Petrie. Unfortunately, it is difficult to get a clear image of Petrie's public image beyond the associations with eugenics, as historiography on it does not exist — even research on his public association with eugenics is very limited — and a thorough analysis of his public image is beyond the scope of this research.<sup>174</sup> It is nevertheless fruitful to further explore Petrie's belief in eugenics and, instead of focussing on how this influenced his archaeological work, look at how this might have become part of the public Petrie. A second insight into Petrie's public persona may be provided by his annual exhibitions. Together, this will provide the best overview of the public Petrie currently possible.

The term 'eugenics' was first coined by Sir Francis Galton (1822 - 1911), first cousin to Charles Darwin and usually described as 'biostatistician, human geneticist, and eugenicist'.<sup>175</sup> In his work *Hereditary Genius: an inquiry into its laws and consequences* (1869), Galton outlined his theory which sought to apply the concept of 'natural selection' to the human race.<sup>176</sup> Galton, working from a similar basis as the earlier 'phrenologists', believed that each human racial group had certain physical and mental characteristics, all of which could be accurately measured. A clear racial hierarchy could be established this way. Such a racial hierarchy, Galton contended, was not just a natural phenomenon, but had a very large influence on history, in which 'superior' races would come to dominate 'inferior'

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<sup>172</sup> Drower, 'Petrie'; Neil A. Silberman, 'Petrie's head: Eugenics and Near Eastern archaeology', in: Kehoe, Alice B., Emmerichs, Mary B. (eds.), *Assembling the past: studies in the professionalisation of archaeology* (Albuquerque, 1999), 69-79, esp. 69-70.

<sup>173</sup> Stephen Gould, *The mismeasure of man* (Middlesex, 1981), 76-77.

<sup>174</sup> One of the limited number of articles on the subject, with exception to Silberman's, is: Kathleen Sheppard, 'Flinders Petrie and Eugenics at UCL', *Bulletin of the history of archaeology* 20:1 (2010), 16-29.

<sup>175</sup> Silberman, 'Petrie's head', 70-71; Ruth S. Cowan, 'Galton, Sir Francis', *Oxford database of national biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33315>> [consulted on 28-4-2016].

<sup>176</sup> Francis Galton, *Hereditary genius* (London, 1869).

ones.<sup>177</sup> It is hardly necessary to guess in what position Galton placed the British race overall, but within it he also made a clear distinction between the industrial lower classes, the middle, and the higher classes of British society. His distinction corresponds with contemporary, larger, societal developments: the new industrial class during the nineteenth century quickly came to be perceived as an increasing problem, especially ‘(...) when it became obvious that their lives, though primarily centred in the factories, were not constricted by them.’<sup>178</sup>

The racial hierarchy Galton envisaged was not static, and it is here that the theory taps into larger fears concerning degeneration and decline present in late Victorian society.<sup>179</sup> Rather, Galton believed that when superior races interbred with inferior ones, the result would be a degeneration of the superior. As a final consequence, such a degenerated race would then be conquered by still superior ones. This, obviously, should be avoided at all cost. From that viewpoint, proponents of eugenics opposed ‘inferior’ groups of immigrants streaming into Britain, and also opposed trade unions. At the same time, combining a contemporary anxiety with a sort of Romantic view of history, Galton believed that the racial groups had stayed relatively stable during earlier millennia.<sup>180</sup>

This is where Petrie seems to have come in. Silberman states that Petrie found eugenics an apt replacement for the theories of Smyth he abandoned after his pyramid survey in 1883. Yet, it is notable that Petrie already contacted Galton in 1880, just before leaving for Egypt. Galton, who in the meantime had set up an ‘anthropometric laboratory’ in London to collect data from the general public, realised he also needed historical datasets, and seemed not to have forgotten the letter from the young Petrie. Consequently, he asked the temporarily unemployed Petrie to provide these historical datasets in the form of measurements and photographs of all the different racial groups depicted on the temple-walls of Upper Egypt. The result was published as *Racial types from Egypt* in 1887, and Silberman notes that eugenic theories informed many of Petrie’s later excavations.<sup>181</sup>

With regard to Petrie’s public image, Silberman points to a lecture Petrie gave for the Royal Anthropological Institute in London in 1903 with the theme ‘migrations’, where he

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<sup>177</sup> Silberman, ‘Petrie’s head’, 71; Ruth S. Cowan, ‘Francis Galton’s statistical ideas: the influence of eugenics’, *Isis* 39 (1972), 509-528; George W. Stocking, *Victorian anthropology* (New York, 1987); Gould, *The mismeasure of man*, 73-82.

<sup>178</sup> Quote from: Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 48-49. See also: Gould, *The mismeasure of man*, 80.

<sup>179</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 71-86; Brantlinger, *British literature and imperialism*, 33.

<sup>180</sup> Silberman, ‘Petrie’s head’, 71.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 71-72; Sheppard, ‘Flinders Petrie and Eugenics at UCL’, 19-20; William F. Petrie, *Racial types from Egypt* (London, 1887).

traced ‘(...) the full range of Egyptian history he had uncovered (...), [where] he saw an unending series of racial conquests (...)’.<sup>182</sup> Around the same period, Petrie had also become engaged in several modern political causes such as the British Constitution Association, a pressure group opposing state regulation, and the Anti-Socialist Society. Together with Galton and his protégé Karl Pearson (1857 - 1936), he even spent many hours promoting eugenic marriages. Finally, in 1906 he published a popular work in a series titled ‘Questions of the day’ which bore the title *Janus in modern life*.<sup>183</sup> The work, which made use of historical parallels such as Ancient Rome and Early Christianity, argued that the contemporary social problems in England were the result of the support of inferior human types by communism, trade unionism and the government and urged action to improve the British race.<sup>184</sup>

The second aspect of Petrie’s public presence under analysis here, his annual exhibitions in London, should be seen as permeated with Petrie’s adherence to eugenics, since, as Silberman pointed out, ‘(...) race and racial conflict remained the primary emphasis of his career.’<sup>185</sup> Nevertheless, apart from this connection, some fruitful observations can be made regarding Petrie’s exhibitions, the first one having taken place in 1884. First of all, in an article dealing with the social and financial importance of these types of exhibitions for late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century archaeologists, archaeologist Amara Thornton has noted that a trend can be seen in the openness of the exhibitions, with the earlier ones — up to Petrie’s move to UCL in 1894 — being more exclusive than those after 1894. From 1906 onwards, Petrie’s exhibitions even targeted those who worked during the day with evening opening hours. The result was that these exhibitions continually succeeded to draw a large public interest.<sup>186</sup> Secondly, the exhibition catalogues served as a mouthpiece for Petrie. In them, he outlined his plans as Edwards professor and would have been able to steer his own public image. Finally, Thornton highlights the importance the exhibitions had, especially the earlier ones, as venues to acquire financial means for further excavations. This way, they were embedded into what has been called the ‘London Season’, during which aristocratic

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<sup>182</sup> Silberman, ‘Petrie’s head’, 74.

<sup>183</sup> William F. Petrie, *Janus in modern life* (London, 1907).

<sup>184</sup> Silberman, ‘Petrie’s head’, 75.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>186</sup> Callaway, ‘Sir Flinders Petrie’, 51 and 55; Amara Thornton, ‘Exhibition season: annual archaeological exhibitions in London, 1880s-1930s’ *Bulletin of the history of archaeology* 25:2 (2015), 1-18, esp. 1-5.

families came to London as a result of planned Parliamentary sessions. The Season thus became the time for artists and similar professional groups to find their patrons.<sup>187</sup>

To conclude, eugenics seems to have been the most important aspect of Petrie's public image. It is important to note in this context that Petrie only seems to have consciously publicly promoted eugenics some time after obtaining a formal university position as professor in 1892, despite the fact that he already was an adherent of the theories around 1880. It appears, then, that at least Petrie himself only consciously acted towards his public role from this point onwards. From this follows that his public presence before ca. 1892 was limited, and was mainly a part of the competition for financial means within the London Season. This is also noted by archaeologist and theologian Joseph Callaway (1920 - 1988), who states that Petrie increased his presence in such things as the lecture circuit in these years.<sup>188</sup> When he did become professor, he was soon a respected academic authority who aimed to spread his ideas on Egyptology — in the forms of annual exhibitions and lectures — and social issues, which were almost always connected to eugenics. Furthermore, as the exhibition catalogues show, he aimed to present himself as a proper academic. Having become professor, he also set up a publicly-subscribed Egypt Research Account to gather sponsors for his work, which was subsumed into the British School of Archaeology in Egypt in 1905.

### **Mortimer Wheeler: public archaeologist**

Curiously, Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler, born in Glasgow in 1890, was, like Layard and Petrie, for a part educated by his parents, the journalist Robert Mortimer Wheeler and Emily Baynes, niece and ward of philosopher Thomas Spencer Baynes (1823 - 1887). Unlike Layard and Petrie, Wheeler did attend a grammar school starting in 1899 and lasting until the family moved to London in 1904, where Wheeler was stimulated to educate himself. In 1907 he won a scholarship in classics at UCL and he earned his MA in 1913. Subsequently, he started studying Roman pottery of the Rhineland, which resulted in his doctoral thesis, submitted to the University of London in 1920. At the same time, he held a post as junior investigator for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, where he shortly returned

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<sup>187</sup> Thornton, 'Exhibition season', 1. It is important to note here that, whereas this Season in some form already existed in the time of Layard, Layard himself never seems to have considered it to be a worthwhile opportunity of finding financiers. Instead, he, as noted above, nurtured his massive popularity and used that as a means of pressuring the British Museum into financing him.

