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Penguin

...the earnest Pelican joined the cheerful Penguin.¹

In 1935 Allen Lane, Managing Director of The Bodley Head, created one of the most iconic publishing enterprises of the twentieth century: Penguin Books. These paperback publications, marketed with bold striped covers and the simple Penguin logo, were sold for sixpence (a price later recorded as equivalent to a pack of cigarettes), making fiction accessible to a wide range of budgets.² Lane intended the series to help boost book purchasing among readers used to borrowing books from a library.³ Two years later he launched the nonfiction ‘Pelican’ series as a ‘companion’ to his fiction list. The first title was George Bernard Shaw’s two volume *The Intelligent Woman’s Guide to Socialism, Capitalism, Sovietism and Fascism*, published in May 1937 as Pelicans A1 and A2.⁴ Pelican A4 was Leonard Woolley’s *Digging up the Past*.

These early Pelicans were a combination of original works and paperback editions of previously published works, in some cases with additional text. Shaw’s Guide was based on his 1928 work *The Intelligent Woman’s Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (originally published by Constable), but with new, enhanced material.⁵ As discussed in Chapter 2, Woolley’s Digging, based on his BBC radio series of July 1930, originally appeared in articles for the *Listener*; it was subsequently published in book form by Ernest Benn in the autumn of the same year. Benn’s Sixpenny Library, discussed in Chapter 5, has been presented as the antecedent to the Pelican series, and Allen Lane continued to draw both inspiration and titles from Ernest Benn’s publishing house.

Benn had been publishing since 1900, issuing Benn’s Sixpenny Library through his book publishing enterprise Ernest Benn Limited in the 1920s. Alongside the myriad archaeology titles in the Library, Benn Ltd had published two volumes of archaeologist, traveller and diplomat...
Gertrude Bell’s *Letters* in 1927; these were destined to be Pelicans A46 and A55, published in 1939. Woolley’s *Ur of the Chaldees*, published by Benn in 1939, became Pelican A27 in 1938. At the time of her death in 1926 Bell had already achieved a near-mythical status that has only grown in strength since.\(^6\) As a younger woman her books chronicling her travels in the East received great acclaim; the first, *Safar Nameh; Persian Pictures*, was published anonymously by Richard Bentley and Sons in 1894. Further books of travel and archaeology appeared through William Heinemann, *The Desert and the Sown* in 1907 and *Amurath to Amurath* in 1911.\(^7\) Recruited into intelligence by D. G. Hogarth during the First World War, at its end Bell became Political Advisor to the British Mandate government in Iraq and took responsibility for leading the Iraq Department of Antiquities and creating the Baghdad Museum.

Benn later recalled that Bell’s *Letters* were nearly never published at all. Rejected by Benn’s numerous manuscript readers, it was only at the behest of Bell’s father Hugh, a personal friend of Ernest Benn, that the volumes were eventually published on Benn’s insistence. The first edition, Benn remembered, was badly printed and expensive at over £2 for the two volumes: destined to fail. Instead it became one of the firm’s ‘outstanding successes’; ‘many thousands’ of the first edition were sold, followed by a single-volume edition that sold thousands more.\(^8\)

Benn Ltd had also introduced innovative marketing for the books published – echoed later in Lane’s *Penguins Progress* magazine catalogue. Benn’s *Samplers* were positively reviewed as a pioneering alternative to regular advertising – a literary anthology perfect for light reading on the train.\(^9\) Priced at 1 shilling and sixpence, the first *Sampler* was a paperback 250-page ‘miscellany’ and ‘Popular Bookfinder’ containing extracts from some of the chief books published out of Benn Ltd’s Fleet Street address. Extracts were chosen to give a flavour of the variety of subjects and genres material Benn Ltd published, highlighting ‘much of the best in the literature of our day’ and containing the very latest copyrighted material. As an added bonus, Benn Ltd offered purchasers of the *Sampler* a discount equal to its cost on their next Benn Ltd book purchase.\(^10\) Benn’s first *Sampler* appeared in September 1930, and included extracts from Bell’s *Letters* and Woolley’s *Ur*. Bell’s entry was a short passage playing on the translation and (mis)understanding of Democracy, while Woolley’s was a longer sample chronicling the discovery of the biblical flood clay level at Ur.\(^11\)

Benn’s *Samplers* were later judged to be an unqualified success, reaching sales of over 10,000 at publication and a continued popularity.
subsequently. The work was marketed in Benn’s regular catalogue of books as a stand-alone anthology, with Leonard Woolley’s name featured as one of the key contributors. Riding high on the popularity of the experimental *Sampler*, Benn Ltd published a *Second Sampler* in 1931. This also included an extract of Woolley’s work, this time from *Digging up the Past*. The *Second Sampler* had fewer authors but lengthier extracts; the one chosen from *Digging* was taken from the Introductory chapter, in which Woolley addresses the question ‘Why does anyone dig?’

