

Amara Thornton

Social Networks in the History of Archaeology. Placing Archaeology in its Context

Summary

This paper explores the value of social networks in the history of archaeology, combining them with biography and prosopography to produce a practical method for examining the development of the discipline, and an alternative to the traditional history of archaeology narrative. It presents broad categories for the interpretation and visualization of social networks, illuminated by case studies focusing on linked political and archaeological networks in early British Mandate Palestine and Transjordan. Social networks are a tool for understanding the historical context of archaeological work, and can be utilized to explore the role of men and women, politicians, soldiers, artists, architects, funders and others, in the excavation, interpretation, presentation and reception of archaeology.

Keywords: Archaeology; social networks; biography; prosopography; history; British Mandate Palestine and Transjordan.

Der Artikel untersucht die Bedeutung von sozialen Netzwerken in der Geschichte der Archäologie. Im Rückgriff auf biographische und prosopographische Ansätze soll eine geeignete Methode zur Untersuchung der Entwicklung des Fachs herausgearbeitet werden und eine Alternative zu den traditionellen Erzählungen in der Archäologiegeschichte. Anhand einer Fallstudie über die miteinander verbundenen politischen und archäologischen Netzwerke in den frühen britischen Mandaten Palästina und Transjordanien werden allgemeine Kategorien für die Interpretation und Visualisierung von sozialen Netzwerken diskutiert. Die Analyse sozialer Netzwerke gibt Einblick in den historischen Kontext archäologischer Arbeit und erlaubt es, die Rollen von Männern und Frauen, Politikern, Soldaten, Künstlern, Architekten und Sponsoren bei der Ausgrabung, Interpretation, Präsentation und Rezeption von Archäologie zu untersuchen.

Keywords: Archäologie; soziale Netzwerke; Biographie; Prosopographie; Geschichte; britische Mandatsgebiete Palästina und Transjordanien.

Thanks are due to the Syndics of Cambridge University for permission to quote from their archives, Ian Carroll and Rachael Sparks (UCL Institute of Archaeology), Felicity Cobbing (Palestine Exploration Fund), Silvia Krapwiko (Israel Antiquities Authority), Gisela Eberhardt, Fabian Link, Andrew Garrard, Tim Schadla-Hall, John Thornton, Linda Heywood and the British Academy.

I Introduction

In March 1929, Agnes Conway arrived in Jerusalem. She planned to survey Petra, a monumental Nabataean site in the British Mandate Territory of Transjordan. Agnes Conway was a trained historian and museum curator; an alumna (sans degree) of Newnham College Cambridge. She had been associated with the British School at Rome, and a student at the British School at Athens.¹ Struck with Petra after a 1927 trip there she was given the opportunity to investigate the site for herself, using her father's connections with the wealthy Mond family to secure funding for a two month excavation at Petra. The Chief Inspector of Antiquities in Transjordan, George Horsfield, had granted her permission to work at the site; the funds she raised enabled them to conduct the first 'scientific' excavations at Petra.²

Agnes Conway and George Horsfield's 1929 excavation at Petra incorporated a number of interconnected networks centering in London and Jerusalem. Piecing together these networks reveals the historical context of archaeology in British Mandate Palestine and Transjordan. They highlight archaeology's position within the political administrations in London and Jerusalem and, through the role of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (BSAJ), they played a pivotal role in forming a social and intellectual hub for Palestine and Transjordan that was considered politically valuable by Mandate, Foreign Office and Colonial Office officials. Hitherto neglected contributors to archaeological research are exposed through visualizations of the networks using three broad relationship categories, personal, transactional and organizational, linking people to each other and to related organizations or institutions.

As Shapin and Thackray noted, drawing a definitive framework around the idea of a 'scientist' often eliminates those people who shaped a discipline without directly engaging in it as a full-time occupation.³ MacLeod's examination of political-scholarly network in relation to government grants to the Royal Society is a particularly useful example of the benefits of extending prosopographical studies outside disciplinary boundaries.⁴

1 See Evans 1966; Thornton 2011b.

2 See Conway, A. 30 August, 9 September 1928. Diary Entries. Cambridge University Library: MSS Add 7676/Z30. George Horsfield and Agnes Con-

way were married in Jerusalem on 28 January 1932; Thornton 2011a.

3 Shapin and Thackray 1974, 3–4.

4 MacLeod 1971.

Lines must be drawn, for practicality of scope if nothing else, but they need not be disciplinary. In order to examine a social network in any comprehensive sense sponsors, patrons, friends, spouses, teachers, families, clubmates should all be considered; this information builds up a more complex picture and contributes to reconstructing and interpreting the historical context. In this way, the history of archaeology moves beyond the still popular narrative of great excavators, sites and objects, towards a more nuanced understanding of archaeology within social, cultural, political and economic arenas. It presents a broader view of contributors to the archaeological field, incorporating individuals such as politicians, funders and administrators amongst a host of archaeologists, artists, architects, assistants, volunteers and labourers present on site, as recent scholarship on the history of Egyptology and the history of the British School at Athens have shown.⁵

While many prosopographical and biographical studies in the history of archaeology focus on intellectual and disciplinary history and the reception and impact of research, the following examination derives and evolves from the author's doctoral thesis, which uses these three relationship types to examine the role and value of social networks in analyzing the social history and professionalization of British archaeology in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East, and its links to institutions and movements both within and outside the scholarly community, between 1870 and 1939.⁶ This article first presents a brief overview of the value of a combined social network, prosopography and biography approach to evaluating archaeology's impact beyond the discipline.⁷ It then discusses the broad framework for archaeology in Mandate Palestine and Transjordan, highlighting the political, intellectual and social organizations involved.⁸ It next applies the method to analyze the contexts of the BSAJ government grant and the 1929 Petra excavations as case studies, examining the function of small-scale social networks in more detail. It concludes by reflecting on the value of studying these networks for interpreting and analyzing the impact of archaeology in non-academic settings.

2 Combining social networks, prosopography and biography

2.1 Social networks for historical analysis

Networks have become an increasingly popular medium of exploration. In the past two decades network analysis and prosopography, the study of a group of people linked by

5 E. g. Bierbrier and Naunton 2012; Quirke 2010; Gill 2011.

6 This examination derives and evolves from the author's doctoral thesis of 2012, Thornton 2011a.

7 This is based on the methodology presented in Thornton 2011a, ch. 1.

8 See also Gibson 1999; Thornton 2011a; Thornton 2012a.

common interests, have been used to reconstruct historical intellectual, political and business networks in a variety of contexts.⁹ A wide range of scholars draw on published sources for prosopographical data and use quantitative methods to explore historical periods or themes.¹⁰ Many of these quantitative methods incorporate complex mathematical models to produce almost impenetrable visualizations of a particular network over a period of time.

As Verbruggen outlines in his overview of the subject, using social networks for the purposes of historical reconstruction continues to be problematic for historians given the fragmentary nature of historical archival material.¹¹ Considering the problems inherent in using published prosopographical lists with organized, assembled, predetermined categories,¹² as Schlanger discusses,¹³ assessing archival documentary material, though not without its problems such as organization, manipulation or removal by owners, executors or archivists, can allow researchers to deepen their understanding of historical context and complicate, change or enhance the narratives presented in published sources.

Social network analysis and actor-network theory, as outlined notably by Bruno Latour,¹⁴ provide useful *practical* tools for exploring and understanding a network in a given historical context. These methods also, crucially, enable a researcher to look beyond the boundaries of a field, subject or geographical area.¹⁵ Emirbayer and Goodwin outline a number of key terms in social network analysis that influenced the research presented here.¹⁶ They define network analysis as a means of “investigating social structure”, and the social network as sets of relations in that structure linking “actors” (e. g. groups, organizations, individuals) together.

Their work stresses the importance of understanding the ties between people and organizations, and the need to include a broad definition of “actors” in any analysis of social networks.¹⁷ Stevenson and Greenberg provide further insight into investigating social networks.¹⁸ Their research presents a valuable case for a nuanced understanding of strength and weakness in ties, as outlined initially by Mark Granovetter.¹⁹ Additionally, they highlight the complexities of personal agency within what they term a “political opportunity structure”, in which the actor on the “periphery” of a network is able to use his or her position on the edge of power to act quasi-independently of the “central” network; conversely an actor in the “center” of the network might have less ability to act due to ties within the established framework.²⁰ The center versus periphery theme

9 E. g. Brayshay, Cleary, and Selwood 2005; Keats-Rohan 2007.
10 Bearman 1993; Rosenthal et al. 1985; Verbruggen 2007.
11 Verbruggen 2007, 579–581.
12 See Kay 2007.
13 Schlanger 2002, 130.