<sup>188</sup> Callaway, 'Sir Flinders Petrie', 55.



after having served as instructor with the Royal Field Artillery and major of the 76th army brigade during the First World War.<sup>189</sup>

After his service, Wheeler mainly occupied himself with the museum world, becoming keeper of archaeology at the National Museum of Wales and lecturer in archaeology at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire in 1920, which was followed by his appointment as director of the National Museum of Wales in 1924. Already in 1926, Wheeler returned to London as keeper of the London Museum, while at the same time striving to establish an institute of archaeology, which was opened in 1937 as part of the University of London (it is now part of UCL). During the Second World War Wheeler again served in the armed forces, this time until 1943. After spending the first war years raising and training the 48th light anti-aircraft battery which became the 42nd Royal Artillery regiment, from 1941 he mainly saw action in North-Africa and the South of Italy, and was eventually promoted to brigadier.<sup>190</sup>

In 1944 Wheeler left for India to become the director-general of the Archaeological Survey of India, from which he returned in 1948 to become a part-time professor at his Institute of Archaeology. During the 1950s, he also frequently was part of the popular television show *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral?* together with fellow archaeologist Glyn Daniel (1914 - 1986), with whom he also hosted a short television series called *Buried Treasure*. A final excavation campaign in what were now the former colonies came in 1956 when he excavated Charsada in Pakistan. In 1968 he officially retired, although he kept on writing: between 1955 and his death in 1976, he published three memoirs (his general autobiography *Still digging* was published in 1955, while works dealing with more specific periods of his life appeared in 1966 and 1976) and a handbook on excavation techniques (in 1955), together with several more scholarly and popular works.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Jane McIntosh, 'Wheeler, Sir (Robert Eric) Mortimer', *Oxford database of national biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31825>> [consulted on 28-4-2016].

<sup>190</sup> McIntosh, 'Wheeler'.

<sup>191</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*; M. Wheeler, *Alms for oblivion: an antiquary's scrapbook* (London, 1966); Mortimer Wheeler, *My archaeological mission to India and Pakistan* (London, 1976); Mortimer Wheeler, *Archaeology from the earth* (Oxford, 1954).

## ‘Naughty Morty’

Rather contradictorily for someone who spent so much of his career pioneering ways of communicating the results and processes of archaeology to a larger public, no historiography exists which deals with the public image of Wheeler. In fact, hardly any critical historiography regarding Wheeler exists. This is also what archaeologists Gabriel Moshenska and Tim Schadla-Hall found when they examined Wheeler’s pioneering efforts in public archaeology: ‘[c]uriously, the history of archaeology has not turned its revisionist glare on Wheeler, but has instead, with a few exceptions, allowed him to fade into “Naughty Morty”, a cartoonish and slightly eccentric figure.’<sup>192</sup> ‘Naughty Morty’ very much also reflects his personal life, as ‘(...) sexual adventures with many women were to remain an important feature of his life (...)’, and he married twice more after the death of his first wife, Tessa Verney (1893 - 1936).<sup>193</sup> Although a biography of Wheeler, as well as several studies dealing with his specific contributions to such things as the archaeology of India, Romano-British urbanism, and field methods exist, no large critical study has been made drawing together these strands, nor one analysing his public image.<sup>194</sup>

That Wheeler had a public image can be stated without doubt. As Moshenska and Schadla-Hall show, he actively engaged the public in his excavations in the British countryside. At the excavation of Maiden castle, visitors could tour the excavation-site asking questions to individual diggers, who Wheeler insisted should answer as best they could. Eventually, Wheeler even started to sell artefacts, most notoriously slingshot-pebbles (which after a while were trucked in from a local beach). Furthermore, Wheeler also cultivated a close relation with the press, an example of which can be seen in the *Daily Mail*’s sponsorship of his excavations in Caerleon in Wales.<sup>195</sup> Unfortunately, what the visitors of his excavations thought of the man himself — in the words of the Dutch newspaper *De Telegraaf*: ‘(...) de zelfbewuste, wereldwijze archeoloog met zijn fiere puntsnor (...)’, who ‘(...) doet de vrouwenharten sneller slaan (...)’ — remains somewhat of a mystery for now,

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<sup>192</sup> Gabriel Moshenska and Tim Schadla-Hall, ‘Mortimer Wheeler’s theatre of the past’, *Public Archaeology* 10:1 (2011), 46-55, esp. 46.

<sup>193</sup> McIntosh, ‘Wheeler’. Wheeler had a sole child with Tessa, Michael Mortimer Wheeler (1915 - 1992). His other marriages were with Mavis de Vere Cole (1909 - 1970) and Margaret Norfolk (née Collingridge).

<sup>194</sup> B. B. Lal, and S. P. Gupta, *Frontiers of the Indus civilization: Sir Mortimer Wheeler commemorative volume* (New Delhi, 1984); S. J. Greep, *Roman towns: the Wheeler inheritance. A review of 50 years’ research* (York, 1993); Gavin Lucas, *Critical approaches to fieldwork: contemporary and historical archaeological practice* (London, 2001).

<sup>195</sup> Moshenska and Schadla-Hall, ‘Mortimer Wheeler’s theatre of the past’, 49-53.

although it could be argued that their impression of Wheeler had a large impact on their idea of an academic archaeologist.<sup>196</sup>

Some tentative remarks on Wheeler's public image can be made through a short analysis of a diversity of obituaries which appeared shortly after his death, as well as through looking at his appearance on television. Yet, one reservation must be made: both his television appearances as well as his obituaries (obviously) appeared after the publication of *Still digging*, which means they may already have been influenced by the image present in this work. Furthermore, in his television appearances, his agency may already have been slightly encroached upon by the conventions of the television shows. However, this is the only way to come as close as possible to Wheeler's public image without starting a whole new research.

The main focus of most obituaries dedicated to Wheeler are his excavations and the ways in which he set-up or reorganised several organisations which he headed during his lifetime. Limited attention is given to his personality, with usually only remarks emphasising his persistence, imagination, and dynamism.<sup>197</sup> When treating his appearances on television and his more general approach to public archaeology, two topoi stand out: his appearance of 'professor and brigadier combined', often closely linked to his '(...) military moustache carrying a distinct hint of the "Flash Alf" [Wheeler's military nickname] of the desert campaign', and his abilities as a showman.<sup>198</sup> This, according to fellow-archaeologist Stuart Piggott (1910 - 1996), were the main reasons for Wheeler being voted Television Personality of the Year in 1954.<sup>199</sup> The 'professor and brigadier' topos also returns in broadcasts of *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral?* itself. For example, in a broadcast first aired on 3 May 1956, chairman Glyn Daniel, and panelists Sean O Riordain (1905 - 1957) and Vere Gordon Childe (1892 - 1957), all three archaeologists, compare the moustache of a first-century B.C.E. Celtic sculpture with a 'brigadier-moustache' clearly with Wheeler's own 'facial appendage' in mind.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> 'Ten goede en ten kwade: T.V. beheerst het Engelse leven', *De Telegraaf* (25-02-1956), 13.

<sup>197</sup> See for example: L. P. Kirwan, 'Sir Mortimer Wheeler', *Azania: archaeological research in Africa* 11:1 (1976), vii-viii.

<sup>198</sup> R. S., 'Sir Mortimer Wheeler', *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 32:125 (1977), 4; H. D. Sankalia, 'Sir Mortimer Wheeler, 1890-1976', *American Anthropologist* 79:4 (1977), 894-895; Stuart Piggott, 'Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler. 10 September 1890 - 22 July 1976', *Biographical Memoirs of the Royal Society* 23 (1977), 623-642, esp. 640.

<sup>199</sup> Piggott, 'Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler', 640.

<sup>200</sup> 'Animal, Vegetable, Mineral?' *BBC* (03-05-1956).

## Conclusion

To conclude, an obvious process which can be seen when comparing the lives of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler, is the disciplination of archaeology. Where Layard's archaeological career was almost always outside of official organisations, during Petrie's career this changes. Petrie starts off in similar informal and haphazard positions as Layard, but this ends when he is appointed Edwards professor at UCL and from then on he falls within the relatively new institutional infrastructure. Wheeler's career, finally, takes place completely within institutional bounds.

This development is mirrored in their public images: Layard's public image consisted of as many positive traits as could be found by the Victorian British, which were all tied together with the fact that he was relatively 'lowly' in terms of class and in constant need of finances to continue his excavations. He himself nurtured this image, as it provided him with future financial security, albeit irregular and small. Contrastingly, Petrie's public image, always connected to eugenics, only really came to the fore after his appointment as professor. Where before this image seems to have been limited to the area of potential financiers, it expanded rapidly as soon as he had a secure academic position. It is interesting to note Layard and Petrie's different approach to the public. For Layard, the public was a means to obtain a secure career, where for Petrie the public only really became relevant when he had this certainty as professor. Wheeler, having the relative luxury of a continuous stream of official positions, almost immediately cultivated a public image which eventually centred around his academic profession and background as army officer in (eventually) two world wars, as well as his showmanship culminating in his well-mannered and funny television personality. Such showmanship seems to have played a larger role in the public expectations of an archaeologist — not just Wheeler — as was shown in the previous chapter. Having completed the overview of ideological 'I's on both a micro- and macro-level, the next chapter will focus on the autobiographies of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler, using this framework to identify whether, where, and how they followed and deviated from public expectations of archaeology, and the archaeologist.

## Chapter 4 — The ideological ‘I’s and the autobiographies of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler

The macro- and micro-level of the ideological ‘I’s of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler which were mapped in the last two chapters provide a clear framework for an analysis of the narrated ‘I’s presented in the public autobiographical writings of the three archaeologists. This frame, then, is the common thread in this chapter. Yet, as was noted above, it is not exhaustive, but serves as a mere starting point, to be supplemented by other elements resulting from the analysis of the public autobiographical writings. The identification of other elements has taken place only after close reading of (the relevant) chapters of the three public autobiographical writings. This way, not only similarities and differences between the three public autobiographical writings are discerned, and where possible explained, but these commonalities and differences can also serve to correct and supplement the framework and historiography of chapters two and three.

The chapter, then, follows the ideological ‘I’s identified in chapters two and three thematically, showing on a textual level connections and developments between the three public autobiographical writings. After this, motifs and topoi identified outside of chapter two and three’s frame are discussed. Some of these are present in all three autobiographies, while others are isolated phenomena in only one or two of them. At the same time, the narrated ‘I’s being presented in the public autobiographical writings are connected to the exploration of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler’s personal public image in chapter two. Thus, potential correcting and/or reinforcing strategies employed by the authors may be seen. Yet, before all this, the three public autobiographical writings are introduced more closely.