**The first archaeological Pelicans**

Four years later, when Allen Lane started Penguin Books, he depended on agreements with other publishers to provide the books needed for repackaging and republication as a Penguin paperback. For fiction, he began with a list from the publisher Jonathan Cape, settling on an agreement in which Lane paid Cape an advance and royalties from sales. By 1936 Lane had expanded into other genres, each with its own colour: green striped Crime, cerise Travel and Adventure, dark blue Memoirs and Biography. There was also ‘Penguin Shakespeare’. Unlike other publishing houses, Penguin did not depend on newspaper advertisements for its books; rather, J. M. Morpurgo argued, readers bought on the strength of the Penguin brand directly from the booksellers, with the bold design of Penguin paperbacks proving a strong visual attraction. The small team of editors working alongside Lane at the beginning of the company’s history were responsible for selecting published books that would make suitable Penguins.

Once established, Penguin began producing a catalogue/magazine, *Penguins Progress*, containing reviews of published works alongside its publication listings and advertisements for bespoke reader’s services. These included a ‘subscription scheme’ through booksellers, enabling readers to receive the latest publications for quarterly payments of 5 shillings. They could also acquire ‘limp-cloth’-covered editions of their books to prevent cover damage through use. With a short article titled ‘Enter Pelicans’, *Penguins Progress* introduced the new series in its May 1937 issue. Aspirational Penguin readers were now offered a chance to expand their intellectual horizons past their daily routines of work and leisure, by owning rather than borrowing the books that would enable them to accomplish that expansion. This knowledge, coming direct from eminent scholars and hitherto accessible only to the wealthy, was being laid at their fingertips.
Perceived public knowledge of authorial expertise drove the selection of the first 10 titles published as Pelicans – it was imperative not to put off the reading public with indigestible writing. Penguins Progress gave Woolley’s Digging a brief profile, highlighting both its presentation of an ancient past as revealed through excavation and the scientific methods used on site. A short article on Bell’s Letters appeared in Penguins Progress in Spring 1939, drawing readers’ attention to Bell’s edited correspondence as a fitting representation of her remarkable life.

For authors, getting their book into Penguin was a desirable outcome. Although initially authors did not benefit financially from a Penguin contract, ultimately the firm’s visibility and availability were worth it – Penguin books were stocked in bookshops, Woolworth’s Stores and railway stations across the UK and beyond. As the success of Lane’s experiment in paperback publishing became more established, publishers began to open their lists to Lane, ensuring their authors had full advantage of the wide readership reached by Penguin/Pelican, as well as the potential for increased sales of their hardback editions. Sales figures for Penguins were estimated at around 40,000 books per year for most titles. When Woolley’s Digging was published a committee of four were responsible for selecting Pelican books: Vengalil Krishna Menon, who had worked for The Bodley Head, was head of the Editorial group, assisted by zoologist Lancelot Hogben, historian Hugh Lancelot Beales and champion of adult education William Emrys ‘Bill’ Williams. The imprint proved immediately popular, and Pelican reading clubs were started. Hundreds of books were eventually published as Pelican paperbacks but the method of selection, Hare notes, was often arbitrary. Former Penguin employee Tatyana (Tanya) Kent Schmoller’s personal recollections further highlight the haphazard nature of Pelicans. Authors for Pelican books were sought from the editorial network to cover a particular subject felt to be insufficiently represented in existing lists.

The archival evidence for Pelican’s archaeology offerings comes chiefly from Editorial files covering the books published in the imprint. These are comprised of memos and correspondence between authors, rights holders and Penguin staff members relating to a particular title. Files can be thick or thin, depending on the circumstances of the book’s history with Penguin. As Benn Ltd originally published Woolley’s Digging, its Editorial file in the Penguin archive does not reflect the writing or editing of the manuscript. Rather, it reveals the breadth of Penguin’s reach and the popularity this book enjoyed. Thirty years after it was first produced as a Pelican book it had been reprinted 11 times; a copy of each
newly reprinted edition was sent back to Benn and related correspondence generated.\textsuperscript{25}

The first Pelican edition of \textit{Digging} gave the work the subtitle ‘Romance of Archaeology’, emphasising Woolley’s own adventurous experiences in the field. In later editions this was changed to the more prosaic and detailed ‘introduction to archaeology showing how excavation has grown from a treasure hunt to a science’, suggesting that there was a change of attitude about the construction of archaeology in a postwar context.\textsuperscript{26} Fifty Pelicans had been published by the outbreak of war in September 1939 – Woolley’s \textit{Ur} had been added as A28 in February 1938 and the first volume of Bell’s \textit{Letters} as A46 in March 1939.

Archaeology was one of the subjects Lane was eager to include in Pelicans. Peter Gathercole noted that during the early years of the war Lane was corresponding with Gordon Childe, the University of Edinburgh’s Abercromby Professor of Archaeology, about the possibility of other titles and authors even as Childe was composing \textit{What Happened in History} as Pelican A108.\textsuperscript{27} During the war paper rationing was extremely restrictive. A wartime edition of Woolley’s \textit{Digging} was half the length of the postwar edition, featuring the smaller, densely packed type and flimsy binding that characterised Penguin’s wartime production.\textsuperscript{28}