14 Latour 2005.
15 Thornton 2011a.
16 Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994, 1414 and 1417.
17 Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994, 1417.
18 Stevenson and Greenberg 2000.
19 Granovetter 1973.
20 Stevenson and Greenberg 2000, 651–657

is particularly important for the history of archaeology, which during this period (like today) was considered to be outside the political sphere despite its place within the administrative framework.²¹

2.2 Prosopography, biography and the history of archaeology

The history of archaeology has only recently begun to have a notable historiography of its own, in which archives are used alongside published sources as essential tools for exploring disciplinary development.²² Biography is an unceasingly popular method for exploring archaeology's past,²³ as it has been in the history of science.²⁴ As Kaeser notes, alongside biography prosopography is also valuable.²⁵ Both prosopography and collective biography²⁶ have been used in various ways for charting the history of archaeology, and in particular have enabled more detailed explorations of the history of women in archaeology²⁷ and the history of specific sub-disciplines such as Egyptology²⁸ and Romano-British archaeology²⁹, or institutions such as the British School at Athens.³⁰ However, prosopographical compilations tend to focus on the archaeologists themselves; few branch out of the 'scientific community,' as Shapin and Thackray urge so powerfully in their 1974 investigation into nineteenth century science.³¹

Identifying relationships can circumvent artificial borders such as geographical, disciplinary and gender-based themes in the history of archaeology.³² Padgett and Ansell's exploration into the role of the Medici family in the fifteenth century identifies nine different kinds of connection, including economic, political and personal links.³³ They also acknowledge that strength and weakness within these ties is determined through inductive reasoning, highlighting the importance of the researcher's interpretation in social network analysis.³⁴ For the research presented here, three broad categories of relationship were identified and defined (see Tab. 1).

These categories, represented by three different colors, enable illustrative visualizations³⁶ of social networks to be created, enhancing the prosopographical and biographi-

21 Thornton 2011a.

22 E. g. Schlanger and Nordbladh 2008; P. J. Smith 2009; Gill 2011.

23 E. g. Kaeser 2008; Givens 2008 [1992]; Murray 1999b.

24 See Söderqvist 2013.

25 Kaeser 2008, 13.

26 E. g. Murray 1999a.

27 E. g. Cohen and Sharp-Joukowsky 2004; Díaz-Andreu and Sørensen 1998.

28 Bierbrier and Naunton 2012.

29 Wallace 2002.

30 Gill 2008, Gill 2011.

31 Thornton 2011a. – *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (Bierbrier and Naunton 2012) includes funders, politicians and military officers particularly interested in Egyptology. See also Fabian Link's article on the German Castle Society network, which explores the political and economic contributions to this circle (Link 2009).

32 Thornton 2011a.

33 Padgett and Ansell 1993, 1265–1266.

34 Padgett and Ansell 1993, 1274–1275, n. 28.

35 Padgett and Ansell 1993, 1266 n. 16.

36 The visualizations here (Figs. 1–4) have been created by the author; distances between 'actors' are used for clarity only.

<p>Organisational</p>	<p>Formal or informal membership in an organisation. A relationship of participation, rather than merely a paid service, it differs from a transactional relationship (defined below). Examples include: serving on a board of trustees, organising committee or council; election to a learned society or club; being an employee within an organisation.</p>
<p>Transactional</p>	<p>The exchange or transfer of resources, knowledge and/or connections. Examples include: sponsorship/funding, employment/training, logistical/practical assistance.</p>
<p>Personal</p>	<p>Friendship or familial relationship. As Padgett and Ansell have explained, this type of relationship can be difficult to define.³⁵ They chose to assess such relationships conservatively; the same approach has been adopted here.</p>

Tab. 1 Categories of relationships, adapted from Thornton 2011a.

cal elements of the social history of archaeology. While they could be further subdivided as Padgett and Ansell’s work demonstrates, the simplicity of the three broad categories helps to create meaningful visualizations, which in turn may lead to more detailed exploration and analysis within archival or published sources. Additionally, categories may be juxtaposed if necessary – for example, **blue** transactional relationship lines and **green** organizational relationship lines could highlight two different facets of an individual’s connection to an organization. Being paid for a job is a **transactional** relationship, while contributing to the management or administration of an organization or group is an **organizational** relationship.³⁷

The contexts of the BSAJ grant and Conway and Horsfield’s 1929 Petra excavation provide examples of how a combined prosopographical, biographical and social network method can be used to investigate the history of archaeology in British Mandate Palestine and Transjordan. This method exposes a number of key players; some fit within the stringent definition of a ‘scientific’ discipline, others do not. Using the three relationship categories identified above, the following sections will reconstruct this historical network, simultaneously revealing the political, social and economic context of archaeological work in British Mandate Palestine and Transjordan.

³⁷ Thornton 2011a.

3 London, Palestine and Transjordan: Archaeological and political networks

Examining the organizational networks involved in the management of archaeology in Mandate Palestine and Transjordan reveals how archaeology fitted within local and imperial contexts. By assessing these groups in London and Jerusalem it is possible to see the impact of archaeology across national borders, and how decisions made by a small network of men and government departments in London affected a larger group of archaeologists, officials, expats and local communities in the Mandates. For the most part analysis of archaeology and its impact continues to remain outside of or marginal to the interests of historians of Mandate Palestine and Transjordan.³⁸ However, Shimon Gibson's 1999 article on British archaeological institutions in Mandate Palestine and Nadia Abu el-Haj's exploration of archaeology's role in the development of the state of Israel both specifically address this gap.³⁹ A special issue of *Public Archaeology* also examines the interplay between archaeology and heritage tourism in Mandate Palestine and Transjordan from a number of angles.⁴⁰

The early post-war period (1919–1920) is a critical one in the history of archaeology in the Holy Land. Systems were set in place for managing archaeological exploration, excavation, research and conservation that governed the way archaeological activity was conducted in the following decades. As the First World War drew to a close archaeological groups in London and Jerusalem began to organize the management of antiquities and conservation of archaeological sites, developing the examples of antiquities services in Cairo and Constantinople to meet this new administration.⁴¹ There were several groups involved in constructing a management system for archaeological activity in post-war Palestine. The London-based Archaeological Joint Committee (AJC) and the Jerusalem-based International Archaeological Advisory Board (IAAB) provided advice, while the Department of Antiquities of Palestine (DAP), the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (BSAJ) and the Pro-Jerusalem Society (PJS) actively promoted archaeological exploration in various forms and formed significant social, intellectual and political spaces for the promotion and discussion of archaeological work (see Fig. 1).⁴²

By the end of 1918, the Foreign Office had solicited the British Academy to establish the Archaeological Joint Committee (AJC).⁴³ The AJC brought together representatives of London-based museums, learned societies and British schools of archaeology with

38 E. g. Abū Nūwār 2006; Adelson 1994; El-Eini 2006; Fromkin 1989; Kedourie 2004; Salib 1993; Wasserstein 1978; Wilson 1987)

39 Gibson 1999; Abu El-Haj 2001.

40 Thornton 2012b.

41 Gibson 1999; Thornton 2011a; Thornton 2012a.

42 Gibson 1999; Thornton 2011a.

43 Kenyon 1920, 5; Gibson 1999, 128.

interests in the region to advise on archaeological policies.⁴⁴ The Director of the British Museum and President of the British Academy, Frederic Gerard Kenyon, was the AJC Chairman.⁴⁵ With the AJC's formation a government-sanctioned advisory board was born lobbying for archaeology and providing scientific expertise for a government embarking on a new era of imperial expansion through the Mandate system.

The AJC's remit was publicly presented in the British Museum's 1920 handbook, *How to Observe in Archaeology*, which drew together expertise on archaeological methods, interpretations and antiquities legislation for the ordinary educated traveller embarking on a journey to "the Near and Middle East" – defined as Greece, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. By 1929, the AJC was highlighting its place as the middleman between the academy and government and at the forefront of the archaeological sector. In a second edition of *How to Observe* their approved "Proposals for the Administration of Antiquities in Mandated and Similar Countries", dated November 1921, laid out principles for (Western) archaeological exploration and research. These included the need to encourage local contributions to and support for archaeological research, the creation of museums in country, controlling (though not ending) the division of antiquities between excavators and government, and managing the provision of excavation permissions to restrict unskilled or untrained persons from access to sites.⁴⁶

Inside Whitehall,⁴⁷ in 1919 George Nathaniel Curzon became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, heading the Foreign Office. Curzon was deeply interested in expanding British educational activity overseas and in encouraging and harnessing British expatriate communities' ties to Britain.⁴⁸ Supporting British archaeological research in Palestine fitted into these plans; by 1920 Curzon was also lobbying for support for Britain to manage protection of Palestine's standing monuments.⁴⁹ Unlike Britain's involvement in India, Egypt and Sudan, Palestine presented a different kind of administration, dictated by the League of Nations Mandate Agreement. Before and during the War, the Foreign Office had managed British interests in "foreign countries" such as Egypt, Greece, Italy and the Ottoman Empire⁵⁰, and the India Office managed the British Raj in India, as well as Mesopotamia (Iraq) after the war until the British Mandate was firmly established there. With the Mandate for Palestine and Mesopotamia in hand, from 1922 an

44 See Kenyon 1920, 5. *How to Observe in Archaeology* (1920, 1929) contains a complete list of organizations represented on the AJC. The AJC is also referred to in documents as the Joint Archaeological Committee.