### ***Layard’s Autobiography and letters from his childhood to his appointment as H.M. ambassador at Madrid***

Layard’s *Autobiography* was published in two volumes in 1903, slightly less than ten years after his death in 1894.<sup>201</sup> Its chapters are chronologically ordered, starting with Layard’s early life and ending, as is noted in the title, with his appointment as ambassador in Madrid in 1869. The fact that it was published posthumously has one very important consequence: Layard could not finish the work himself and had no control over the finished product.

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<sup>201</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*. See appendix B for the table of contents of both volumes.

Rather, the work was edited by a certain William N. Bruce, who also wrote the preface. Bruce supplemented Layard's manuscript from volume two, chapter six, titled 'the Assyrian sculptures (1845-1851)', onwards. Chapters seven and eight are therefore little more than a compilation of letters sent by Layard to various relatives, friends and colleagues with short commentaries added by Bruce in between the letters. Furthermore, throughout the chapters before volume two, chapter six, Bruce added similar letters combined with a short commentary. The final consequence of all this is that the chapters and sections added by Bruce become irrelevant for this research, as it was not Layard who chose to include them. This includes all of volume two, chapters one, seven and eight. This is the only complication of the narrated 'I' which takes place in the *Autobiography*.

A further restriction comes from the subject-matter of the chapters. As the aforementioned biography of Layard in chapter two noted, during the years before his political and diplomatic career, Layard was as much a diplomatic agent as he was an archaeologist. Consequently, several chapters only deal with Layard's role in diplomatic and geopolitical developments and his position in the embassy in Constantinople. While this may be interesting for a study on the whole of Layard's life, the emphasis on archaeology in this research makes these chapters less relevant.

All this means that only the first volume and the sixth chapter of volume two are left. The first volume mainly consists of chapters dealing with his early life and the journey to, and travels in, the Middle East, while the sixth chapter of volume two is the only chapter actually dealing with his archaeological excavations. Nonetheless, volume two, chapter six, has its own peculiarities. In it, Layard states:

'I have, in my "Nineveh and its Remains", published so full an account of the excavations carried on amongst the Assyrian ruins, and of my residence at Mosul, and journeys in the desert and Kurdistan during the years 1845, '46 and '47, that I have nothing to add to it here.'<sup>202</sup>

Of course, he does have something to add, as the chapter runs on for another 40 pages. This makes these additions even more interesting, and they are addressed further on in this chapter. Only occasionally *Nineveh and its remains* is incorporated in this analysis, as this

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<sup>202</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, II: 155.

research limits itself to public autobiographical writings and Nineveh and its remains only deals with the years 1845 - 1847.

From an element of the peritext — all materials added in the publishing process, such as notes, prefaces, introductions and chapter breaks — a final subject-restriction becomes apparent, as Bruce notes in the preface: ‘(...) but he [Layard] expressed the desire that this work should only be published “when the public interest will permit, and those who might be injured or offended by it have passed away.”’<sup>203</sup> Yet, the importance of this passage lies not in the subject restriction, as it explains why the *Autobiography* stops in 1869, but in the fact that Layard did consider publishing the work, something which seems to contradict his own opening of volume one, chapter one: ‘[a]s my life has been, in some respects, an eventful one, I have thought that an account of it may not be without interest to those who may hereafter bear my name.’<sup>204</sup> Consequently, Layard’s *Autobiography* can firmly be seen as an example of public autobiographical writing. Finally, these quotes also provide us with the addressee of the work, namely Layard’s own descendants. These descendants, then, are only a small group of the public which would eventually read the work.

### **Petrie’s *Seventy years in archaeology***

In the foreword of his *Seventy years* which was published in 1932, Petrie, in contrast to Layard, immediately makes clear that he thought a wide audience would read his autobiography. His first lines read:

‘[t]he affairs of a private person are seldom pertinent to the interests of others, yet the rise of a great branch of knowledge in the archaeological discovery of man’s development should be worth some record. The tracing of the various steps, moreover, which have led to results from small beginnings, may encourage others whose prospects would seem very insufficient for their aims in life.’<sup>205</sup>

This quote makes clear that the work is not only aimed at his fellow academics and archaeologists, but also at everyone, from every social class, as it urges them to make

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<sup>203</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: vii. For a discussion of peritexts, see: Smith and Julia, *Reading Autobiography*, 99-102.

<sup>204</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 1. Emphasis mine.

<sup>205</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 1. See appendix C for the table of contents.

something of their lives; maybe even become an archaeologist. Again, this places *Seventy years* definitely in the realm of public autobiographical writing.

Petrie published *Seventy years* some ten years before his death in 1942, and it offers therefore a very complete overview of his career in archaeology, uncomplicated by a fragmented narrated 'I'. Like Layard, Petrie's first chapter is dedicated to his early life, from birth up to his leave for Egypt to survey the pyramids in 1880. From there, the division of the rest of the fourteen chapters is chronological and the titles are based on in which area Petrie was excavating. So, for example, chapter seven becomes 'Amarna, 1891-1892', and chapter ten 'Ehnasya, Sinai, Yehudiyeh, 1902-1906'. This accent on archaeology excludes almost any other topic from the work, Petrie states for example: '[t]his is only a record of the work, and of what led me up to it, and has nothing otherwise to do with the inner life.'<sup>206</sup>

### **Wheeler's *Still digging: interleaves from an antiquary's notebook***

Wheeler's *Still digging* was published in 1955, near, but not at, the end of Wheeler's digging years.<sup>207</sup> Like the public autobiographical writings of Layard and Petrie, *Still digging* is chronologically ordered, starting with Wheeler's early life and ending with a reflective chapter following his work in Pakistan in 1950, and using a singular narrated 'I'. Like Petrie, Wheeler spent nearly all of his professional life as an archaeologist, meaning that almost all chapters deal with archaeology. Two notable exceptions are included, both of which in terms of page-count belong to the larger chapters in *Still digging*: chapter three and nine. Chapter three has Wheeler's service in the British army during the First World War as its subject, and is aptly titled 'War interlude I, 1914-19'. Predictably, chapter nine deals with Wheeler's army service in the Second World War and is titled 'War interlude II, 1939-43'. After this second interlude, a section of chapters begins in which Wheeler describes his years in India and Pakistan. It is followed by a short postscript in which Wheeler reflects on his role in the development of archaeology during the period *Still digging* covers.

Just as in Layard's *Autobiography* and Petrie's *Seventy years*, from the preface it becomes clear that Wheeler wrote *Still digging* with the intent of having it published: '[a] chance recollection of that momentous interchange has solved *my publisher's* problem of a

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<sup>206</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 1

<sup>207</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*. See appendix D for the table of contents. Some of my research suggests there also exists a popular, illustrated, version called *Still digging: adventures in archaeology*, but unfortunately I have not been able to find a copy nor ascertain whether this actually is the same narrative as in *Still digging: interleaves from an Antiquary's Notebook*.



title for these pages.<sup>208</sup> Unfortunately, Wheeler does not, explicitly or implicitly, mention a particular addressee or public. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that the autobiography of a British archaeologist with a large popularity in all layers of society would have been able to have a wide reach.

### **The public expectations of the practice of archaeology and the autobiographies**

The professionalisation of the practice of archaeology and its formation as an academic discipline is not only reflected in the division and topics of the chapters of the three autobiographies. A similar tendency can be seen in the writing itself. This is most clear in the emphasis on technique, as was noted by Ascher.<sup>209</sup> Mentions of technique are completely absent in the archaeological sections of Layard's *Autobiography*, whereas he does mention 'technique' in *Nineveh and its remains*.<sup>210</sup> Although it may be argued that the absence of mentions of technique is due to the fact that only one chapter in the work actually deals with his excavations, on the other hand, in this chapter, Layard does make a conscious and explicit choice to include certain passages, and apparently, he felt that a passage on excavation technique was not relevant. To this may be added that systematic excavation and conservation techniques were only just starting to be developed. As a result of this development, these techniques are present in *Seventy years*, often focussing on conservation. Consider the following passage:

'[t]he stone was so rotted that a finger could be stuck into it (...). So the wet slabs were laid on the sand, and covered with about four inches of sand to allow of slow drying; thus the stone contracted equally inside and out, and was preserved.'<sup>211</sup>

The development of archaeological technique did not go unnoticed by Wheeler either, who often underscores the speed of this development during his career and his own role in this development, and in his final chapter closes the subject with: '[i]n the field-archaeology and digging to which I have been devoted much of my time, the period 1914-54 has been one of

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<sup>208</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 9. Emphasis mine.

<sup>209</sup> See chapter two, page 27. Ascher, 'Archaeology and the Public Image', 402-403.

<sup>210</sup> The 'technique' in question relates to choices of where and how to dig, usually along walls or already protruding objects, see for example: Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, I: 44-45, I: 68-69, and I: 119..

<sup>211</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 170. See also page 152 for an example.

violent transition (...) with its assumed techniques, its fluorine, nitrogen and radiocarbon tests and others in prospect(...)'.<sup>212</sup>

Ascher's 'exit of adventure' topos can also be related to the professionalisation visible in the autobiographies, as the presence of the concept of the adventurous archaeological discovery diminishes from Layard to Wheeler.<sup>213</sup> In Layard's *Autobiography*, the allusion to adventure is always connected to travelling through the Middle East and not to the practice of archaeology. It is therefore even more noticeable that Layard decided to include a motif stressing the adventurous nature of his life in his one chapter on his excavations. The story is set during a crossing of the Tigris, after Layard had, courteously, stopped the day's last ferry to allow the Kadi of Mosul (an official religious judge) and his attendants on board. The Kadi, according to Layard, complained: '[s]hall the dogs occupy the high places [i.e. the Christian Layard and companions on the proper seats], whilst the true believers have to stand below?'<sup>214</sup> Layard reacted by hitting him with his riding stick, which nearly caused a fight on the ferry. Afterwards, Layard made the local Vice-consul urge upon the Pasha (governor) '(...) the importance of taking effective and immediate steps for my protection and for that of the Christians in general.'<sup>215</sup>

In *Seventy years*, Petrie mixes episodes of adventure unrelated to archaeology with ones which are.<sup>216</sup> He mentions with regard to excavation pits surrounding the pyramids: '[i]t was always a chance of minutes or hours before a pit collapsed.'<sup>217</sup> Finally, Wheeler only mentions one 'adventurous' excavation, near the Balkerne Gate of Colchester in 1917, when, at night, he conducted excavations with volunteers from his artillery battery.<sup>218</sup>

The presence in the three autobiographies of the topos of chance-discovery identified by Ascher seems to contradict the process of professionalisation.<sup>219</sup> In Layard's *Autobiography*, no mention is made of a chance archaeological discovery. Again, this may be due to only volume two, chapter six, in which archaeological discovery in general is very scarce, being devoted to his excavations. In *Seventy years*, on the other hand, chance does seem to play a substantial role in archaeology, especially connected to large or spectacular

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<sup>212</sup> Quoted is: Wheeler, *Still digging*, 230; see also: Wheeler, *Still digging*, 109.