However, Morpurgo argued, war brought a new ‘seriousness’ to readers; the desire for self-education rose as war work brought expanded horizons to many. The size and shape of Penguin books made them easy to pack, ship and read on the move – Penguin histories mention military readers carrying Penguins with them in their uniform or equipment pockets. Penguin’s offer expanded with the introduction of new series and a special service, the Penguin ‘Forces Book Club’, was instituted for the armed forces. The Club sought to address a shortage of reading material for these groups and was considered a way to increase morale. Pelican editor Bill Williams, Army Bureau of Current Affairs Director, was busy organising educational opportunities for the troops and took charge of the scheme. The Book Club ran from 1942 to 1943, issuing 10 books per month in a range of genres, chosen by a bespoke committee.\textsuperscript{29} Leonard Woolley’s \textit{Ur} was among the 10 chosen for the first group, published in October 1942. Eunice Frost, a key member of the Penguin team, sent him a copy, which Woolley acknowledged with pleasure.\textsuperscript{30} Other archaeological titles were also released in the scheme before it closed in September 1943. Childe’s \textit{What Happened in History} appeared in December 1942, with amateur archaeologist Samuel Edward Winbolt’s \textit{Britain BC} and Stanley Casson’s archaeological murder mystery \textit{Murder by Burial} becoming Book Club titles in February 1943.\textsuperscript{31}
The Editorial files for Woolley’s Digging and Ur help to contextualise the diversification of Woolley’s writing. The correspondence relating to the Pelican editions of these books shows that many readers believed Penguin to be the original publisher, highlighting the effectiveness of the Pelican brand for bringing archaeological books to a wider readership. Penguin’s Editorial Department, particularly the tattooed polymath known as Alan Samuel Boots Glover, who had joined Penguin during the war, and Eunice Frost acted as intermediaries between the correspondents and the authors. Correspondents wishing to reproduce excerpts of the text or plates were referred to Benn or Woolley as the original rights holders.

The content of these reproduction requests highlight the work’s reception, revealing frequency of translation and the various media using the text and images that were aimed at different audiences. One 1955 letter was a from representative of the US-based Volunteer Service for the Blind wishing to make an audio version of Digging Up the Past for the visually impaired. Permission was sought from Woolley and granted. Another letter came from the Civil Service Commission, hoping to include an extract from the Introduction to Digging in its exam papers (with full reference to the book’s Pelican edition). Woolley revised Digging for Benn in 1954, and Pelican subsequently used the revised text in reissuing the paperback. Ur was also updated and reprinted in Pelican.

In 1947 Woolley’s new book for Penguin’s King Penguin series, Ur: the first phases, was published. Launched in 1939, King Penguins were short, heavily illustrated art books, covering specific rather than general subjects. They were aimed at book collectors and encapsulated innovative printing practices to reconstruct illustrations that in previous years would have meant a high purchase price. By the end of the war Nikolaus Pevsner (who also edited Penguin’s Buildings of England books) was leading the way on King Penguins, broadening the original concept of works on natural history to include art and archaeology. Woolley dedicated his King Penguin title to his wife Katharine Woolley, who had died in 1945. She had worked with him on site for years, a vital contributor to the excavation and its publicity, and Woolley openly acknowledged her role in the creation of the book. Ur: the first phases contained numerous colour plates, showing off some of the excavation’s unique and exciting discoveries that were captivating evidence of daily life in the ancient world. Some of these images had featured in black and white in other publications, but Woolley’s King Penguin, priced at 2 shillings and sixpence, put the colour reproductions into the hands of a wider readership.
*Penguins Progress* declared that these reproductions enabled readers to appreciate the artefacts discovered more than ever before. As a King Penguin, Woolley’s book contributed an archaeological element to a series highlighting the natural, architectural and cultural landscape of Britain; it also added a rare non-Western topic to the list.

In the aftermath of war *Penguins Progress* resumed publication, promoting the latest Penguins and Pelicans. At a time when affairs in the Middle East were considered politically relevant, *Penguins Progress* sought to capture readers with titles which would improve their knowledge of the regions – one of which was a specially written Pelican from Egyptologist Iowerth Eiddon Stephen Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt.* Morpurgo characterised the late 1940s to early 1950s at Penguin as a ‘golden epoch’ for the company – a time in which new subject-specific series were instigated that had a major impact on education at upper secondary school and university level throughout Britain. As the education system expanded in Britain during this postwar period, Pelican books were used as textbooks. Morpurgo cites the medium of television as another major influence on public interest in archaeology which Pelicans addressed, with, from the early 1950s, the presence of archaeology game show *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral?* Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler was one emerging archaeological ‘celebrity’ who AVM helped bring to prominence. The ‘Pelican Archaeologies’ series met a demand that the programme stoked.

‘Pelican Archaeologies’

By the late 1940s Penguin editor Bill Williams declared in *Penguins Progress* that Penguin was now publishing a majority of original works, and that publishers were now seeking out Penguin paperbacks to reissue in hardback editions. He also announced a special subseries, ‘Pelican Archaeologies’, with Max Mallowan as editor. It was a series, Allen Lane later claimed, in which he had a special interest. Mallowan had originally worked as an assistant to Leonard Woolley at Ur. He met Agatha Christie on site at Ur and married her in 1930. Mallowan was working with Penguin from the mid-1940s as archaeological advisor, and by the time his editorship was formally announced he was Professor of Asiatic Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology in London as well as Director of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq.