45 Thornton 2011a.

46 Hill 1929, 112–114.

47 The term "Whitehall", deriving from the street in London where many of the chief departments of the British government are located, is used to refer to

the British government in general (see Burns 1921, 7).

48 See Fisher 2009, 2 and 24.

49 BSAJ. 3 Jan 1920. Minutes of Organising Committee. Minute Book 1: 1918–1960. Palestine Exploration Fund Archives.

50 Before the Great War the Ottoman Empire included "Turkey in Asia" incorporating what became Mandate Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq.

important change occurred: the Colonial Office, and specifically its Middle East Department (initially under Winston Churchill as Secretary of State for the Colonies), began overseeing the affairs of the British Mandates in Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq.⁵¹ In Palestine (and later Transjordan), a Crown-appointed British High Commissioner was at the head of the administrative structure.⁵²

All of these factors had an impact on archaeology. In practice, the AJC in London advised members of the Middle East Department on matters of the administration of archaeology and a representative of the Middle East Department, Gerald Clauson, sat on the Committee.⁵³ The High Commissioner of Palestine communicated through the Middle East Department on matters concerning archaeology (Fig. 1). Although the Palestine administration operated in a semi-autonomous fashion, the Colonial Office had an overarching view.⁵⁴ From their Downing Street office CO officials supported issues of importance to British interests, as will be seen from the evaluation of the role of the BSAJ in Palestine.

By 1920 in Jerusalem John Garstang was joint Director Department of Antiquities of Palestine and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. The Palestine Exploration Fund and the British Academy had set up the BSAJ in 1918 and recruited Garstang. Fred-eric Kenyon was BSAJ President, and its Vice-Presidents were Edmund Allenby, a Field Marshal who had led British forces to occupy Jerusalem in 1917, and Palestine's High Commissioner Herbert Samuel. These organizational relationships illustrate the links between the emerging British administration in Palestine and archaeology.⁵⁵ Garstang was subsequently appointed Director of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, responsible for managing archaeological sites throughout Palestine, which until 1923 included the land that became Transjordan.⁵⁶ As BSAJ Director he trained prospective archaeologists and carried out research agendas.⁵⁷ Garstang balanced the interests of the various local and foreign schools and societies of archaeology in the region, which had representatives on the International Archaeological Advisory Board (IAAB). IAAB members were chosen by the High Commissioner, with Garstang as Director of Antiquities as Chairman.⁵⁸ Although classified as "non-political", like the AJC in London

51 Kirk-Greene 1999; Goode 2007, 188; Mercer, Collins, and Harding 1921; Steiner 1969, 214; Thornton 2011a; Thornton 2012a.

52 Luke and Keith-Roach 1930, 207.

53 Thornton 2011a; Hill 1929, 12.

54 Thornton 2011a.

55 See BSAJ 1920; Gibson 1999; Thornton 2009a; Thornton 2011a.

56 Article 21 of the Mandate agreement outlined the management of archaeology in Palestine. The Mandate Agreement is printed in full as Appendix I in *The Handbook for Palestine and Transjordan* (1930).

57 The duties of the BSAJ director are clearly delineated in Myres, J. L. 7 November 1926. "Memorandum on the Status and Functions of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem." T161/1256. The material hereafter referenced T161/1256 is the "British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem – Grant" folder, containing Foreign and Colonial Office correspondence with the Treasury and minutes between Treasury officials concerning the BSAJ grant. T161/1256 is held at the National Archives in Kew.

58 Luke and Keith-Roach 1930, 87; Thornton 2011a.

advised civil servants in Whitehall the IAAB advised the Palestine Department of Antiquities on technical and general matters concerning archaeology. IAAB members were also consulted on granting permissions to excavate.⁵⁹ A representative of the Palestine Government's Public Works Department, Austen St Barbe Harrison, Chief Government Architect, also sat on this board.⁶⁰

Garstang was also part of the Pro-Jerusalem Society (PJS), an organization created and sustained by Ronald Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem from 1917 to 1926 to protect and restore the historic center of Jerusalem.⁶¹ In the PJS representatives from the numerous archaeological, religious and political communities in Jerusalem were drawn together. Although financed privately, the network of administrative officials involved in PJS activities informally cemented it within the governmental structure until its closure in 1926. It represented the thrust of the early Mandate administration's enthusiasm for the new post-war era in Palestine. The Department of Antiquities financially supported some PJS projects, and John Garstang was both a Council Member and (from his BSAJ address) a Subscriber.⁶² Storrs, Garstang and representatives from the French and American Schools also joined other local scholars in the Palestine Oriental Society, which met four times a year for scholarly lectures on subjects concerning archaeology and local culture.⁶³

In the early 1920s, the land east of the Jordan River, originally part of the Palestine Mandate, became the Kingdom of Transjordan. It was excluded from the terms of the Balfour Declaration relating to Jewish settlement.⁶⁴ Abdullah, son of Sherif Hussein who had been involved in the Arab Revolt, became King (Emir) of Transjordan in 1921. This new country had a separate Mandate from 1923 with a British Resident and Assistant Resident to be Britain's representatives. The High Commissioner for Palestine took on an additional role as High Commissioner for Transjordan, to retain general oversight of the Mandate.⁶⁵

According to the terms of Article 3 of the Transjordan Mandate, all government departments were to have Transjordanian directors.⁶⁶ British officials were occasionally put in place to advise (and in the case of antiquities effectively to manage) departments

59 Anonymous 1920, 1922a; Thornton 2011a. – Anonymous 1922a. Rough Statement of progress of scheme for Excavating Mount Ophel. Israel Antiquities Authority Archive. IAA ATQ 1789 Box 4.

60 Thornton 2011a. – Harrison, A. 18 July 1927. Candidate's Separate Statement. Israel Antiquities Authority Archives: Harrison Legacy Box.

61 See Wharton 2008.

62 Anonymous 1919; Anonymous 1926; Ashbee 1921, xv and 97; Garstang 1922; Storrs 1949, 311; Thornton 2011a; Thornton 2012a.

63 POS 1920. – Papers from these lectures were later

published in the *Journal of the Palestine Exploration Society*.

64 Salib 1993, 88.

65 Luke and Keith-Roach 1930, 421–422; Salib 1993, 83–88; Thornton 2011a; Thornton 2012a. – See Wilson 1987, Salib 1993 and Abū Nūwār 2006 for further details of Transjordan during the Mandate Era.

66 The Mandate Agreement for Transjordan is reprinted as Appendix II in *The Handbook for Palestine and Transjordan* (1930); Luke and Keith-Roach 1930, 463; Thornton 2011a; Thornton 2012a.

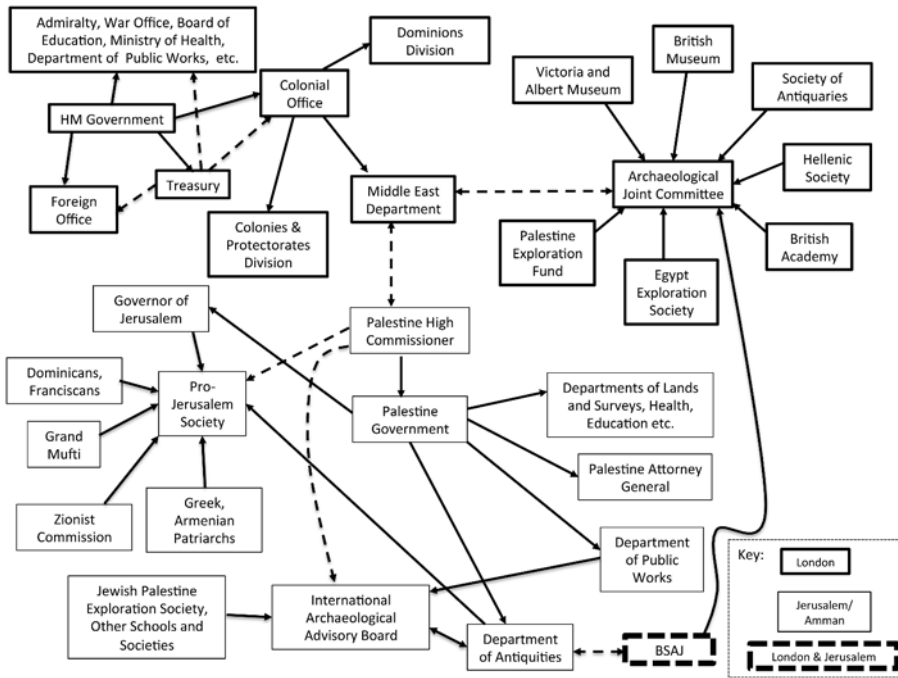


Fig. 1 The framework for archaeological administration in Mandate Palestine and Transjordan c. 1927. – Only a selection of members/organizations/departments are shown here. For a full list of the members of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, the Archaeological Joint Committee and lists of officials in the Middle East Department and the Palestine Administration departments see Ashbee 1921; Hill 1920; Hill 1929; Mercer, Gent, and Harding 1927.