<sup>213</sup> See chapter two, pages 27 and 28.

<sup>214</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, II: 169.

<sup>215</sup> Quote taken from Layard, *Autobiography*, II: 171. The whole motif can be found on II: 169-171.

<sup>216</sup> For the former see: Petrie, *Seventy years*, 165, 185, 190, 193, and 201-2.

<sup>217</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 30.

<sup>218</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 65.

<sup>219</sup> See chapter two, pages 28 and 29. Ascher, 'Archaeology and the Public Image'.

finds. Petrie sometimes connects this to his local workers, highlighting how archaeological discovery is as much luck as skill, as Ascher noted:

‘[one] pay-day a man insisted on leaving at noon because he had found nothing, so reluctantly I paid him up; while doing so, two boys crowded up to see the money pass, and slipped down by the crumbling edge of the trench; I observed they lay still. So soon as the man took his money, they began grubbing in the dust, and disclosed a fine portrait mummy (...).’<sup>220</sup>

In Wheeler’s *Still digging*, chance plays a similar role and is also often connected to particularly large, important and/or spectacular finds. One example of such a discovery can be found in Wheeler’s description of finding what he termed ‘King Arthur’s small change’ (it is more commonly known as the ‘Lydney Hoard’).<sup>221</sup> Yet, in light of the autobiographies of Layard and Petrie, it is remarkable that Wheeler actively emphasises the role luck played in his excavations, and life in general, making statements like ‘at this moment fate smiled upon us’.<sup>222</sup> When by chance noting a Roman coin among bags of finds from the Indian site Chandravalli, Wheeler reflects:

‘I freely confess that as I stood there on the Indian plateau, (...) with that crucial coin in my hand, I marvelled at the romantic *chance* that had brought me to it at the desired moment and in the desired setting. It was the crowning fortune of three years of *steady planning* and *steadily attendant luck*.’<sup>223</sup>

In this quote, Wheeler does balance luck with hard work and planning, yet it is remarkable how much emphasis he places on the former. The reason for the accent on chance may be to make the archaeologist more identifiable, or it could be that it is simply tempting to see or present oneself as somehow blessed by fortune.

On the basis of the three public autobiographical writings analysed in this study, the final topos Ascher identified, ‘the firstest with the mostest’, seems to develop separately from the professionalisation which the emphasis on technology, adventure, and chance are

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<sup>220</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 84. The ‘portrait mummy’ is probably a Fayum mummy. See Petrie, *Seventy years*, 38, 70, 96, 160 and 183 for further examples.

<sup>221</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 97-98. For another example, see: Wheeler, *Still digging*, 64.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., 101.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 209. My emphases.

associated with.<sup>224</sup> It does, however, seem to be connected to the development of large-scale international exhibitions during the second half of the nineteenth century, and Bennet's exhibitionary complex.<sup>225</sup> It is remarkable that while museums had already switched from exhibiting unusual and extreme objects to displaying representative ones, Petrie seems to lag behind on this development. Consequently, the assertion on 'the firstest with the mostest' is most numerous in Petrie, who speaks of the 'oldest siege piece known', and 'the earliest example of the arch on such a scale', before again almost disappearing in Wheeler. In Layard it is absent, again possibly because of the limited words dedicated to actual archaeology, although he does not use the superlatives associated with the topos in *Nineveh and its remains* either.<sup>226</sup>

The ignorant local population, identified by Silberman and already mentioned in the description of the discovery of a portrait mummy by Petrie, is a steady attendant of the archaeology of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler.<sup>227</sup> As was noted in chapter three, they provide the authors with a narrative *other* against which to contrast their (and 'the West's') knowledge. A splendid illustration of their role in Layard's narrative and their supposed ignorance is the following passage, describing 'a crowd of Arabs' monitoring Layard's investigation of a local mound:

'[they] watched all our movements in the expectation that we were on the point of discovering the treasure of which we were in search, and which they had (...) made up their minds to appropriate at all cost. They were specially [sic] suspicious and excited when we made a sketch, and attempted to take measurements with a measuring tape. They were persuaded that these were magical processes and incantations to find the exact spot where the gold was buried (...)'.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>224</sup> See chapter two, page 28. Ascher, 'Archaeology and the Public Image'.

<sup>225</sup> Bennet, 'The Exhibitionary complex'; Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral vistas*.

<sup>226</sup> Quoted are: Petrie, *Seventy years*, 166 and 169. Further examples in Petrie are: Petrie, *Seventy years*, 108, 188 and 203, Wheeler only once uses the topos, see: Wheeler, *Still digging*, 96. Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*.

<sup>227</sup> See chapter, two page 29.

<sup>228</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 318. Other examples are Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 291, I: 336 and II: 173.

Petrie not only describes the local population as ignorant and dangerous for the archaeological remains, but also judges their ‘inherent’ qualities:

‘[a] curious example of kinds of intelligence occurred with a very bright little boy (...) who had a marvellous memory. I was marking some pottery with two letters, while he looked on; (...) I told him to help. “But I cannot.” I put a pen in his hand and encouraged him to begin; with great tension he drew the upright of E, then tried to make a cross stroke, but broke down crying, completely paralysed by the effort. Every fellah in my work who has been taught to read and write has lost his wits (...). It needs generations of habit to enable English children to pick up reading without being taught.’<sup>229</sup>

Similar passages highlighting an ignorant local populace exist in Wheeler, although here, they are limited to those chapters taking place in imperial contexts (India, and North Africa during the Second World War). Consequently, this imperial context seems to be a prerequisite for these motifs to serve their purpose. Wheeler, for example, expresses his surprise at an Indian student trying to send snow through the post and the disappointment of ‘local Arabs’ raiding a store in the reconstructed Roman theatre of Lepcis at finding only books and photographs.<sup>230</sup> Moral judgement was no stranger to Wheeler either. For instance, when a local Kadi releases prisoners in his honor, he notes: ‘(...) the scallywags inside [the prison] looked no worse than the scallywags outside.’<sup>231</sup>

Finally, the monarch-of-all-I-survey scene identified by Pratt in literature of Victorian discovery also has a small presence in the public autobiographical writings of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler.<sup>232</sup> But, instead of being transposed on the subject of the archaeological investigation in question, it is used in its ‘traditional’ way: in order to describe oriental landscapes, without particular emphasis on the archaeology. Layard uses the motif in describing the Mosque of Abraham in Orfa (ancient Edessa, modern-day Şanlıurfa), but also when reaching Tekrit (modern-day Tikrit) after travelling down the Tigris:

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<sup>229</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 104. Other examples include: Petrie, *Seventy years*, 42-3, 56, 186, and 188. He describes the local population as a danger to archaeology in: Petrie, *Seventy years*, 25, 28, 31, 138.

<sup>230</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 198 and 155.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>232</sup> See chapter two, pages 29-31. Pratt, *Imperial eyes*.

‘(...) [we] came in sight (...) of the first grove of palms on the Tigris (...). Amongst these tall and graceful trees, and beneath their shade, were clusters of orange, citron, and pomegranate trees, in the full blossom of spring. A gentle breeze wafted a delicious odour over the river, with the cooing of innumerable turtledoves. The creaking of the water-wheels, worked by oxen, and the cries of the Arabs on the banks added life and animation to the scene. I thought that I had never seen anything so truly beautiful, and all my “Arabian Nights” dreams were almost more than realised.’<sup>233</sup>

The aestheticization of the landscape, the density of meaning (‘clusters of orange’, ‘gentle breeze’, ‘delicious odour’) and static nature of the image painted by Layard are very obvious here. Petrie provides a similar example: ‘I remarked on the gorgeous sky of crimson dapple on a full blue ground’, contrasting it with the ignorance of a local to this beauty.<sup>234</sup> Wheeler, on the contrary, only sparsely alludes to the motif, but never indulges in the exhaustive description of the type Layard provides.<sup>235</sup> While the motif is in an adapted form still present in contemporary literature, the shift in emphasis away from travel and onto archaeology seems to be responsible for the slow disappearance of the motif in Petrie and Wheeler.

### **Public expectations of the archaeologist and the autobiographies**

Turning to the public image of ‘an archaeologist’ present in the three autobiographies, it is clear that Silberman’s concept of the archaeologist-as-hero is present in all three of them. This makes their lives an adventure story including a central moral and some form of a metaphor of progress.<sup>236</sup> All find it necessary to include one or more chapters on their early, or ‘pre-archaeological’, lives, which are usually led under ‘humble’ beginnings. Layard, for example, while linking his family to ‘many noble and ancient houses’, states that a close ancestor wasted the most part of the family’s fortune.<sup>237</sup> Similarly, Petrie connects his family to numerous famous Britons of the era, without making it seem like he came from a very wealthy family, and Wheeler notes of his father: ‘[h]e was a failure by all standards save his own. I doubt whether until his last years he earned more than £350 a year (...)’, and names his first chapter ‘boyhood in the provinces’.<sup>238</sup> The final phase of the archaeologist-as-hero

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<sup>233</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 325.

<sup>234</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 142.

<sup>235</sup> The only two short examples are: Wheeler, *Still digging*, 73 and 144.