In reminiscing about Allen Lane and working at Penguin, Tanya Schmoller recalled the close friendship between Allen Lane, Max
Mallowan and Agatha Christie. Lane had originally met Christie in the 1920s when he was working as a Director at The Bodley Head, the publisher of Christie’s first five novels. Christie also served as godmother for one of Lane’s daughters. The Lanes and the Mallowans visited each other, and Lane had even provided funding for Mallowan’s archaeological activities. In fact Lane’s biographer Jack Morpurgo has suggested that it was on the journey back from visiting the Mallowans that the idea behind Penguin books solidified.⁴⁴

As new Penguin editor, Mallowan set about finding books to add to the archaeology titles that Penguin had already published. Four titles were announced in the new series in 1948: Oxford Reader in Assyriology (and John Garstang’s nephew) Oliver Gurney’s ‘The Hittites’, Edinburgh’s Abercromby Chair of Archaeology holder Stuart Piggott’s ‘Early Indian Civilisation’, American archaeologist William Foxwell Albright’s ‘The Archaeology of Palestine’ and a book on ‘Ancient Asia’ by Mallowan himself.⁴⁵ The Editorial file for Gurney’s Hittites shows the process of publishing a Penguin archaeology book in some detail. First commissioned in 1946, The Hittites manuscript was not submitted until 1950; Gurney wrote to Glover with some anxiety on submission because his finished text had arrived just before another author’s book draft on the same topic.⁴⁶ Gurney consulted Mallowan as series editor on the construction of the book – in one letter he outlined his plans for a reference bibliography to add to the text. He took care to create it specifically for readers without specialist knowledge, featuring books mainly in English and those that would have been most accessible to a general readership.⁴⁷ This bibliography A. S. B. Glover was happy to approve for publication; Albright’s Archaeology of Palestine had been published the year before without a reference list, causing some reader dissatisfaction.⁴⁸ Gurney was very pleased with the final product, priced at 3 shillings and sixpence. He wrote to Allen Lane of his excitement at seeing the volumes disappearing from bookshop tables.⁴⁹ The Editorial file on Gurney’s book shows that Danish, Hebrew and German translations rights were sought within three years of its first publication.⁵⁰

Alongside commissioning original research for ‘Pelican Archaeologies’, another early Mallowan project was an abridged new edition of Gertrude Bell’s Letters, in which he acted as Lane’s initial intermediary. In 1948, having asked Gertrude Bell’s sister Elsa Lady Richmond about republication on Lane’s behalf, Mallowan reported to Lane that Ernest Benn had commissioned a new book on Bell with never-before-seen additional material – a trunkful of letters that had been left out of the
original volume. Mallowan hypothesised that the omission was due to some of them containing sensitive information. Lane wrote to Benn to follow up the lead. Benn cautiously suggested to Lane that Penguin publish a new edition of the original two-volume Letters as a single-volume Penguin, and eventually later on another volume including the additional letters could be produced. Lane, sensing the opportunity to capitalise on Bell’s celebrity and the new material, immediately proposed to Benn that Penguin publish a new edition of Bell’s Letters that incorporated both old and new material. In the end Elsa Richmond’s Selected Letters of Gertrude Bell, published in August 1953, was Pelican A275.51

Woolley’s third Pelican book, A Forgotten Kingdom, was specially written for the series and its acquisition involved both Lane and Mallowan. Mallowan had been negotiating with Woolley to acquire for Penguin the unfinished manuscript that Woolley was still working on. Allen Lane wrote to Woolley in September 1951. Full of enthusiasm for the book and in potentially being its publisher, he indicated his expectation that the book would be particularly appealing to American readers to whom Penguin’s newly established American branch would cater. Although there was an editorial team in place to facilitate the book’s publication, Allen Lane was still involved – his letter to Woolley outlined Penguin’s royalty terms of 7.5 per cent rising to 10 per cent for cloth-bound books, with an advance of £750; by contrast, Gurney, as a first time author, received simply a £100 advance.52

Woolley replied to him three days later expressing his pleasure at the possibility of his manuscript’s publication with Pelican. His response reflects the level of success he had achieved as a popular author and demonstrates his assessment of the commercial value of his work. He expressed his surprise at Lane’s offer of 7.5 per cent when he normally expected royalties of 15 per cent. Nevertheless, given Penguin’s reputation Woolley was willing to accept the terms offered, only suggesting a higher royalty rate on cloth-bound books.53

In a further demonstration of his experience in publishing and level of commercial nous Woolley noted to Lane that, while he was used to ceding English rights of his works to publishers, he claimed all rights for translated editions of his work.54 This latter clause Lane acceded to, but he repeated his original offer of 10 per cent on higher priced cloth volumes, explaining that the offer was designed to maintain the lower purchase price of the book, which he promoted as an advantage for authors in the longer term. As a token of his esteem for
Woolley, and to demonstrate his commitment to publishing Woolley’s book, Lane offered an increased advance, and suggested that the two meet in person at his home, Silverbeck. He also asked to read the manuscript. Having had the terms fully explained, Woolley refused an increase in advance and accepted Lane’s invitation to meet. Once the manuscript was submitted Glover acted as reader. His report was glowing, comparing the work favourably to Woolley’s previous Pelicans, *Digging* and *Ur*. As for the archaeological details, Woolley’s status was such that, as long as Mallowan approved, the book should proceed to production.