(see Fig. 2). The new Transjordan Mandate included separate provision for antiquities.⁶⁷ From 1923, the Department of Antiquities was created under the nominal leadership of Riza Tewfik Bey, secretary to the Transjordanian Prime Minister.⁶⁸ Garstang at the Palestine Department of Antiquities initially took practical responsibility for Transjordan's archaeology by sending former BSAJ student George Horsfield to begin protecting Transjordan's standing monuments and antiquities through a small-scale program of preservation and restoration, instigated at Abdullah's request. Eventually Horsfield was assisted by an Englishman, Reginald G. Head, and Ali, who came from Jerash, a village and archaeological site north of Transjordan's capital Amman. Ali became a personal friend of Horsfield's.⁶⁹

As in Palestine, the context of archaeology during this period in Transjordan was inherently a matter of politics. Examining archaeology's place within its political and economic context is critical to understanding its relationship within the administrative

67 Thornton 2011a; Thornton 2012a, 201.

68 Albright 1924, 3.

69 BSAJ 1924a, 77; Thornton 2009b; Thornton 2011a; Thornton 2012a, 201.

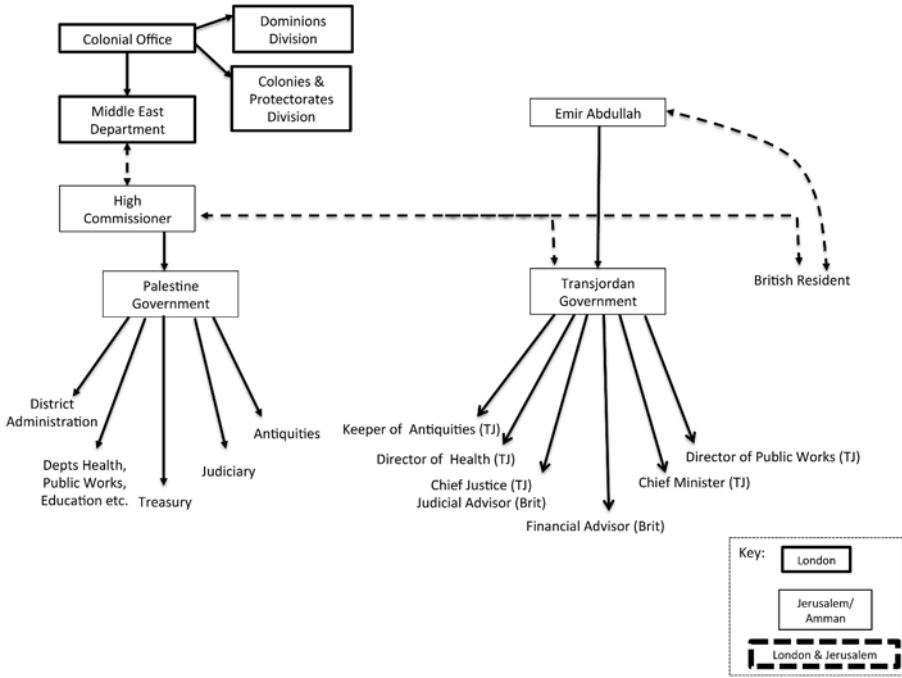


Fig. 2 Government administration during the Mandate in Palestine and Transjordan 1927 (e. g. Mercer, Gent, and Harding 1927, 505).

framework. As discussed in detail below, it is clear that although archaeology was peripheral within British governmental structure, being a small department in small, newly formed administrations within the larger remit of the Foreign and Colonial Offices, it was considered and consciously framed by these Whitehall departments as important to British prestige.

4 Center and periphery: The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem

4.1 The BSAJ in London

It is possible that the traveller will begin his journey at a point other than the capital. Inquiries should be made at the London head-quarters of the Schools concerning residents at such places who may be able to give advice to intending travellers.

– *How to Observe in Archaeology*⁷⁰

The British Schools of Archaeology were important centers for information exchange. They were created as hubs for scholars and travellers as well as a training facilities for giving practical field experience and research opportunities. By the Mandate period the British Schools at Athens (founded in 1886) and Rome (founded in 1901) were well established, and seen as such by the officials at H. M. Treasury, who had sanctioned annual £500 grants to both Schools since 1895 and 1905 respectively.⁷¹ The Treasury file relating to the BSAJ's government grant reveals a debate within the British government in London that highlights the BSAJ's position as both a center and a periphery in the Mandate context.

Fisher's work on the Foreign Office's short-lived Committee on British Communities Abroad shows that in the wake of victory in the First World War the British government was attempting to revitalize British strength and international impact.⁷² For the Foreign and Colonial Offices in particular the British Schools of Archaeology fed into this plan. The British School at Athens (BSA) was seen within Whitehall more broadly as a visible symbol of the potential for increasing what we would now call British 'soft power' in foreign countries, and encouraging nationalist feeling and imperial support among British expat communities, given the "public service" (possibly a euphemism for intelligence work) that certain BSA students and staff had undertaken during the First World War.⁷³ Consequently it was considered to be worthy of continued Government financial support.⁷⁴ The potential for enhanced diplomatic cultural relations through the British Schools' staff and students was particularly meaningful in light of

70 Hill 1920, 9.

71 Thornton 2011a. – On terms of grants to the British Schools at Athens and Rome, see Sperling, R., 19 Feb 1920, Letter to Secretary to the Treasury, T161/1256.

72 Fisher 2009.

73 Gill 2011: (Ch 13) discusses the wartime work of

BSA staff and students.

74 E. g. [Illegible], 27 February 1920, Treasury minute, T161/1256; Myres, J. L. 7 November 1926, "Memorandum on the Status and Functions of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem", T161/1256. – For the concept of soft power see Nye 2008.

the Committee's research.⁷⁵ Their 1920 report stated that the British schools of archaeology contributed to British scholarly prestige, and that the British students who attended them had the opportunity to make their mark on both local and international levels. It concluded the section on archaeology by emphasizing that these contributions were valuable enough to merit Governmental financial support.⁷⁶ These qualities were consistently championed by the BSAJ's Council members and officials at the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office in London, and submitted as evidence to Treasury officials for the need for government support for the newly established BSAJ.⁷⁷

As Macleod's study of the history of the Royal Society's Government grant shows, personalities and relationships within and between learned societies and the Treasury are key to understanding the management and financing of science at a governmental level.⁷⁸ In the case of archaeology, Treasury officials were willing to maintain the levels of support given to the British Schools at Athens and Rome which had by that time been established long enough to prove their value – especially considering their wartime contribution. However, they felt the viability of the newly formed BSAJ was unclear, and that its emphasis on Biblical archaeology was less valuable in terms of “importance” and subscriptions than the classical archaeology dominating BSA/BSR research projects.⁷⁹ In addition, as the BSAJ was situated in a newly defined *mandated* territory (under British administration but with duties to report to the international League of Nations), it was neither a foreign country nor a colony in the traditional sense.⁸⁰ While both the Foreign and Colonial Offices acknowledged the BSAJ's potential value for scientific prestige and diplomatic relations, and supported applications by BSAJ Organising Committee/Council members for a Government grant on the same terms as the British Schools at Athens and Rome, successive Foreign Office and Colonial Office officials (and through them BSAJ Council members Kenyon, D. G. Hogarth, and J. L. Myres) had to push to convince the decision makers at the Treasury of the new School's value and potential.⁸¹

75 See Fisher 2009. – Fisher suggests that the Committee on British Communities abroad could be considered the precursor to the British Council (Fisher 2009, 38–39).

76 HoC 1920, 10.

77 Myres, J. L. 7 November 1926. “Memorandum on the Status and Functions of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem” T161/1256; Amery, L. 21 April 1926, Letter to Treasury, T161/1256; Davies, H. E. 21 March 1922, Treasury minute; Shuckburgh, J. 19 November 1926, Letter to Secretary to Treasury, T161/1256.