<sup>236</sup> See chapter two, pages 31-33. Silberman, ‘Promised lands and chosen peoples’, 249-262.

<sup>237</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 6. The quote is taken from Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 1.

<sup>238</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 13.

narrative structure, a journey into dangerous and exotic realms for the sake of archaeology, is also omnipresent, and is in all three the public autobiographical writings reinforced by the motifs and topoi identified in chapter three. Chapter two has shown how this narrative structure seems to be embedded in any narrative describing progress of some sort, be it in the discovery of new information on historical periods, as in archaeology, or in any (scientific) narrative describing some sort of progress. Layard and Wheeler's public function as containers for moral characteristics deemed positive by their contemporary society also fits in with their narrative status as hero.<sup>239</sup>

As the first supporting topos of the archaeologist-as-hero narrative structure, the protagonists' zest for action and adventure, is in Layard's *Autobiography* present from the moment the work is opened on the page showing its frontispiece.<sup>240</sup> This image depicts Layard 'in Albanian dress' against a rugged background. Layard himself also highlights his thirst for adventure, stating in volume one, chapter two: '[n]othing could be less attractive to a young man of my character and disposition than the routine work of a solicitor's office.'<sup>241</sup> He attributes his love of travel and adventure to his childhood fascination with the 'Arabian Nights'.<sup>242</sup> Petrie is much more scarce in his emphasis on his want of adventure, although he attributes it to having many heroic relatives and ancestors.<sup>243</sup> Wheeler, again, is very clear of where his love of discovery and adventure comes from: his father. He states, for example: '(...) the afternoons were devoted to our walks together, my father and I, in unfailingly successful search of adventure and new scraps of knowledge.'<sup>244</sup> Most strongly Wheeler accentuates his want of action in the 'war chapters'. At the beginning of chapter three, on the First World War, he describes himself as 'trapped' as an officer in several artillery batteries in Scotland and England, before he 'escaped' to France.<sup>245</sup>

The second topos reinforcing the archaeologist-as-hero narrative structure, an emphasis on the archaeologists' courage and strength, important nineteenth-century (British) moral values, is also thankfully used by Layard, Petrie and Wheeler.<sup>246</sup> For this, Layard cleverly uses the chapters on his early life, illustrating that he already had this courage as a

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<sup>239</sup> See chapter three, pages 48-49 and 56-57 on Layard and Wheeler's public persona.

<sup>240</sup> See chapter two, pages 33. See appendix E for the frontispiece. Duysterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 125-126.

<sup>241</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 62.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., I: 26.

<sup>243</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 3-5. See, for example, the quote in chapter 1 on his grandfather, page 3.

<sup>244</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 16.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>246</sup> See chapter two, pages 33 and 34. Duysterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 126-127.

small child. A great illustration of this can be found in a passage where the three-year old Layard visited the Jardin des Plantes Zoo in Paris: ‘(...) and was there shown a lioness with her cub, which I resolutely took into my arms, to the astonishment and alarm of my nurse, whilst my brother Frederic, terrified at the sight of the animal, set up a lusty howl.’<sup>247</sup> In *Seventy years*, this topos takes on a more practical form, as Petrie describes himself saving a man who fainted while working at the bottom of a well, or working hard despite ‘a feverish cold’.<sup>248</sup> For Wheeler, a chance to showcase his courage and strength obviously comes in his two war chapters, which are massed with episodes detailing these aspects of his person. More remarkable is that in other chapters, he likes using military terms, creating a sense of continuity and making it an important part of his public persona.<sup>249</sup> This results in sentences such as: ‘I was preparing the way for an attack on the legionary fortress at Caerleon.’<sup>250</sup>

Thirdly, again, all three archaeologists point to their heroic physical resilience and strength, especially in terms of resisting illness, tapping into Victorian fears of degeneration and disease.<sup>251</sup> Both Layard as well as Petrie often mention falling ill during their travels and excavations. This can be attributed to a Victorian and Edwardian fear of newly-discovered bacteria (*bacillus anthracis* (anthrax) was discovered in 1876, *tuberculosis bacillus* (tuberculosis) in 1882, and *vibrio cholerae* (cholera) in 1884), bodily invasion, and degeneration, for which Duesterberg also points to popular works such as Bram Stoker’s (1847 - 1912) *Dracula* (1897) and the idea of a ‘mummy’s curse’.<sup>252</sup> Petrie retraces his proneness to falling ill to his childhood, when he could not attend school because of a chronic asthma, while as a baby he was dropped by a nurse.<sup>253</sup> Near the end of *Seventy years*, Petrie summarises that, on average, each year he lost a month to illness. This summary comes after a particularly bad spell which easily falls within the fourth topos supporting the archaeologist as hero: an almost inhuman workload.<sup>254</sup> Wheeler also relates spells of a very heavy workload, in a passage where it can be connected to the final support: doubling work in the face of adversity and crisis. Wheeler remarks in his opening sections: ‘I do not believe in

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<sup>247</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 10.

<sup>248</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 26 and 38.

<sup>249</sup> See chapter three, pages 56 and 57.

<sup>250</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 75.

<sup>251</sup> See chapter two, pages 34 and 35. Johnson, ‘Commentary’, 303.

<sup>252</sup> Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 74-86.

<sup>253</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 4 and 7.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.



much except hard work, which serves as an antidote to disillusion and a substitute for faith.’<sup>255</sup>

The largest divergence of the narrative structure of the archaeologist-as-hero in Layard and Petrie, and to some degree also in Wheeler, is the phase where the archaeologist/hero should, according to Silberman’s formula, undergo demanding professional training under one or more mentors.<sup>256</sup> This may be explained by two factors, one of which was already mentioned in this chapter, while the other is connected to other concepts, motifs and topoi in the following sections, most notably the archaeologist as the self-made man. First of all, the central thread of a professionalising discipline can be discerned here. Layard, and to a lesser extent Petrie, could simply not rely on a large training infrastructure, where Wheeler could (albeit imperfect to his own measures). Secondly, the amateur tradition so embedded in (early) archaeology seems to play its part here, as it did in the chance-discovery topos. This amateur tradition made especially Layard and Petrie their own teachers.

It is this amateur tradition which in chapter two provided the second influential concept around which images of ‘an archaeologist’ seem to have revolved: the self-made man. It was already shown above that all three archaeologists portrayed themselves in their autobiographies as coming from humble beginnings and climbing up both the social and professional ladder on their own. This is perhaps the most recognisable topos of the concept of the self-made man and serves to allow a large public to identify with them.<sup>257</sup>

A textual example can be seen in the crossing of the Tigris passage from Layard’s *Autobiography*, as Layard not only demands protection of his own person, but of all Christians.<sup>258</sup> Thusly, he makes the motif not only a part of his own identity, but also of a collective identity of Englishness which connected to his reading public. a tactic he also employs elsewhere.<sup>259</sup> Similar strategies are employed by Petrie and Wheeler. The latter stresses at the beginning of the first chapter: ‘[t]he interest of this episodic record (...) is that it represents an average life in one of the great formative periods of history’, and notes with regard to his First World War experience: ‘(...) mine was the common lot of my generation’,

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<sup>255</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 11.

<sup>256</sup> See chapter two, pages 31 and 32. Silberman, ‘Promised lands and chosen peoples’.

<sup>257</sup> See chapter two, pages 35 and 36. Duysterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 98 and 211-226.

<sup>258</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 169-171.

<sup>259</sup> See: *Ibid.*, I: 15-16 and I: 23.

which seems a stretch for someone who only served as an officer in the second half of the war and survived.<sup>260</sup>

Another supporting topos of the self-made man adapted from Duesterberg and Paul, having a definite goal in life for which to strive, is also present in all three of the works.<sup>261</sup> Layard's supposed childhood obsession with the Middle East was already noted above, and this is something he continues to fall back on: 'I had never given up the hope of returning on some future day to Mesopotamia and exploring the ruins of Nineveh (...)'.<sup>262</sup> Petrie states his goal even more concrete: '[a] years work in Egypt made me feel it was like a house on fire (...). My duty was that of a salvage man, to get all I could (...)'.<sup>263</sup> Interestingly, but probably not surprisingly, Wheeler's goals take on a more professional form. He states quite clearly that his initial goal was not to be an archaeologist, but to be a painter. According to him, he quickly abandoned this idea during university, instead aspiring to be an archaeologist.<sup>264</sup>

Closely connected to this topos is that of having a continuous life-development towards this goal, another sign of the self-made man.<sup>265</sup> Again, Layard's 'Arabian Nights' springs to mind, but in the first chapters, he also often mentions his taste in the fine arts being developed by his father, his educational progress, supposedly without properly attending school, and visiting Etruscan remains in Italy, to name but a few examples.<sup>266</sup> Exactly the same motif can be found in *Seventy years* and *Still digging*. Petrie extensively describes himself as being taught by his parents and by his own curiosity, emphasising topics which seem to foreshadow an archaeological career, such as the study minerals and ancient coins. On a more limited scale (up to his arrival at university) this strategy is also employed by Wheeler, who also mentions this continuity with regard to the Roman coin from Chandravalli.<sup>267</sup> Special attention with regards to this topos in Petrie's autobiography must go to the title '*Seventy years in Archaeology*'. As *Seventy years* was released in 1932, it places the beginning of Petrie's archaeological career in 1862, when Petrie was nine years old.

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<sup>260</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 11 and 37.

<sup>261</sup> See chapter two, pages 35 and 36. Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 214-216; Paul, "'Werken zoo lang het dag is'", 59-60.

<sup>262</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, II: 152.

<sup>263</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 19.

<sup>264</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 23 and 36.

<sup>265</sup> See chapter two, pages 35 and 36. Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 214-216; Paul, "'Werken zoo lang het dag is'", 59-60.

<sup>266</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 12-13, 21, 25-27 and 35.

<sup>267</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 6-9; Wheeler, *Still digging*, 17 and 26-35.