In *A Forgotten Kingdom* Woolley chronicled his excavations in the province of Hatay – a disputed border region between modern Syria and modern Turkey where the sites of Tell Atchana and al Mina are located. The shifting geopolitics of the region were an underlying theme; one which echoed the international character of the site in antiquity. Woolley noted in his introduction to the book that when excavations began in 1937 the site was part of ‘North Syria’. The Hatay region then became an independent entity and was finally subsumed into Turkey. Woolley begins *Kingdom* by locating the site in the landscape and justifying his selection of Atchana, ‘the Thirsty Mound’. After the introductory chapter explaining the beginnings of history there through pottery finds, each chapter is subtitled with stratigraphic layers, emphasising archaeological method through the structure of the book itself – the gradual accumulation of knowledge as the spades dig deeper. The aim of the excavation, which took place over seven seasons between 1936 and 1949 (with a break during the Second World War), was to find evidence of the links between the civilisations of the Levant and the Aegean through trade routes.

*A Forgotten Kingdom* was published in 1953. At this point, it appears, Penguin editors were beginning to take stock of the company’s success in archaeology publications – an intriguing undated note in the Editorial file contains figures showing the total copies printed and the frequency with which titles had been produced for many of the key archaeology Pelicans published to that date. Woolley’s good fortune in allying himself with Penguin from such an early period is obvious. *Digging*’s initial printing of 55,000 copies had swollen to 196,000 with 4,500 left in stock by June 1951; five reprintings had occurred between 1938 and 1951. *Ur* had done nearly as well, with a total of 149,000 copies printed and 500 in stock by June 1951, with three reprintings in between. Production levels were steady for the other ‘Archaeologies’ on the list: 75,000 copies printed of Albright’s *Archaeology of Palestine*,...
40,000 copies printed of Piggott’s newly published *Prehistoric India* and 95,000 copies (with none left in stock) of Edwards’ *Pyramids of Egypt*. When Mortimer Wheeler began his relationship with Penguin in the mid-1950s he was already a noted television star, a regular panellist on *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral?* AVM adapted University of Pennsylvania Museum Director Froelich Rainey’s original concept for his Columbia Broadcasting Service show *What in the World*. This concept was to have a panel of experts identifying ‘mystery’ objects from archaeological and ethnographic collections. Mary Adams, one of the BBC’s Executives, added a new spin – that different museums would be responsible for each week’s challenge. Wheeler had appeared on the show 18 times by autumn 1954, when he was named Guild of Television Producers and Directors’ ‘TV Personality of the Year’. His television appearances brought him considerable public visibility and celebrity status.

During this period Wheeler was also forming a relationship with Penguin. He was in touch with Penguin editor Eunice Frost about the prospect of the book that would become *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, which he was writing for the publishers George Bell & Sons, being included in the Pelican list. It is clear that Wheeler was eager to see his work published with Penguin, but George Bell & Sons were less enthusiastic about the prospect. Allen Lane had produced a proposal for terms on which the book would be published in paperback as a Pelican, but Bell & Sons clearly did not see what advantage would be gained by Lane’s terms.

Though Wheeler wanted to move forward with Penguin, he also wanted to keep Bell on side. He pleaded with Frost, whose experience with the book trade he deferred to, to come up with a plan that would appease Bell & Sons while continuing with the Pelican edition. Eventually an agreement was reached; the paperback publication would be delayed for six months after the publication of the Bell hardback edition. Once the deal was set, A. S. B. Glover managed the production of Wheeler’s first Pelican. Glover had wanted to publish Wheeler’s work in Pelican and, beyond his copyediting queries, Glover sought Wheeler’s opinion of an idea to prepare a sourcebook of classical texts on the outposts of empire covered in Wheeler’s narrative. Glover wanted to stretch Penguin’s coverage to include primary sources to complement the interpretive Pelicans, but it is unclear whether his idea ever came to fruition.

The following year the Clarendon Press approached Penguin to publish a paperback version of Wheeler’s *Archaeology From the Earth*, first issued by them in 1954. The agreement between Penguin and
Clarendon progressed quickly, and Wheeler wrote to Eunice Frost to urge haste, to take advantage of a surge in Wheeler’s celebrity status (probably resulting from his TV appearances). However, even with Wheeler’s public visibility and positive reviews, the book was not as successful as some of the other Pelican archaeologies. Both were out of print by 1960, neither of them having sold over 40,000 copies. Archaeology from the Earth remained for some years on Penguin’s lists, being reprinted in 1961; Rome had sold too few copies to be worth reprinting. However, beyond British shores Rome did find success – rights were sought to translate the work into Italian, Polish, German and French.

Oxford University Press originally published Seton Lloyd’s history of archaeology in Iraq, Foundations in the Dust, in 1947. Lloyd was an architect, training at the Architectural Association schools in London in the late 1920s, but soon afterwards embarking on his first archaeological expedition to Egypt and the Egypt Exploration Society’s excavations at Amarna for the 1929–30 season. He moved on to Iraq, working for the Oriental Institute’s excavations in the area north of Baghdad and supervising a number of sites until 1937. Thereafter he moved to Turkey, working initially for John Garstang at Mersin for a few seasons before becoming Advisor to the Iraq Department of Antiquities just before the outbreak of the Second World War. Lloyd’s long experience in archaeology and in diplomacy in Iraq (via his government position in Antiquities) certainly played a part in the construction of his 1947 history. His historical predecessors in the archaeology of Iraq – characters he introduced to the public in Foundations – had been even more enmeshed in the permeable borders between archaeology and diplomacy than he was.