78 MacLeod 1971.

79 E. g. Headlam, M. F. 20 January, 9 June 1926, Treasury minutes, T161/1256; W., A. 18 February 1927. Letter to L. Amery [Draft]. T161/1256; W., A. 10

February 1927, Treasury minute “Government grant to BSAJ”; T161/1256.

80 E. g. Graham, A. 5 March 1922, Treasury minute, T161/1256.

81 Oliphant, L. 13 March 1922, Letter to Treasury, T161/1256; Meiklejohn, R. S. 23 March 1922, Treasury minute, T161/1256; Grindle, G. 21 April 1926, Letter to Treasury, T161/1256; Myres, J. L. 7 November 1926, “Memorandum on the Status and Functions of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem” T161/1256; Shuckburgh, J. 21 February 1922, Letter to Treasury, T161/1256; Hogarth, D. G. n. d. Letter to W. Churchill, T161/1256; Hogarth, D. G. & Kenyon, F. G. 1 February 1922, Letter to W. Churchill, T161/1256.

In part, the framework for archaeology in Palestine encapsulated a certain ambiguity in the early Mandate period – John Garstang sat at the head of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine and the BSAJ. From the center of operations in Whitehall, Treasury officials felt that the Mandate government should take responsibility for financial support of the BSAJ in addition to the Department of Antiquities of Palestine.⁸² However, under pressure from the Foreign Office, and, as Deputy Comptroller of Supply Services R. S. Meiklejohn put it, with the weight of BSAJ’s “distinguished patronage” and “eminent” Council members, the Treasury conceded that as a *British* school training British students (rather than a Mandate school) the BSAJ merited a government grant. Finally, £200 was awarded to the School from the Treasury’s Special Service Fund in 1922.⁸³

The following year the Treasury sanctioned financial support through the Civil Service Estimates Class IV (Science, Education and Art) Scientific Investigations vote for a £500 per annum grant for three years. However, unlike the terms given to the British Schools at Athens and Rome, the funding was given on the condition that the BSAJ provide match funding through public subscription.⁸⁴ While much of the BSAJ’s match funds were gathered in Britain through its office at the Palestine Exploration Fund, the financial accounts that the BSAJ produced to send to the Treasury also reveal the local network of BSAJ subscribers in Jerusalem. The nature of the funding agreement made it necessary for the School to cultivate ‘local’ support in both the UK and Palestine. Among its Jerusalem-based subscribers were members of the Palestine government – the High Commissioner Herbert Samuel (donating £E5), Ronald Storrs (subscribing £2.2.0), Norman Bentwich of the Judicial Department (subscribing £2.2.0), Herbert E. Bowman of the Education Department (subscribing £E2.5.0) and A. M. Hyamson of the Immigration Department (subscribing £E2) – as well as Dr John Strathearn from Jerusalem’s Ophthalmic Hospital (£E10.24.0) and Annie Elizabeth Landau, principal of the Evelina de Rothschild School for Girls (subscribing £2).⁸⁵

The role of the Foreign and Colonial Offices cannot be underestimated when considering the history of the BSAJ. Foreign Office and Colonial Office officials were regarded as highly important figures to the BSAJ’s Council members, and to all the British Schools abroad. BSAJ Council President (and former British School at Athens student) John Linton Myres’ 1926 “Memorandum on the Status and Functions of the British

82 The complexities of funding the Palestine Mandate administration, and evidence of battles between the Foreign and Colonial Offices and the Treasury over the question of financing Mandate Palestine are discussed in B. J. Smith 1993.

83 Oliphant, L. 13 March 1922, Letter to Treasury, T161/1256; Meiklejohn, R. S. 23 March 1922, Treasury Minute T161/1256.

84 Davies, H. E. 21 March 1922, Treasury minute,

T161/1256; Barstow, G. L. 6 April 1922, Letter to Undersecretary of State, Colonial Office, T161/1256.

85 BSAJ 1924b – The amounts given are in the abbreviated form of pre-decimal British currency – pounds (£), shillings (s) and pence (d) as originally listed in the BSAJ’s published accounts. Amounts designated £E refer to pounds issued by the Bank of Egypt, used in Palestine at the time.

School of Archaeology in Jerusalem” acknowledged the Foreign Office’s important role as middleman between the British Schools and the UK government, and its “sympathy” and “steady and most effective support” with the Schools’ “projects and difficulties.”⁸⁶

This relationship becomes even clearer considering that Curzon’s support for archaeological research in Palestine (and particularly for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem) continued until his death. The BSAJ Annual Report for 1925 began with the Council’s “wish to put on record their sense of the loss which has been suffered by the death [...] of its Vice-President, the Marquis Curzon of Kedleston”. The relationship continued, though with the election of Secretary of State for the Colonies Leopold Amery in his place. The new Palestine High Commissioner Herbert Plumer joined Amery, former High Commissioner Herbert Samuel, Field Marshal Edmund Allenby and the Archbishop of Canterbury in the BSAJ Vice-Presidential team.⁸⁷

4.2 The BSAJ in Jerusalem

On arrival in the country of his choice [the traveller, A. Th.] is recommended to [...] take an early opportunity of getting in touch with the local British Archaeological school [...] where he will receive advice what to look for and where and how to look, and assistance in procuring suitable equipment. Thus the traveller who starts from Athens or Jerusalem should apply at the British School of Archaeology.⁸⁸

By 1929, despite the cessation of the government grant from 1928 and a formal split between the BSAJ and the DAP, the BSAJ was firmly established as a center for scholarship and advice, and a forum for Jerusalem ‘society’ – a 1925 notice in the *Palestine Bulletin* (an English-language newspaper in Jerusalem), records in its “Social and Personal” column that the High Commissioner Herbert Samuel attended K. A. C. Cresswell’s lecture on “Moslem Architecture” held at the School.⁸⁹ Examining Agnes Conway’s letters and diary entries from the spring of 1929 showcases the BSAJ as the hub that its Council members had been assiduously promoting to Treasury officials. Conway’s archive also indicates that as a newly arrived archaeologist, she was immediately introduced to the archaeological community in Palestine, the men and women attached to the various international schools, illustrating the value of the School for scholarly networking. She recorded in her diary that:

I must say it’s awfully nice to be met here, find everything arranged, + a programme complete + just to be taken in hand. [George Horsfield] is introducing

86 This typescript memorandum can be found in T161/1256.

87 BSAJ 1926.

88 Hill 1920, 8.

89 *Palestine Bulletin* 1925.

me to all the schools + archaeologists, so that I can use their Libraries [...] It really is wonderful coming back to Jerusalem after exactly 2 years in such a privileged position. I can't tell you how happy I am [...]”⁹⁰

At the BSAJ, she met John Crowfoot, Garstang's successor as Director, and his wife, Molly, who Conway wrote “knows everything about weaving.”⁹¹ She also met several BSAJ students who helped her prepare for the forthcoming excavation: Dorothy Garrod advised Conway on food supplies for Petra and Elinor Ewbank provided her with books on surveying techniques. Garrod, Ewbank and Mary Kitson-Clark, whom Conway met on her way to Jerusalem, were about to begin their own excavations at El-Wad Cave.⁹² During her stay in Jerusalem Ewbank, Conway and Kitson Clark took a day trip to visit a Russian nuns' commune in Ain Karin (Ein Kerem).⁹³

The Dominican scholar Pere Savignac of the French *École Biblique* was also introduced to Conway; he promised to join the Conway-Horsfield party for part of the excavation.⁹⁴ The relationship between the British and French Schools was close at the beginning of the BSAJ's history. The School's minute book shows that John Garstang initiated friendly relations with the French School, and George Horsfield, had spent some months studying at the *École Biblique* during his BSAJ training.⁹⁵ W. F. Albright, Director of the American School, was also introduced to Conway during her time in Jerusalem and she was taken through the School's Library.⁹⁶ Albright lectured to BSAJ students, and helped to solidify the close relationship between the British and American Schools.⁹⁷ Both Savignac and Albright worked with Horsfield to excavate or survey sites in Transjordan.⁹⁸

Another person whom Conway met on arriving in Jerusalem was Horsfield's close friend Austen Harrison, the Chief Architect for the Palestine Government Department of Public Works, mentioned briefly in the preceding section. Harrison was already involved in designing and building the Palestine Archaeological Museum (now the Rockefeller Museum), which eventually provided offices for the Department of Antiquities

90 Conway, A. 1 March 1929, Letter to “Jinky and Baby Brother”, University of Cambridge Archives: MSS Add 7676/R261-638/R435.