A notably absent topos is that of the showman, according to Duesterberg to a large extent responsible for the popularity of Belzoni and Schliemann.<sup>268</sup> In a way, of course, the writing of the public autobiographical writings itself may be seen as an expression of showmanship, but only Petrie sometimes refers to his exhibitions in London. Furthermore, especially Wheeler can be said to have been a showman in his public appearances, most notably on television. It is therefore noticeable that not a single passage even alludes to this in the three works, although a sentence like the one quoted above with regard to the ‘attack’ on the legionary fortress of Caerleon do have a hint of showmanship about them.

A topos related to showmanship, the otherwise rational and scientific archaeologist using enthusiasm and imagination to re-create the past and this way contributing to identity-forming processes, is tentatively present in the public autobiographical writings of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler.<sup>269</sup> In Layard, this imagination is especially alluded to with regard to not yet discovered ruins, as, for example, he notes: ‘(...) as I wandered over and amongst these vast mounds, I was convinced that they must cover some vestiges of the great capital, and I felt an intense longing to dig into them.’<sup>270</sup> Petrie’s imagination seems to come into play only when a puzzling situation presents itself during a dig, and he suddenly receives some inspiration to solve the situation.<sup>271</sup>

This way, Petrie and Layard do not so much contribute to the identity-forming processes as seen by Duesterberg, but rather highlight their own skill and intuition (in the case of Petrie), or drive up expectations (in the case of Layard). Wheeler does stick much more closely to the concept as articulated by Duesterberg, bringing to life, for example, the Roman attack on Maiden Castle which reaches an initial climax in the following passage: ‘[f]inally, the gates were demolished and the stone walls which flanked them reduced to the lowly and ruinous condition in which we found them, nineteen centuries later.’<sup>272</sup>

Another element identified in previous chapters and present in all three of the public autobiographical writings is that of Eickhoff and Bloembergen’s archaeologist as social outsider, complemented by Paul’s element of aversion to luxury, which serves as a further

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<sup>268</sup> See chapter two, page 35 and 36, and chapter three, pages 51-54 and 56-57 on the public persona of Petrie and Wheeler.

<sup>269</sup> See chapter two, pages 36 and 37. Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 226 and 243-246.

<sup>270</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 306. Note that this quote can also be connected to the idea of a continuous life-development and that of having a definite goal.

<sup>271</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 96 and 183.

<sup>272</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 107. The description covers most of pages 107-108.

characteristic of the self-made, heroic archaeologist.<sup>273</sup> Layard and Petrie connect this aversion of luxury to their living situations in the field which also contribute to a general idea of adventure, with passages such as: '[s]o for weeks I had to tent in storms, while building walls in faith on top of the mounds, which I roofed with loose boards that let all the wet through', and: '(...) we had to spend the night in a stable, half filled with water, in a miserable Christian village called Nakrwan.'<sup>274</sup>

As often with earlier motifs and topoi, Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler start the trend of presenting themselves as social outsiders in the first chapters of their works. In Layard's *Autobiography*, special emphasis in this context lies on his rebelliousness which places him outside of general high society: '(...) he [Mr Bewsher, his schoolmaster] strongly objected to my political opinions, which were even then very radical and democratic.'<sup>275</sup> Petrie goes even further, stating that since he could not attend school due to his asthma: '(...) I was cut off from knowing any other children, being an only child myself.'<sup>276</sup> A similar mechanism is at work at the end of the first chapter of Wheeler's *Still digging*, when the Wheeler family moves to London. Yet, in this case, Wheeler explicitly makes it his own choice to become, partially at least, a social outsider, choosing not to go to university in Oxford: '[u]nregretting, I turned my back simultaneously upon my schooldays and upon Oxford [where his schoolmaster thought he should go study], and shortly afterwards sat excitedly beside my father in the night train to London, with a singing heart (...)'.<sup>277</sup>

One final element that has yet remained illusive is the connection Storey, and, following him, Duesterberg, supposed between the nineteenth-century archaeologist, and wealth and prosperity.<sup>278</sup> Interestingly, this plays no role in the public autobiographical writings of Petrie and Wheeler, although they sometimes do mention their financial sources. Money, however, plays its most prominent role in the archaeological chapter of Layard's *Autobiography*. This is not surprising, as before and during his excavations in the 1840s, Layard was continuously struggling to procure more money to excavate, which was one of the reasons of his many writings and popular renderings thereof in this period. Furthermore, as was noted in chapter two, the fact that Layard hardly received any recompense for his

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<sup>273</sup> See chapter two, pages 37 and 38. Eickhoff and Bloembergen, 'The colonial archaeological hero reconsidered', 134; Paul, "'Werken zoo lang het dag is'", 54-55.

<sup>274</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 42; Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 301.

<sup>275</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 39.

<sup>276</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 7.

<sup>277</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 24.

<sup>278</sup> See chapter two, page 37. Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture*; Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 32-33 and 271-273.

excavations, the finds of which contributed to the glory of the British Empire, was an important part of his popular image. In the pages 150 and 151 of his *Autobiography*, then, he seems to try to set the record straight once and for all, noting:

‘(...) the greater part of those expenses [of the excavations] were met from my slender means, and by borrowing from my mother, who most generously advanced to me out of her very small income the little she could spare, in order to enable me to continue my work.’<sup>279</sup>

Not only does Layard this way become someone who works hard regardless of pay in the name of science, he connects this to his patriotism and sense of duty: ‘[c]onsequently I might have claimed all that I found in the ruins as my own property. I made over my claims to the British Museum and the nation.’<sup>280</sup> Nonetheless, all this seems to differ from the importance of wealth for the public image of an archaeologist through the close intertwinement of consumption and identity in Victorian Britain Duesterberg takes from Storey, which appears to be only applicable to their specific examples.<sup>281</sup>

### **Elements outside the framework**

As mentioned in the introduction, several motifs and topoi of the image conveyed of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler in their public autobiographical writings fall outside of the elements explored in chapter two, or of their contemporary public image as analysed in chapter three. Three of these elements are present in all three of their works, while the others can only be found in one or two.

The first element present in all three works is a topos emphasising the destruction, chaos, or decay taking place in their area of study before Layard, Petrie, or Wheeler arrive. As with the motif of the ignorant or hostile local population and the monarch-of-all-I-survey scene, this topos seems to be closely connected to an imperial context and the narrative *other*. In Layard’s *Autobiography*, moreover, the topos is disconnected from archaeology and only applied to more or less contemporary (especially when compared to the Assyrian antiquities Layard was excavating) Eastern buildings, such as mosques:

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<sup>279</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, II: 155

<sup>280</sup> Ibid., II: 156. In other areas he continues this emphasis on his sense of duty, for example, see: Layard, *Autobiography*, II: 164.

<sup>281</sup> Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture*; Duesterberg, *Popular receptions of archaeology*, 32-33 and 271-273.

‘[e]ven one of the mosques, with its cupola panelled with painted tiles, forming a most lovely tracery, which had excited my admiration from a distance, proved to be only half a building, the stream having carried away the remainder, leaving exposed a section of the dome and the deserted and ruinous interior.’<sup>282</sup>

This follows Layard’s larger focus on travel, rather than archaeology.

Petrie, on the other hand, is more concerned with archaeology. His general remark that Egypt felt like a ‘house on fire’ has already been noted above, but in other sections and in line with the more general imperial scientific arms-race, he usually connects the topos of destruction to archaeologists from other nationalities, most notably the French and Germans. In order to do this, he often uses small sentences heavy-laden with epithets, such as describing a German colleague as the ‘impending German pillager’, and complaining about ‘French arrogance’.<sup>283</sup> All this reinforces the image of Petrie as the heroic scientific archaeologist. Although in an imperial context, Wheeler’s complaints about chaos and decay centre around the state of the Archaeological Survey of India at the time of his arrival as director-general.<sup>284</sup> The purpose of Wheeler’s accent on the organisational chaos, is, of course, to show with what difficulties he had to deal to get the Survey to somewhat acceptable standards, something which also reinforces his hero-status (Wheeler himself recognises he had not completely succeeded due to the turbulent politics in his time in India.). He amplifies this message by adding that he had to work within political boundaries: ‘[t]he dead wood of obsolete and erroneous ideas had to be uprooted, without (for political reasons) too drastic an uprooting of their elderly exponents. The Devil [Wheeler] had to fight with one arm tied to his side.’<sup>285</sup>

A second element which needs to be mentioned here is what may be called the ‘family and friends-motif’. As was already shortly touched upon in the section of the archaeologist as hero, Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler all start their autobiographies with a traditional extensive description of their ancestors and family. In all cases, they start with the paternal side, followed by the maternal side, and from both sides they identify character-traits they supposedly inherited. This way, they provide readers with a strong hint of what personal

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<sup>282</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 327. See also: I: 342.

<sup>283</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 19, 101 and 192.

<sup>284</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 181-182.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

character traits will play an important role in the rest of the narrative. Furthermore, the family-description serves to illustrate their humble (but not poor) beginnings and thus reinforces the archaeologist-as-hero narrative structure, usually also while highlighting which connections to the higher classes the family had. In the case of Layard, it also reinforces the topos of a continuous life-development, partly explaining his fascination with the Middle East:

‘[m]y uncle and aunt had known Benjamin Disraeli from his boyhood (...). I thought him conceited and unkind because he would not answer the questions about his Eastern travels which I had the impertinence to put to him (...). I looked upon him, moreover, as a great traveller in Eastern lands, which had a mysterious attraction for me (...)’.<sup>286</sup>

Later on in the works, emphasis shifts to which famous friendships Layard, Petrie, Wheeler themselves cultivated. Petrie, for example, mentions visits from fellow archaeologist Augustus Pitt-Rivers (1827 - 1900) and is himself mentioned by Wheeler, who supposedly visited him on his deathbed in 1942.<sup>287</sup> Petrie, finally, has one unique interpretation of the family and friends-motif: highlighting which great archaeologists he trained.<sup>288</sup>

Petrie’s interpretation fits into a larger topos which is most notable in *Seventy years*, while also being present in Layard’s *Autobiography* and *Still digging*: an emphasis on personal achievement and even greatness. Again, this reinforces the archaeologist-as-hero and self-made man narrative structures. In Layard and Petrie’s works, this starts on the title page, listing their honors: ‘Sir A. Henry Layard, G.C.B., D.C.L.’, and ‘Flinders Petrie, Kt., D.C.L., Litt.D., LL.D., PH.D., F.R.S., F.B.A.’.<sup>289</sup> By contrast, Wheeler’s title page only reads ‘Sir Mortimer Wheeler’.<sup>290</sup> In Layard, a foreshadowing of personal achievement again occurs through a motif in the first chapter in which a young Layard correctly determines the up to

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<sup>286</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 47-50.