The book’s concept originated in an article in The Times celebrating the century since the British archaeologist Austen Henry Layard had first begun working at Nimrud. The interconnection between interest in ancient sites and modern political and diplomatic work was highlighted still further in the fold-out map attached to the back cover of the book, which later became the only illustration in the first Pelican edition of Foundations. On this map both ancient and modern site names were given, modern road and railway lines cutting across ancient borders. Lloyd’s OUP Foundations included an introduction by Leonard Woolley, at that time one of a few prewar veterans of excavations in Iraq. Woolley’s text makes much of the contribution of British scholars to the excavation and interpretation of Iraq’s monuments and inscriptions, and the significance of exporting antiquities to Western museums for continued public interest in and awareness of both archaeology and the context of
the Ottoman Empire. The OUP edition of *Foundations* also featured the work of Lloyd’s artist-illustrator wife, Ulrica (Hyde) Lloyd. Her intriguing composite illustrations drew on and enhanced the characters and scenes that Lloyd chronicled in its pages.\(^{73}\)

*Foundations* had gone out of print by 1953 when Mallowan suggested to Allen Lane that it might be republished as a Pelican. Glover contacted OUP to seek permission for reprinting and a contract was drawn up.\(^{74}\) Asked to update the book to ensure its relevance to readers, Lloyd sought Mallowan’s advice on how the book should be changed to adapt it for publication with Pelican. Mallowan had by this point begun working in Iraq himself, excavating the site of Nimrud under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, founded in 1927 to commemorate Gertrude Bell’s life and work in the country.\(^{75}\) In the 1950s things were different. Lloyd’s Pelican was to reflect the new era – a change wrought even in the few years since his OUP *Foundations* had appeared. Mallowan and Lloyd decided that Woolley’s introduction was out of date; it was removed from the Pelican version and replaced with Lloyd’s new Preface describing the changes that had occurred, both in Iraq and in archaeology more broadly, since the book’s initial publication. Better techniques for retrieval meant that more delicate objects were emerging from the excavation relatively unscathed and, while Western archaeological teams continued to have access to Iraq’s ancient cities for excavation, Lloyd emphasised the work of (unspecified) Iraqi archaeologists on various sites.\(^{76}\)

Lloyd’s narrative, which Penguin praised enthusiastically, wove together biographies of the early nineteenth-century British diplomat-archaeologists who had travelled to the East to take up posts in administration at Consulates and Residences. It progressed chronologically through the more formal (and ‘scientific’) explorations in Mesopotamia sanctioned by the British Museum from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.\(^{77}\) The exploits of these archaeological men reinforced the sense of masculine romantic adventure pervading public perceptions of archaeology.

The presence of Mary Mackintosh Rich in Lloyd’s narrative presents an interesting and significant diversion from this male-dominated history. Married before her twentieth birthday to Claudius James Rich, Baghdad Resident and informal archaeologist during the 1820s, Mary Rich had accompanied her husband on his trips to ancient sites in the region. She outlived him, and in her widowhood edited and published two compilations of his journals in 1836. One of these contained a fragment of her own journal as an appendix to her husband’s words, the other her
own introduction to the history of Babylon. Ulrica Lloyd’s illustration of Charles and Mary Rich served as the frontispiece to OUP Foundations, but her illustrations (apart from the map) disappeared from the Penguin edition, primarily it seems because of cost. However, in Foundations’ Editorial file, Glover’s first draft of text describing the book’s contents included Mary Rich’s name alongside Rawlinson’s and Layard’s; this was removed in the later (published) version. The subtle alteration served to reinforce the dominance of great men in the history of archaeology, with reviews like the one published in The Sunday Times (quoted in the draft description) highlighting still further the appeal of Lloyd’s narrative for ‘schoolboys’ as well as ‘scholars’.

The Editorial file for Seton Lloyd’s second Pelican book, an original work called Early Anatolia, yields further insights into Max Mallowan’s editorial role at Penguin and discussions within the company about his editorial remit. A copy of a letter from Allen Lane to Max Mallowan in June of 1953 reveals Lane’s continuing involvement in soliciting authors directly to submit manuscripts to Penguin. On a trip to Athens Lane met the American archaeologist Carl Blegen, former Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, who had worked on the site of ancient Troy (Hissarlik, Turkey) in the 1930s. Blegen was eager to write a popular book for Penguin on his discoveries that would enable him to find a new audience. He had also recommended to Lane that Alan Wace, the British archaeologist and former director of the British School at Athens, should be approached to write about Mycenae, an ancient city in Greece associated with Perseus, of Greek myths.

Internal memos from Alan Glover to Lane suggest that both Glover and Lane had been discussing Mallowan’s involvement with the company. Lane wanted to bring on another archaeologist to advise on books outside Mallowan’s regional interests, although Glover’s suggestion that O. G. S. Crawford might be solicited to fulfil this role was rejected. From an editorial perspective, Glover was beginning to question how the ‘Pelican Archaeologies’ were to be marketed; whether the series was to include books covering areas and themes from outside Mallowan’s focus on ancient Middle Eastern civilisations. Titles such as Wheeler’s Rome Beyond Imperial Frontiers and Archaeology From the Earth had not gone through Mallowan’s editorship, but if they were classified as ‘Pelican Archaeologies’ Mallowan’s name would be attached to them.