91 Conway, A. 28 February, 10 March 1929, Diary Entries, Cambridge University Library: MSS Add 7676/Z31. – Garstang resigned his positions at the British School and the Department of Antiquities in 1926. Molly Crowfoot's expertise cemented her role as an eminent textile archaeologist (Crowfoot 2004).

92 See Callander and P. J. Smith 2007. – Conway, A. 22 February, 3 and 10 March 1929, Diary Entries, Cambridge University Library: MSS Add 7676/Z31.

93 Conway, A. 16 March 1929, Diary Entry, Cambridge University Library: MSS Add 7676/Z31.

94 Conway, A. 7 March 1929, Letter to “Jinky and Baby Brother”, Cambridge University Library: MSS Add 7676/R261-368/R436.

95 British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 19 February 1919, Minute Book 1: Palestine Exploration Fund Archives; Horsfield, G. c. 1924–1936, typed statement, “Mr Horsfield's File”, Israel Antiquities Authority Archives: IAA ATQ 4088/Box 5.

96 Conway, A. 1 March 1929, Diary Entry, Cambridge University Library: MSS Add 7676/Z31.

97 British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 26 September 1921, Minute Book 1: Palestine Exploration Fund Archive; see also Gibson 1999.

98 E. g. Albright 1924; Bellamy 1988, 370.

as well as exhibition space for the collection of artefacts excavated in Palestine.⁹⁹ Harrison's close relationship to the archaeological community had begun just after the war in Athens, where Harrison was a visiting architect at the British School at Athens.¹⁰⁰ Harrison also drew plans and interpreted some of the BSAJ's early excavations; these plans and notes were published in the School's *Bulletin*.¹⁰¹

For Agnes Conway, George Horsfield brought everything together. She wrote in a letter that "Mr Horsfield is complete master of the situation here. Talks fluent Arabic, knows everybody + is perfectly calm + capable".¹⁰² However, she was able to make her own contribution to the initial plans for the work through financing. Horsfield had minimal funding for his own excavations, so Conway's personal connection with the Mond family was particularly useful.¹⁰³ A family of industrialists and scientists, the Mond family were interested in Palestine affairs and were family friends of the Conways.¹⁰⁴ Alfred Mond, a Liberal Member of Parliament, was President of Economic Board for Palestine.¹⁰⁵ He also gave money to the Pro-Jerusalem Society.¹⁰⁶ As the Minister of Public Works during the First World War Alfred Mond took a lead role in creating the Imperial War Museum, bringing in Martin Conway, Agnes Conway's father, as its first Director General, while Agnes Conway herself worked on the Women's Work Sub-Committee.¹⁰⁷

Alfred Mond's brother Robert Mond was one of the BSAJ's most generous financial supporters; he had established a prehistoric research studentship at the BSAJ to which he contributed £500, along with making other regular donations and acting as the School's Honorary Treasurer.¹⁰⁸ Robert Mond was also a long-time supporter of John Garstang's work, having been a member of two of Garstang's "Excavation Committees" funding research in Asia Minor and Sudan before the First World War.¹⁰⁹ Henry Mond, Alfred Mond's son, contributed £500 to the Conway-Horsfield Petra expedition, with the expectation of a detailed report on the site's potential.¹¹⁰ The networks involved in Agnes Conway's welcome to Jerusalem as a scholar and archaeologist bring together twin strands of archaeological research: British-based funding and the social-intellectual nexus of the BSAJ in Jerusalem. This nexus was itself comprised of London and Palestine based political and scholarly actors.

99 See Fawzi 2006. – Harrison, A. 1 February 1929. Letter to E. T. Richmond, Israel Antiquities Authority Archives: Harrison Legacy Box.

100 Harrison, A. 18 July 1927. Candidate Separate Statement. Israel Antiquities Authority Archives: Harrison Legacy Box.

101 E. g. BSAJ 1922, pl. I; Harrison 1925; Thornton 2011a.

102 Conway, A. 19 March 1929, Letter to "Jinky and Baby Brother", University of Cambridge Archives. MSS Add 7676/R261–638/R438a+b.

103 Thornton 2011a.

104 See Greenaway 2004.

105 See Anonymous 1922b.

106 Storrs 1949, 311.

107 See Evans 1966; Kavanagh 1994; Thornton 2011a.

108 Gibson 1999.

109 Thornton 2011a; Thornton 2013.

110 Conway, A. 5, 9 September 1928, Diary Entry, Cambridge University Library: MSS Add 7676/Z30; Conway, A. 7 February 1929, Diary Entry, Cambridge University Library: MSS Add 7676/Z31; Horsfield, G. 28 April 1929, Petra Excavation Diary, UCL Institute of Archaeology Archives: Horsfield Collection Box 8; Thornton 2011a.

5 Conclusion

The case studies presented here encapsulate both the ideal and the practical in the history of archaeology. Evaluating the terms of and networks behind the BSAJ's government grant highlights a debate in the heart of Whitehall about the role of British schools of archaeology and the political and intellectual value of archaeological research: whether it was part of British prestige or a "scientific luxury" during post-war economic austerity.¹¹¹ In the early years of the Mandate the Foreign and Colonial offices supported the BSAJ to enhance British prestige in a new British-led administration and develop a closer relationship with Britons overseas as part of a wider imperial agenda. While the Treasury reluctantly designated funding for a brief period, ultimately its officials sought to avoid committing British taxpayers' money to risky new ventures overseas in a new and untested political framework. By the late 1920s, Whitehall's support had been removed despite the best efforts of Foreign Office and Colonial Office officials and archaeologists, creating an even more pressing need for generating support through public subscription.

The local network on the ground in Jerusalem was well developed by the time Agnes Conway arrived in 1929. When the framework of administration as shown in Figures 1 and 2 are combined with the three relationship categories, a new and more nuanced interpretation of the 'archaeological network' appears. In Figs. 3 and 4, the **blue** transactional relationship lines show just how many people were contributing to archaeological research in Palestine and Transjordan, whether through training or funding, while **red** lines show how personal familial and friendship links were an important part of the development and financing of archaeological work there. **Green** organizational relationship lines illustrate the connections between the archaeological and the political administration, and highlight the role of the various Jerusalem and London based groups in bringing the archaeological and political worlds together, while the underlying framework (in Figs. 1 and 2) demonstrates just how 'peripheral' Departments of Antiquities were from the 'center' of politics in London, and even the center of politics within the Mandate administrations.

The links between Transjordan and Palestine are also revealed more clearly. For archaeology, these links were even closer when considering that George Horsfield, the British 'advisor'/Chief Inspector to the Transjordan Government on antiquities, was trained in Jerusalem and had personal and professional connections to the archaeological community there, shown in Fig. 3 with transactional, organizational and personal relationship lines. Evaluating evidence using these three broad relationship types enables a researcher to move beyond a segmented approach to history and archaeology.

111 E. g. McNeill, R. M. 13 December 1926, Treasury minute, T161/1256.

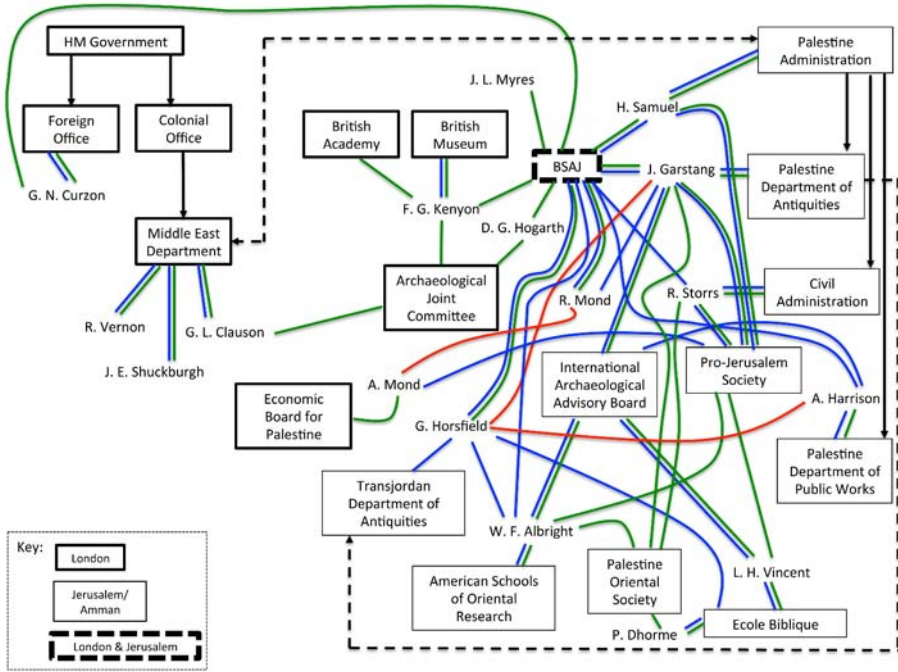


Fig. 3 The London-Jerusalem-Transjordan network with relationship links.