<sup>287</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 26; Wheeler, *Still digging*, 74-75.

<sup>288</sup> Petrie, *Seventy years*, 203.

<sup>289</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*; Petrie, *Seventy years*. G.C.B. refers to the title Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and D.C.L. to Doctor of Civil Law (in the case of Layard: his solicitor's degree, for Petrie: an honorary degree from Oxford). The rest of Petrie’s titles are: Knight Bachelor, an honorary doctorate from Cambridge (Litt.D.), an honorary doctorate from Edinburgh (LL.D.), an honorary doctorate from Strasbourg (PH.D.), a fellowship of the Royal Society (F.R.S.), and a fellowship of the British Academy (F.B.A.).

<sup>290</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*.

then unknown artist of a painting.<sup>291</sup> An example related to archaeology can be seen in his conviction that the Middle Eastern mounds ‘must cover some vestiges of the great capital’, which he contrasts with contemporary ignorance: ‘[t]here was at that time nothing to indicate the existence of the splendid remains of Assyrian palaces which were covered by the heaps of earth and rubbish.’<sup>292</sup> Petrie’s splaying up of his own achievement is, as the title pages suggest, much less subtle. He often puts in sentences such as ‘(...) and a problem which had troubled scholars for half a century was settled’, following a discovery of his own.<sup>293</sup> Such explicit archaeological boasting is rare in Wheeler, although one or two examples do exist.<sup>294</sup> Rather, it is present mostly in the war chapters, as, for example, Wheeler acquires a vital Baedeker’s guide to Sicily in the run up to the allied invasion of the island.<sup>295</sup> A curious combination of the ignorant local population motif and Wheeler’s arrogance occurs in a scene where he tries to communicate with local Arabs to ascertain whether the Italian army had deserted the village his battalion just encountered: ‘(...) our Arab friends (...) told us in *broken* Italian that the Italians had “gone away in their machines.”’<sup>296</sup> It seems that it was Wheeler’s Italian that was broken, as his amazement at the supposed use of the word machines instead of cars indicates that he did not know the Italian word for car is *macchina*.

Finally, three elements are only present in one or two of the public autobiographical writings. These are: eugenics, in the case of Petrie, the public, in the case of Wheeler, and the professionalisation of the discipline of archaeology in both Petrie and Wheeler. The latter is an element which has been an important background for several elements identified earlier on in this chapter. The passages identified here, therefore, are exclusively those in which the authors directly emphasise the professionalisation of archaeology in their career. This accent in Petrie, which is connected to his focus on personal achievement, has already been mentioned: the vast list of honours he places on his title page, nearly all of which are doctorates of some kind or other. Wheeler highlights the development more directly in the preface of *Still digging*: ‘(...) the period has been one of transition in the history of archaeological craftsmanship. (...) [F]or today archaeology touches all manner of skills and inquiries which were alien to it in my youth.’<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> Layard, *Autobiography*, I: 37.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, I: 306.

<sup>293</sup> Quoted in Petrie, *Seventy years*, 38. See also: Petrie, *Seventy years*, 139, 140 and 257.

<sup>294</sup> See: Wheeler, *Still digging*, 192.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, 149. Emphasis mine.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.



Wheeler does not seem to claim any credit for the professionalisation of the discipline, this is in contrast to the public attention for archaeology, as he states in his final chapter:

‘(...) an age when the press and the B.B.C. are clamouring for archaeological news. But it is necessary to remember that that clamour is a relatively recent phenomenon, due in part (I like to think) to the very effort of which I am speaking.’<sup>298</sup>

The effort he refers to here is what he calls the ‘missionary aspect’ of his archaeology, basing it in public opinion.<sup>299</sup> Earlier in *Still digging*, however, he is much more reserved about his own contribution to public archaeology, attributing the development to the *Daily Mail*’s sponsorship of George Herbert, fifth Earl of Carnarvon’s (1866 - 1923) excavation of the tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922.<sup>300</sup> Considering his present image as a public archaeologist, it is remarkable how little emphasis Wheeler puts on this aspect of his life, limiting himself to the passages mentioned above and a passage on the public at the Maiden Castle excavation.<sup>301</sup> His role as public archaeologist, then, seems not to have needed emphasis. The same could be said for Petrie and eugenics: Hardly any literal mention exists in *Seventy years*, as Petrie only tentatively shows he is a supporter of the theory: ‘[t]he subject for my address therefore was our relations with races whom we controlled, and I invited some colonial administrators to come and state their knowledge.’<sup>302</sup> Similarly, Petrie only mentions Galton in the context of a visiting friend, and not as an important theorist. For some reason, then, Petrie did not consider it necessary to accentuate eugenics. This may be because eugenics and Petrie for large audiences were already closely connected through his popular exhibitions and lectures, although giving a definite reason is impossible.

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<sup>298</sup> Wheeler, *Still digging*, 231.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid., 231.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., 75-76.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., 104. See chapter three, pages 56 and 57.

<sup>302</sup> See chapter three, pages 51-54. Petrie, *Seventy years*, 157. See also his judgment on the local population.

## Conclusion

All in all, several observations can be made following the comparison of the framework provided in chapters two and three and the actual public autobiographical writings of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler. From the passages mentioned, it is clear that the professionalisation and formation of archaeology as a discipline had a large impact on the discursive structures surrounding popular images of the practice of archaeology. Mentions of excavation technique become more prevalent, while at the same time adventure slowly exits, even though luck still is presented as an important archaeological ‘skill’. Another constant are mentions of the ignorance of the local population and their danger to archaeology, something which is closely connected to the imperial context in which Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler worked, providing them with a narrative *other*, and adding to their status as hero. The monarch-of-all-I-survey is a similar imperial motif, which in the works here examined is only used in its traditional sense and is never transposed on ‘archaeological landscapes’. This motif diminishes in regularity from Layard onwards due to a shift in emphasis from travel and to archaeology. Finally, the larger mentions of best-preserved, first etc. finds in *Seventy years* can be explained by Petrie lagging behind on the larger development of large-scale exhibitions and the exhibitionary complex taking place during the second half of the nineteenth century and consequently his use of a discourse more prevalent before this period.

The public image of archaeologists in general and of themselves in particular Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler convey in their public autobiographical writings corresponds to many elements identified in chapters two and three as the ideological ‘I’s on macro- and micro-level. All three in essence follow the narrative structure of the hero-tale, starting from humble beginnings and ending in great achievement after a dangerous journey, while attributing their want of action and adventure to certain ancestors. The fact that only Layard and Petrie highlight their own physical resilience, mainly in terms of falling ill, while this topos is absent in Wheeler, can be explained by the topos’ close connection to the Victorian and Edwardian idea of the danger of contact with the *other* and the consequent fear of infection and degeneration.

By the time Wheeler, who himself thanks to the professionalisation of archaeology worked in slightly more comfortable situations than Layard and Petrie, published *Still digging*, this fear had disappeared from the public’s mind. This may also be the main reason that Wheeler does not emphasise his courage and strength in an archaeological context, but only in the context of the two world wars: by the 1950s, archaeology had become to be seen as a relatively safe discipline. This contrasts to Layard, who again uses his family to

foreshadow his courageousness, and Petrie, who emphasises his courage in the context of actual excavations. The fact that the important phase of training is not present in either of the works may be explained by the lack of possibilities Layard and Petrie had to actually be archaeologically trained, as the discipline was only just forming. Yet, Wheeler, for whom such possibilities did exist, in the form of a university education, still downplays the influence his academic training had on his later work and presents himself as a self-made man. The amateur tradition in archaeology seen by Johnson and Duesterberg therefore seems to have been very influential.

The most prominent expression of this amateur tradition is the idea of the archaeologist as self-made man, something to which Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler all conform and which makes them highly identifiable for a large audience. Furthermore, they all attempt to make themselves even more identifiable: Layard by regularly accentuating his role *as Englishman* in the Middle East, making his own identity collective, while Petrie and Wheeler accentuate their ‘average lives’. All three ‘self-made’ archaeologists also regularly repeat having a goal in life. For Layard this was a childhood obsession, for Petrie a calling after seeing the state of archaeology in Egypt, and for Wheeler a late calling at the end of university, this way emphasising that he also had hardly had any proper training. The childhood foreshadowing is a tactic gladly used by all three to highlight their continual life-development by naming skills which could later help them in their archaeological career and which they acquired at a young age. Finally, literal mentions of showmanship are absent in Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler.

Of the smaller elements, enthusiasm and imagination, and the archaeologist as social outsider can both be found in the works examined. Only Wheeler uses his imagination and emotionality as might be expected on the basis of Duesterberg’s description: as a way of bringing the past to life. Petrie and Layard, on the other hand, use the topos as a way to emphasise their own skill (Petrie), or to drive up expectations of what excavations would find (Layard). Regarding their status as social outsiders, all archaeologists use the early chapters to set the tone, as in them, Layard highlights his rebelliousness, while Wheeler makes it clear that it was his conscious choice not to follow the beaten track to Oxford. A final element, an emphasis on wealth, is only present in Layard’s *Autobiography*. For Layard, this was to be expected, as the fact that he paid for his excavations himself and was only incidentally paid by the British government or the British Museum was already a part of his contemporary public image. He himself, apparently, felt this was not widely known, and it was something he wanted to set straight once and for all in his *Autobiography*.