The fact that ‘Pelican Archaeologies’ largely focused on the area of Max Mallowan’s research interests – Middle East and Asia – reflected the historic prominence of these areas in public consciousness. Difficulties arose editorially when attempting to fit European-focused research
into this model. In his memoir the archaeologist Glyn Daniel, who took over editing the 'Pelican Archaeologies' from Max Mallowan in the 1960s, recorded Lane's dissatisfaction over Mallowan's preference for the Middle East and Asia over a more diverse approach.\textsuperscript{64} Through the decades, because of the company's 'organic' (read haphazard) approach to commissioning, there was no one definitive scheme for the 'Archaeologies'. While Penguin actively sought to publish archaeologists' work as Pelicans between the 1930s and the 1960s, and successfully brought key archaeologists' work to a wide international readership, their attempt to plan ‘Pelican Archaeologies’ as a whole series largely failed.

However, in books relating to Mallowan's interests, his involvement could be more intensive. Seton Lloyd's \textit{Early Anatolia}, for instance, Mallowan judged to be both scholarly and accessibly written. Alongside his assessment of the book's importance, and his praise for Lloyd's approach in spreading detailed archaeological matter evenly throughout the text alongside more general insights, he had a number of recommendations. Some of these were academic, others stylistic. Anatolia was a region of special interest to Mallowan; Lloyd’s work had piqued his scholarly interest and he had read the text particularly closely. He assured Lloyd that at points where his opinion differed to Lloyd's interpretation his comments were meant to be constructive.\textsuperscript{65} Notwithstanding Mallowan’s comments, Lloyd had also asked Winifred Lamb, honorary curator in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, whose expertise he felt was unsurpassed in Britain, to comment on his text. The final manuscript incorporated both Mallowan’s and Lamb’s responses.\textsuperscript{66}

\textit{Ancient Anatolia} eventually appeared in 1956. Its production had been delayed, and Lloyd had written directly to Lane to ask for an update on progress. He was anxious: with each new discovery in the region his material was becoming more and more obsolete. Three years had passed since the work was originally commissioned, and Mallowan had already suggested to Lloyd that an appendix be added to bring the work up to date. Nonetheless, on publication Lloyd noted the positive response the work had received, including an encouraging review from Mortimer Wheeler.\textsuperscript{67}

Towards the end of the 1950s Penguin began a more formal accounting of sales figures, highlighting the relative popularity of Pelicans against Penguin’s main series titles, particularly fiction. Eunice Frost’s papers contain a valuable breakdown of sales by title and series, separated into subsections of monthly rates of sale in the UK. Over half of Penguin fiction published in 1957 sold below 750 copies per month, while
just under one-third sold over 1,000 copies per month. In comparison the Pelican (nonfiction) books sold more moderately – 84 per cent sold below 750 copies per month, while a mere seven per cent were in the top rate of sale – between 1,000 and 2,000 copies per month. Pelican archaeology titles hovered mainly between 0–500 average monthly sales. By the late 1950s Gertrude Bell’s *Letters* were listed at a rate of sale of 30 books per month; Wheeler’s *Rome* averaged 200 copies per month and Lloyd’s *Foundations* averaged 150. Woolley’s *Digging* (still in print 20 years after first publication) continued to do relatively well, with sales of 400 copies per month. One of the most successful Pelican archaeology books at this time was J. M. Allegro’s *Dead Sea Scrolls*, with sales averaging over 1,000 copies per month. Published in 1956 as Pelican A376, it told the story of the discovery in 1947 of delicate fragments of early biblical texts found in jars in a cave at the edge of the Dead Sea. Allegro was an archaeologist and one of a team working on the Scrolls at the time.

In comparison to top-selling fiction, Pelican sales were modest. The author Evelyn Waugh’s novels were among the top rates of sale in fiction, with a combined average rate of sale for *Decline and Fall*, *Scoop* and *Brideshead Revisited* equalling 4,200 volumes per month. Yet there is one significant bestselling author of fiction whose books helped to situate archaeology within popular culture: Agatha Christie. Her *Mysterious Affair at Styles*, originally published in hardback by The Bodley Head, was among the first Penguin paperbacks published (No.6). After Allen Lane made a deal with her second publisher William Collins in 1948, Christie’s mysteries began to appear in numbers, bringing her even more success. She had been a best-selling author for decades by the time Penguin’s sales data was compiled. She was also intimately familiar with archaeology as a subject. Being married to Mallowan at the time, she incorporated her experiences in a number of ‘archaeological’ novels produced between the 1930s and the 1950s: *Murder in Mesopotamia* (1936), *Death on the Nile* (1937), *Appointment with Death* (1938), *Death Comes as the End* (1944) and *They Came to Baghdad* (1951). The data in Eunice Frost’s files shows that Christie’s books, including *Death Comes as the End* and *Murder in Mesopotamia*, were selling at a rate of over 2,000 copies per month. With her personal experience and observations of archaeologists and archaeological sites Christie’s (fictional) scripted spadework reached an audience who might never have picked up a Pelican, a theme explored in more detail in the following chapter.