The relationship approach can create space for the contributions of ‘outsiders’ who are still regularly dismissed or excluded from the traditional history of archaeology narrative. It also serves to highlight areas where relationships might exist, indicating places for future research.

All the people discussed in this paper had some part to play in the development of the discipline; either through their work as archaeologists; through collective affiliation with or membership in training facilities, learned societies and committees; by providing financing, logistical support or skilled expertise; or through association with the ‘political’ side of archaeology, working for a government department or taking part in a government initiative. The history of archaeology should recognize and accept these members of the archaeological ‘fringe’ with the ‘scientists’ much more frequently; analyzing their collective activities will help us appreciate how archaeology developed. Political support, while rarely substantially financial, enabled much work to be done by ‘qualified’ archaeologists; personal connections, such as Agnes Conway’s friendship with the Mond family, ensured that individual projects were able to come to fruition.¹¹²

112 Thornton 2011a.

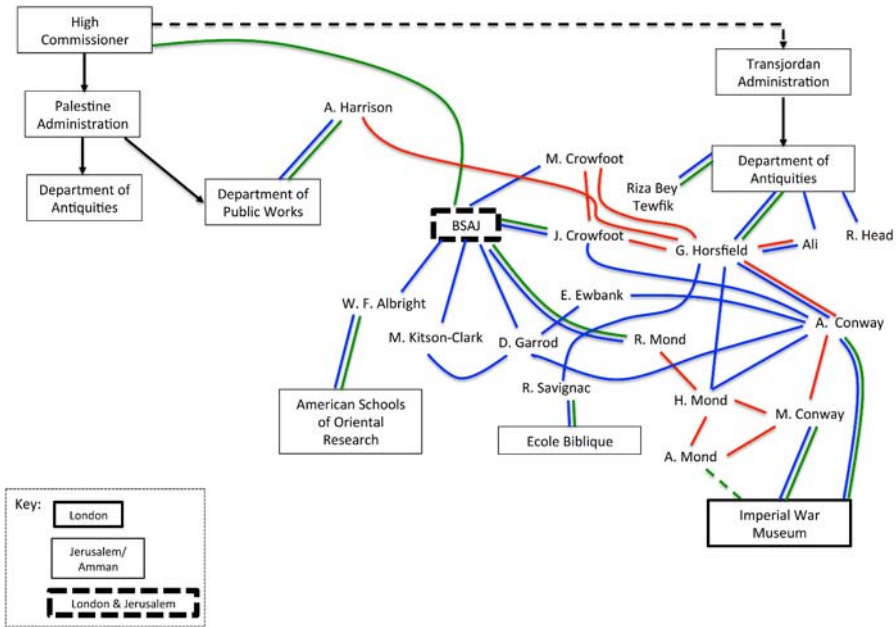


Fig. 4 The BSAJ's relationship links.

Analyzing the BSAJ's networks contributes to our understanding of how different government departments and administrations view and interact with archaeology. On a small scale, Agnes Conway's experience highlights Jerusalem as a social and intellectual center for Mandates, and an important base for archaeological work in both Palestine and Transjordan. The BSAJ's London and Jerusalem networks on a wider scale reveal a transnational impact despite the School's 'new' status. These networks worked to maintain Britain's scholarly presence in Jerusalem during the Mandate period; their legacy ensures that the BSAJ continues to exist today.

Bibliography

Abu El-Haj 2001

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

Abū Nūwār 2006

Man Abū Nūwār. *The Development of Trans-Jordan 1929–1939*. London: Garnet Publishing Ltd, 2006.

Adelson 1994

Roger Adelson. *London and the Middle East: Money, Power and War 1902–1922*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.

Albright 1924

William Foxwell Albright. “The Archaeological Results of an Expedition to Moab and the Dead Sea”. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 14 (1924), 2–12.

Anonymous 1919

Anonymous. “Reconstructions in Jerusalem. Far-Reaching Plans”. *The Times* 5 February (42016, Col A) (1919), 7.

Anonymous 1920

Anonymous. “Museum for Jerusalem”. *The Times* 12 August (42487, Col B) (1920), 9.

Anonymous 1922a

Anonymous. “City of David. Historic Site to be Restored. An International Project”. *The Times* 27 September (43147, Col G) (1922), 11.

Anonymous 1922b

Anonymous. “Economic Development of Palestine”. *The Times* 21 December (43220, Col D) (1922), 9.

Anonymous 1926

Anonymous. “Pro-Jerusalem Society Dissolved. Record of Eight Years’ Work”. *The Times* 22 November (44439, Col B) (1926), 13.

Ashbee 1921

Charles Robert Ashbee, ed. *Jerusalem 1918–1920: Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Society Council during the Military Administration*. London: John Murray, 1921.

Bearman 1993

Peter S. Bearman. *Relations into Rhetorics: Local Elite Social Structure in Norfolk, England, 1540–1640*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993.

Bellamy 1988

James A. Bellamy. “Two Pre-Islamic Arabic Inscriptions Revised: Jabal Ramm and Umm Al-Jimāl”. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108.3 (1988), 369–378.

Bierbrier and Naunton 2012

Morris Leonard Bierbrier and Christopher Naunton. *Who Was Who in Egyptology*. 4 Rev. Edn. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2012.

Brayshay, Cleary, and Selwood 2005

Mark Brayshay, Mark Cleary, and John Selwood. “Interlocking Directorships and Trans-National Linkages within the British Empire, 1900–1930”. *Area* 37.2 (2005), 209–222.

BSAJ 1920

BSAJ. *First Annual Report*. London and Jerusalem: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1920.

BSAJ 1922

BSAJ. *Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*. Vol. 2. London: Council of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1922.

BSAJ 1924a

BSAJ. *Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*. Vol. 6. London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1924.

BSAJ 1924b

BSAJ. *Fourth Annual Report. Statement of Accounts Dec 31*. Unpublished: The National Archives: T161/1256. British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1924.

BSAJ 1926

BSAJ. *Sixth Annual Report. Statement of Accounts, Dec 31, 1925*. Unpublished: The National Archives: T161/1256. British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1926.

Burns 1921

Cecil Delisle Burns. *Whitehall* [The World of Today series]. London: Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press, 1921.

Callander and P. J. Smith 2007

Jane Callander and Pamela J. Smith. "Pioneers in Palestine: The Women Excavators of El-Wad Cave, 1929". In *Archaeology and Women: Ancient and Modern Issues*. Ed. by S. Hamilton, R. Whitehouse, and K. Wright. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007, 76–82.

Cohen and Sharp-Joukowsky 2004

Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp-Joukowsky, eds. *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Crowfoot 2004

Elizabeth Crowfoot. *Grace Mary Crowfoot 1877–1957*. *Breaking Ground: Women in Old World Archaeology*. 2004. URL: http://www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground/bios/Crowfoot_Grace.pdf (visited on 07/07/2015).

Díaz-Andreu and Sørensen 1998

Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, eds. *Excavating Women: A History of Women in European Archaeology*. London: Routledge, 1998.

El-Eini 2006

Roza El-Eini. *Mandated Landscape: British Imperial Rule in Palestine, 1929–1948*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994

Mustafa Emirbayer and Jeff Goodwin. "Network Analysis, Culture and the Problem of Agency". *The American Journal of Sociology* 99.6 (1994), 1411–1454.

Evans 1966

Joan Evans. *The Conways: A History of Three Generations*. London: Museum Press, 1966.

Fawzi 2006

Ibrāhīm Fawzī. *West Meets East: The Story of the Rockefeller Museum*. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2006.

Fisher 2009

John Fisher. "A Call to Action: The Committee on British Communities Abroad, 1919–1920". *Canadian Journal of History/Annales canadiennes d'histoire* 44.2 (2009), 261–286.

Fromkin 1989

David Fromkin. *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914–1922*. New York: Avon Books, 1989.

Garstang 1922

John Garstang. "Eighteen Months' Work in the Department of Antiquities for Palestine, July 1920–December 1921". *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 55 (1922), 57–62.

Gibson 1999

Shimon Gibson. "British Archaeological Institutions in Mandatory Palestine, 1917–1948". *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 131 (1999), 115–143.

Gill 2008

David W. J. Gill. *Students at the British School at Athens (1886–1914)*. Swansea: The Ostraka Press, 2008.

Gill 2011

David W. J. Gill. *Sifting the Soil of Greece: The Early Years of the British School at Athens (1886–1919)*. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2011.