Two of the three elements identified outside the frameworks of chapters two and three, the topos of destruction and chaos and of personal achievement, are closely connected. The third, the topos of family and friends, has already been mentioned above and is generally used to set up character traits which will become important in the rest of the work and putting an emphasis on their humble, but usually well-connected, beginnings. For Petrie and Wheeler, the accent on destruction and chaos in Egypt and India respectively serves to amplify their own achievements in these countries. Layard, on the other hand, uses the topos of destruction as a means to illustrate the decay of the Middle East, contributing to its otherness. More literal passages highlighting their personal achievements can be found in the form of foreshadowing in the early chapters in the case of Layard, very explicitly throughout the work in the case of Petrie, and mostly in the war chapters in the case of Wheeler.

Finally, it is remarkable that only Wheeler mentions the professionalisation that has taken place in archaeology in the period of ca. 1850 - 1950, and that the attention he has for his own role in the popularisation of archaeology can be called underwhelming. An explanation for this is hard to find, although it might be that an emphasis on the role Wheeler had in developing public archaeology was not necessary as it was a very large part of his contemporary public image. A similar situation presents itself with regard to Petrie and eugenics: no literal mentions exist in *Seventy years*, despite the role it played in Petrie's work and public image. Again, this may be because the theory of eugenics held a large scientific influence into the 1950s and it was therefore not as exceptional as we consider it today, yet a multitude of other explanations exist.

## Conclusion

As all scholarly research, the analyses conducted in chapter four has debts to a large body of earlier work. Amongst these influences are three central theoretical developments in the study and writing of autobiography as outlined in the first chapter of this research. First of all, there is the unique concept of public autobiographical writing as proposed in chapter one as a biographical narrative written by its subject and intended to be published, or at least read by a large audience. This concept provides a clearly delineated area of study, of which the autobiographies of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler, three pioneers of British archaeology well known to a large public, are a part. Secondly, the transformation of autobiographies as acts of self-writing to acts of self-making starting around 1800 and the fact that this was identified by contemporary scholars made clear that from that point onward, the authors of public autobiographical writings could exert a significant amount of control over how they were publicly viewed. The final development resulted in the middle position which has arrived after the rise of the postmodernist, purely fictional, approach to autobiography. This middle position, embracing both the strong influence of discourses on ideas on the self and identity, and the individual agency of the author within these discourses, offers a largely successful attempt at breaking down the wall constructed between history and autobiography after an initial historic interest sparked by Dilthey.

This individual agency of the narrating 'I' has been the most important background-concept in this research. The three archaeologists all possessed a historical 'I' from which they could select elements to include in their public autobiographical writing, resulting in a specific narrated 'I', narrative identity, or, in the words of Eakin: extended self. Yet, as was shown, the author's agency in this selection process is constricted by the ideological 'I's and conceptual selves available. And, in turn, these ideological 'I's and conceptual selves are embedded in discursive structures of all sizes.

In this research I have divided these ideological 'I's in three categories: those concerned (1) with the practice of archaeology, (2) with general public images of archaeologists (macro-level ideological 'I's), and (3) with specific public images of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler (micro-level ideological 'I's). Furthermore, it was shown that these ideological 'I's are policed by society in general, resulting in continuously changing ideological 'I's and conceptual selves. So, in short: Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler, consciously or unconsciously, did not only have to take into account what they themselves wanted to tell the addressee and consumers of their public autobiographical writings (something which, of

course, is also embedded in and dependent on larger discursive structures), but also what their consumers considered acceptable and believable stories of archaeological discovery.

These conscious and unconscious choices have been the main subject of this research which has also tried to explain these in a larger context of cultural changes. A methodology developed for the analysis of the master narratives of nineteenth-century nation states proved a fruitful tool for such an analysis. The nation states' slow-changing master narratives provide a parallel for the narrative structures of the archaeologist as hero and as self-made man encountered amongst the macro-level ideological 'I's. These two narrative structures are both supported and complemented by a range of motifs, topoi, and epitheta from both micro- and macro-level ideological 'I's.

The exploration of macro-level ideological 'I's regarding the practice of archaeology and 'the archaeologist' in the period of ca. 1850 - 1950 in chapter two provided the first elements to which the public autobiographical writings of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler needed to relate. In this period, the practice of archaeology was closely connected to technical advances, spectacular finds, and an amateur tradition emphasising luck. At the same time, and probably due to the professionalisation of the discipline, adventure seems to slowly have become less prominent. Two other elements were closely connected to the imperial contexts in which early archaeology took place: the ignorant local population, and the monarch-of-all-I-survey motif affiliated with landscape description.

The ideological 'I's of 'an archaeologist' in this period centred around two narrative structures, often used together: the archaeologist-as-hero and the archaeologist as self-made man. Both narrative structures serve a distinct purpose: making the protagonist identifiable in the case of the latter, and embedding the idea of (scientific) progress in the narrative in the case of the former. Furthermore, they are usually supported by a range of motifs and topoi, such as an emphasis on the archaeologist's zest for action and adventure, his courage, physical strength, abilities as showman and continuous life-development.

Other significant elements of this framework somewhat independent from the two main narrative structures included the importance of imagination and enthusiasm, a close connection to wealth and the idea of the archaeologist as social outsider and eccentric. Finally, all macro-level ideological 'I's can be tied into a larger social background which cast the archaeologist as a man playing an important role in individual and collective identity formation, and the search for the unfamiliar side of the self and other, while stemming from an amateur background.

A further part of an analytical framework of ideological 'I's was provided by the exploration of micro-level ideological 'I's of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler in chapter three. In the case of Layard, this was a public image largely 'invented' by his aunt, Sara Austen. In this public image, Layard became a container for all kinds of positive Victorian character traits, with an emphasis on his success despite his 'lowly' class. For Petrie, eugenics was the common thread of his public image, even permeating in all of his scientific work and exhibitions. The development of his yearly exhibitions from a part of the London Season, aimed at potential financiers, to exhibitions aiming at a large public from the moment he became professor, was also noted. Finally, Wheeler's contemporary public image was based heavily on his war-experience, culminating in the idea of 'professor and brigadier combined'. As with Layard, yet to a lesser extent, Wheeler also became a container for all kinds of positive character traits such as persistence and dynamism.

The analyses of chapter four showed that elements identified in the exploration of macro-level ideological 'I's regarding the practice of archaeology were all present in the public autobiographical writings under scrutiny. They highlight the development of archaeology as a professional discipline and often emphasise the imperial context in which it took place. The professionalisation is clearly visible in the development of archaeology presented from Layard, where techniques are absent and a large emphasis lies on adventurous travel, to Wheeler, who often mentions technique and where adventure is much less prevalent. In contrast, Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler often point to the importance of luck in archaeology. At the same time, the imperial context is in all three works very prevalent, especially in the form of the ignorant and dangerous local population and, mainly in Layard and Petrie, the use of the traditional landscape description in the form of the monarch-of-all-I-survey scene. Finally, the emphasis Petrie puts on the extremities of his finds tie in with him using a trope omnipresent in museums until ca. 1850.

Turning to the personal images of Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler present in their works, it has been made clear that the two narrative structures of the archaeologist-as-hero and as self-made man constitute their basic structure, showing that these are not formulas only later imposed on their lives by internalist historians of archaeology. This is not to say that the authors use this narrative structure in an identical fashion, showing that the framework presented earlier is just that: a description of general trends which are expressed differently according to the context. For example, it was shown that Petrie and Layard emphasise how often they fell ill, tapping into Victorian and Edwardian fears of infection and degeneration, while Wheeler only mentions his courage and strength in the context of his wartime service.

Similarly, Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler use different tactics to make themselves identifiable. Layard resorts to an appeal to his Englishness, making him a representation of all English, while Petrie and Wheeler both stress that they had had an 'average life'. This diversity has also been shown in other elements, such as the importance of imagination and enthusiasm combined with rationalism, and the emphasis on wealth. Wheeler is the only one using his imagination and enthusiasm to 'reconstruct' the past, as Petrie and Layard use it to emphasise their skill or to drive up expectations of what is to be found. At the same time, the emphasis on personal wealth can only tentatively be found in Layard. This stems from a confusion among the general public regarding who financed his excavations. A confusion which was as old as Layard's excavations themselves. Further, it is clear that all archaeologists examined present themselves, consciously or unconsciously, as social outsiders.

Finally, several elements outside of the framework came to the fore, most notably he topoi of chaos and destruction, of personal achievement, and of family and friends. As was shown, again, Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler are diverse in their interpretation of some, as Layard uses the decay of the East to add to its *otherness*, while Petrie and Wheeler use it to amplify their own achievement. At the same time they all are concerned with highlighting their own personal achievement and use their family and friends to foreshadow their later career and emphasise their humble beginnings. Lastly, the underwhelming amount of attention for public archaeology, in the case of Wheeler, and eugenics, in the case of Petrie, might point to their widely known roles as proponents of these practices and theories.

All in all, it is notable that Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler only occasionally 'correct' their pre-existing public image. The elements of this public persona can usually be connected to the macro-level narrative structures of the archaeologist-as-hero and as self-made-man, and other important macro-level topoi such as luck, an ignorant local population, and amateurism. They initially present the practice of archaeology as an adventurous and dangerous discovery of the past in exotic places in which luck plays a large role, and only slowly technique becomes a more important topic, while the role of adventure diminishes. All these developments, which go hand-in-hand, should be connected to the professionalisation of archaeology which took place during the period in which the public autobiographical writings were written, and with the imperial context in which much archaeology took place.

Within this practice of archaeology, Layard, Petrie, and Wheeler cast themselves as the self-made, heroic, imaginative, explorers of an area of chaos and destruction. In this area they — and implicitly the British Empire, 'the West', or 'Western Science' — will create order. This area, the unknown past, still provokes similar reactions in both archaeologist:



‘[y]ou do it [become an archaeologist] because you are passionate about the yet unknown, those gaps in the history books’, and larger public alike: ‘[i]n the British press (...) these [media representations of archaeology] are still founded to a surprising degree on nineteenth-century images and stereotypes (...)’.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> ‘The secret life of an archaeologist: soil in your sandwiches and sexism on sites’, *The Guardian* (25 April 2016) <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/25/secret-life-archaeologist-soil-sandwiches-sexism-sites>>; Ascherson, ‘Archaeology and the British media’, 145.

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Robin Hoeks

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*Vanity Fair* (28 August 1869).





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