By the mid-1960s Welsh archaeologist Glyn Daniel began assisting Max Mallowan with the ‘Pelican Archaeologies’. Daniel had been the
main host for Animal, Vegetable, Mineral? in the mid-1950s; he held a Fellowship and taught archaeology at Cambridge. As editor of Antiquity and a new series of specialised archaeology books for Thames & Hudson called ‘Ancient Peoples and Places’, he played a critical role in deciding what and who should be published in archaeology at a time when archaeology was becoming more firmly embedded in academia; specialised university departments of archaeology (and therefore positions for ‘academic’ archaeologists) were increasing. Papers relating to Daniel’s role as ‘Pelican Archaeologies’ editor reveal that he was feeding authors who published in the ‘Ancient Peoples and Places’ series to Penguin editors Jim Cochrane and Anthony ‘Tony’ Godwin as contributors of new Pelicans.

Daniel had a firm view on the quality of work acceptable for Pelican. When Jim Cochrane suggested that Pelican republish an Encyclopaedia of Archaeology edited by BBC scriptwriter Leonard Cottrell, a prolific popular chronicler of archaeology, Daniel was scathing in his response. Instead he suggested a similar yet more scholarly venture, to be edited by an emerging archaeologist who could use the role to boost his personal finances and increase his personal visibility. Daniel was on the lookout for new talent to cultivate, and he later submitted a memo of those archaeologists who he thought might make good contributors. In a bid to expand the potential reach of archaeology beyond mere narrative text, he also suggested the creation of a new series of Pelican guides to the antiquities and archaeology of Britain.

The ‘Pelican Archaeologies’ Daniel proposed signalled a shift towards increasing specialism, a move away from a narrative driven (in part) by the popularity and public visibility of the archaeologist-author. Old titles were revised by new, up-and-coming archaeologists who had not yet made their names in the field, while proposed new titles (and authors) encompassed bold, wide-ranging themes as well as geographical/chronological works. As if to solidify the distinction between the archaeology of the past and the present, Daniel also contributed his own take on the evolution of his discipline. The Origins and Growth of Archaeology was published in 1967 as Pelican A885 (his 150 Years of Archaeology was published by Duckworth in 1950).

The success of Penguin/Pelican paperbacks encouraged other publishing houses to form their own paperback imprints. Archaeologists’ popular writing and new popular histories of archaeology began to appear from the 1950s, rivalling Penguin’s dominance. Alan Bott’s Pan paperbacks had been established as the Second
World War was ending. Mandira Sen notes that Pan initially published various genres of ‘light fiction’, but Pan Books in particular played an important role in promoting popular archaeology. As a Collins imprint, it produced paperback editions of Agatha Christie’s works alongside the Penguin editions: *Death on the Nile* was Pan Book No. 87 (1949) and *Murder in Mesopotamia* was Pan Book No. 200 (1952). A version of Mortimer Wheeler’s 1955 memoir *Still Digging* appeared as a Great Pan paperback (No. 94) in 1958, its original subtitle, ‘Interleaves from an antiquary’s notebook’, now replaced with the more exciting ‘adventures in archaeology’. In the summer of 1958 Hutchinson set up Arrow Books as a paperback imprint. ‘Grey Arrow’ was established as its nonfiction series, aiming to harness the potential market for accessibly written and priced nonfiction direct from experts that Penguin’s Pelicans had unleashed. Margaret Wheeler’s memoir *Walls of Jericho*, originally published as a Chatto & Windus hardback in 1956, appeared as a Grey Arrow paperback three years later, marketed alongside fellow Grey Arrow author Rose Macaulay, a notable novelist and travel writer.

Yet as archaeologist-authors continued to prepare manuscripts for general readers, another source of competition came in the form of Leonard Cottrell, who emerged during this period as one of the most prolific authors of popular archaeology books. In the 1950s and 1960s Cottrell wrote over 20 different nonfiction works on archaeology, with a focus on excavators and excavations in Egypt, Greece and Iraq. Cottrell’s work drew on the personal experiences of archaeologists; *The Bull of Minos*, for example, chronicled Heinrich Schliemann and Arthur Evans’s excavations in Greece and Turkey. In a nod to Cottrell’s journalistic background it drew on an interview with John Linton Myres, as well as extracts from Schliemann’s and Evans’s writings and their memories of friends. London publishing houses Evans Brothers and Robert Hale were Cottrell’s main publishers. They produced hardback editions of his works, including Evans’s ‘Cadet editions’, specially edited to appeal to younger readers. Pan produced paperback editions of Cottrell’s books with both Evans and Hale, including *The Lost Pharaohs, The Bull of Minos, Life Under the Pharaohs, Lost Cities and Wonders of Antiquity*.

As Benn and Penguin had done in the 1930s, Pan issued a marketing magazine, *Pan Record*, which was available from the company. Short articles promoted new and recently republished titles and authors. Referencing the success of Cottrell’s career at the BBC and his *Bull of Minos*, already in its second Pan edition, *Pan Record* No.20
(September 1956) encouraged readers to buy Cottrell’s *Lost Pharaohs*, a history of archaeology in Egypt. Cottrell’s history showcased the exploits of Western archaeologists in Eastern lands. Described as ‘a fascinating and romantic story’, it reinforced still further these strands of the archaeological experience and their value in scripting spadework.  

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