Givens 2008 [1992]

Douglas R. Givens. "The Role of Biography in Writing the History of Archaeology". In *Histories of Archaeology: A Reader in the History of Archaeology*. Ed. by Tim Murray and Christopher Evans. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 [1992], 177–193.

Goode 2007

James F. Goode. *Negotiating the Past: Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919–1941*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007.

Granovetter 1973

Mark S. Granovetter. "The Strength of Weak Ties". *The American Journal of Sociology* 78.6 (1973), 1360–1380.

Greenaway 2004

Frank Greenaway. *Mond family (per. 1867–1973)*. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 2004. URL: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/51124> (visited on 07/07/2015).

Harrison 1925

Austen St. Barbe Harrison. "Note on the Southern Theatre, Jerash". *Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem* 7 (1925). London: Council of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 98, 98.

Hill 1920

G.F. Hill, ed. *How to Observe in Archaeology: Suggestions for Travellers in the Near and Middle East*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1920.

Hill 1929

G.F. Hill, ed. *How to Observe in Archaeology: Suggestions for Travellers in the Near and Middle East*. 2nd ed. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1929.

Kaaser 2008

Marc-Antoine Kaaser. "Biography as Microhistory: The Relevance of Private Archives for Writing the History of Archaeology". In *Archives, Ancestors, Practices: Archaeology in Light of its History*. Ed. by Nathan Schlanger and Jarl Nordbladh. New York: Berghahn Books, 2008, 9–20.

Kavanagh 1994

Gaynor Kavanagh. *Museums and the First World War*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994.

Kay 2007

Joyce Kay. "'No Time for Recreations till the Vote is Won'? Suffrage Activists and Leisure in Edwardian Britain". *Women's History Review* 15.4 (2007), 535–553.

Keats-Rohan 2007

K. Keats-Rohan, ed. *Prosopography approaches and Applications: A Handbook*. Oxford: Oxford Unit for Prosopographical Research, Oxford University, 2007.

Kedourie 2004

Elie Kedourie. *The Chatham House Version and other Middle Eastern Studies*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004.

Kenyon 1920

Frederic G. Kenyon. "Preface". In *How to Observe in Archaeology*. Ed. by George F. Hill. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1920, 5–6.

Kirk-Greene 1999

Anthony Kirk-Greene. *On Crown Service: A History of HM Colonial and Overseas Civil Service*. London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1999.

Latour 2005

Bruno Latour. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University press, 2005.

Link 2009

Fabian Link. "The Internationalisation of German Castle Research: Bodo Ehardt, His European Network, and the Construction of 'Castle Knowledge'". *Public Archaeology* 8.4 (2009), 325–350.

Luke and Keith-Roach 1930

H.C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach. *The Handbook of Palestine and Transjordan*. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1930.

MacLeod 1971

Roy M. MacLeod. "VI. The Royal Society and the Government Grant: Notes on the Administration of Scientific Research, 1849–1914". *The Historical Journal* 14.2 (1971), 323–358.

Mercer, Collins, and Harding 1921

William H. Mercer, A. E. Collins, and A. J. Harding, eds. *The Colonial Office List for 1921*. London: Waterlow & Sons, 1921.

Mercer, Gent, and Harding 1927

William H. Mercer, G. Gent, and Alfred J. Harding, eds. *The Dominion Office and Colonial Office List for 1927*. London: Waterlow & Sons, 1927.

Murray 1999a

Tim Murray, ed. *Encyclopedia of Archaeologists: The Great Archaeologists*. (2 Vols). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1999.

Murray 1999b

Tim Murray. "Epilogue: The Art of Archaeological Biography". In *Encyclopedia of Archaeologists: The Great Archaeologists*. Ed. by Tim Murray. Vol. 2. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1999, 869–883.

Nye 2008

Joseph S. Nye. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616.1 (2008), 94–109.

Padgett and Ansell 1993

John F. Padgett and Christopher K. Ansell. "Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400–1434". *The American Journal of Sociology* 98.6 (1993), 1259–1319.

Quirke 2010

Stephen Quirke. *Hidden Hands: Egyptian Workforces in Petrie Excavation Archives, 1880–1924*. London: Duckworth Academic & Classical Press, 2010.

Rosenthal et al. 1985

Naomi Rosenthal et al. "Social Movements and Network Analysis: A Case Study of Nineteenth-Century Women's Reform in New York State". *The American Journal of Sociology* 90.5 (1985), 1022–1054.

Salib 1993

K. Salib. *The Modern History of Jordan*. London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1993.

Schlanger 2002

Nathan Schlanger. "Ancestral Archives: Explorations in the History of Archaeology". *Antiquity* 76 (2002), 127–131.

Schlanger and Nordbladh 2008

Nathan Schlanger and Jarl Nordbladh. *Archives, Ancestors, Practices: Archaeology in the Light of its History*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2008.

Shapin and Thackray 1974

Steven Shapin and Arnold Thackray. "Prosopography as a Research Tool in History of Science: The British Scientific Community 1700–1900". *History of Science* 12 (1974), 1–28.

B. J. Smith 1993

Barbara J. Smith. *The Roots of Separatism in Palestine: British Economic Policy 1920–1929*. London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 1993.

P. J. Smith 2009

Pamela J. Smith. *A "Splendid Idiosyncrasy": Prehistory at Cambridge 1915–50*. (Vol. BAR 485). Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009.

Söderqvist 2013

Thomas Söderqvist, ed. *The History and Poetics of Scientific Biography*. Aldershot. Ashgate, 2013.

Steiner 1969

Zara Steiner. *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1898–1914*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Stevenson and Greenberg 2000

William B. Stevenson and Danna Greenberg. "Agency and Social Networks: Strategies of Action in a Social Structure of Position, Opposition, and Opportunity". *Administrative Science Quarterly* 25.4 (2000), 651–678.

Storrs 1949

R. Storrs. *Orientalisms*. (Definitive ed.) London: Nicholas & Watson, 1949.

Thornton 2009a

Amara Thornton. *Archaeological Training in Mandate Palestine: The BSAJ Minute books at the PEF*. The Palestine Exploration Fund. 2009. URL: www.pef.org.uk/archive (visited on 07/07/2015).

Thornton 2009b

Amara Thornton. *George Horsfield, Conservation and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*. Antiquity Project Gallery. 2009. URL: <http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/thornton322/> (visited on 07/07/2015).

Thornton 2011a

Amara Thornton. *British Archaeologists, Social Networks and the Making of a Profession: The Social History of British Archaeology in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East, 1870–1939*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University College London. 2011.

Thornton 2011b

Amara Thornton. "The Allure of Archaeology: Agnes Conway and Jane Harrison at Newnham College 1903–1907". *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 21.1 (2011), 37–56.

Thornton 2012a

Amara Thornton. "Tents, Tours and Treks: Archaeologists, Antiquities Services and Tourism in British Mandate Palestine and Transjordan". *Public Archaeology* 11.4 (2012), 195–216.

Thornton 2012b

Amara Thornton, ed. *Tourism as Colonial Policy? The history of heritage tourism in Mandate Palestine and Transjordan. [Special issue]*. *Public Archaeology* 11 4. 2012.

Thornton 2013

Amara Thornton. "... A Certain Faculty for Extricating Cash: Collective Sponsorship in Late 19th and Early 20th Century British Archaeology". *Present Pasts* 5.1 (2013), 1. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/pp.55>.

Verbruggen 2007

Christophe Verbruggen. "Literary Strategy during Flanders' Golden Decades: Combining Social Network Analysis and Prosopography". In *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*. Ed. by K. S. B. Keats-Rohan. Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Oxford University, 2007, 579–601.

Wallace 2002

Colin Wallace. "Writing Disciplinary History, or Why Romano-British Archaeology Needs a Biographical Dictionary of Its Own". *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21.4 (2002), 381–392.

Wasserstein 1978

Bernard Wasserstein. *The British in Palestine: The Mandatory Government and the Arab-Jewish Conflict 1917–1929*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1978.

Wharton 2008

Annabel Wharton. "Jerusalem Remade". In *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century*. Ed. by Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008, 39–60.

Wilson 1987

Mary Christina Wilson. *King Abdullah, Britain and the Making of Modern Jordan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Illustration credits

1 Amara Thornton. 2 Amara Thornton.

3 Amara Thornton. 4 Amara Thornton.

AMARA THORNTON

PhD (UCL, 2011) is a British Academy Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London (UCL). Her postdoctoral project is "Popular Publishing and the Creation of a British Archaeological Identity in the 19th and 20th centuries". She also collaborates on the Filming Antiquity project, digitizing 1930s excavation films.

Dr. Amara Thornton
UCL Institute of Archaeology
31–34 Gordon Square
London
WC1H 0PY, United Kingdom
E-Mail: amara.thornton@ucl.ac.uk