

HIST 265

HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITIONS

Summer 2024 (1st Online Session)

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Meeting Times: This course is conducted asynchronously, which means that student and instructor do not necessarily meet face to face, nor do we hold regular meeting times. I will, however, be more than happy to correspond regularly by e-mail or hold Zoom meetings with individual students upon request. To succeed in this course, you must be willing and able to complete all assignments on their assigned day as outlined in the Course Schedule below. Remember: you are ploughing through 15 weeks of material in just 7 weeks, without the normal rhythms of an in-person class to remind you of deadlines and keep you on track. If you fall behind by even a day or two, it will be very difficult to catch up.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course provides an introductory overview of the historical era in which Western scholars, diplomats, collectors, and soldiers transported large quantities of artifacts across ethnic and cultural boundaries in the name of science and empire, ultimately depositing these objects in institutions that purported to embody the Enlightenment mission of science, education, and preservation. From Napoleon's military and scholarly invasion of Egypt in 1798 to the nationalist obstruction of Western archaeologists in the 1930s, we will explore the ideological motivations, logistical complexities, and material results chiefly of Western archaeological expeditions in the non-Western world, but also to a lesser extent the activities of soldiers, dealers, and diplomats who collected artifacts in other ways. Our focus, however, will not be only on the archaeologists themselves. In order to fully understand the business of archaeology, we will also interrogate the history of the museum, the tensions of evolving conceptions of class and race, the impact of new media technologies, and the rise of popular adventure narratives. The course concludes with an evaluation of the popular Indiana Jones Hollywood film franchise and the ways in which it has engaged (or ignored) the legacy of archaeological expeditions during the age of Western empires.

This course is offered as part of the AU Core Program, Habits of Mind: Socio-Historical Inquiry.

COURSE MATERIALS:

We will read the following book in its entirety:

1. Justin M. Jacobs, *The Compensations of Plunder: How China Lost Its Treasures* (University of Chicago Press, 2020)

Any other readings, films, or additional materials will be made available as PDFs or internet links posted to our course website (edspace.american.edu/cave17/).

GRADING:

The breakdown of your final grade will be as follows:

Exam #1	25 pts. (25%)
<i>Night of Counting the Years</i> Paper	25 pts. (25%)
Mock Field Diary	25 pts. (25%)
Exam #2	25 pts. (25%)
Total:	100 pts. (100%)

ASSIGNMENTS

EXAMS (90 minutes). MAY 24 & JUNE 27.

Each student will complete **two (2) exams**, currently scheduled for **May 24** and **June 27**. These exams will include short essay questions and quotation identification and analysis, all of which will be selected from an expanded study guide provided by the instructor one class session before the exam. You will have 90 minutes to complete each exam. In order to get the best grade possible, make sure you provide answers and analysis that is derived from material presented and analyzed in our course—it is painfully obvious to me when students simply regurgitate a collection of factoids encountered on the internet or Wikipedia or use AI-generated responses, and these sorts of answers will receive no credit. Your answers on these exams will need to reflect your active engagement with the specificity of facts, people, events, themes, interpretations, and arguments that your instructor has developed for this course. Last but not least, please make sure your answers represent your own original work—in your own words—and do not replicate your instructor’s exact words from the recorded lectures or written commentaries unless you acknowledge the source of those words in quotations and/or parenthetical notation.

NIGHT OF COUNTING THE YEARS PAPER (5 pages). Due JUNE 6.

On May 28 you will watch an Egyptian film titled *Night of Counting the Years* (1969, 102 min.), followed by a video discussion from your instructor. You will then have just under two weeks to write a paper that applies a critical analysis to the film by drawing upon the ideas, themes, and details of historical archaeologists that you have encountered during the first half of this course. Do not spend time summarizing the plot points of the film or telling me how it was received (I’ve already watched it many times!). What I want to see in your paper is a demonstration of the knowledge you have gained thus far in this course. What messages does the filmmaker try to convey and how does he go about conveying them? What sort of ideological platforms do the various characters represent, and how does the film judge them? You should analyze the film’s characters and their actions by drawing explicit parallels and contrasts with other archaeologists and scholars that we have studied up to this point, e.g., Alcubierre, Weber, Belzoni, Petrie, Schliemann, Osman Hamdi Bey, Mariette, Bingham, Stein, to name just a few.

MOCK FIELD DIARY (~1,500 words). Due JUNE 20.

The goal of this assignment is to demonstrate your understanding of how archaeological excavations or expeditions were carried out on the ground in the source countries where Western archaeologists chose to dig for antiquities. You should organize it in the form of a series of 7-8 diary entries (about 200 words each, give or take) written in the first-person perspective of a fictional Western scholar (i.e., you) leading the expedition or excavation. (You can also adopt the perspective of a fictionalized Westernized Chinese or Middle Eastern scholar, but this would require a time frame in the 1920s or 30s and the probable presence of a Western co-leader, with the unique tensions and relationships attendant on such circumstances that we saw in Chapters 4 and 5 of *The Compensations of Plunder*.) Do *not* choose an actual historical figure—the whole point of the assignment is to demonstrate your knowledge of how an expedition from scratch might be carried out and the tensions that would be encountered. You should structure your diary so that each individual entry demonstrates your understanding of a single major theme or modes of interaction that we have learned about in this course during the semester. The following elements should all be illustrated by the musings and actions included in your diary entries:

1. Who or what is funding your expedition and what do you hope to find (i.e., what is your cultural agenda)? Will it be easy or difficult to get a passport or firman authorizing your work? Who will authorize your paperwork and how will local officials respond to it?
2. In what time and place is your expedition occurring? For example, situating your excavation in Egypt in 1815 (a la Belzoni) will result in interactions very different from Egypt in 1923 or China in 1900.
3. What types of antiquities are you hoping to discover, and what sort of ideological assumptions and biases would have accompanied the collection of such artifacts at the time and place you have chosen?
4. What types of historical figures will your expedition include and encounter, and how will you provide clues to their likely degree of education, wealth, and posture toward the expedition? Your expedition will almost certainly encounter local elites and domestic officials, in addition to interacting with local laborers or other assistants brought from your home country. How do all these different types of people interact with one another? What do they think about one another and their assigned tasks in the expedition?
5. What sort of themes or insights will you illustrate for each day of your diary? You should take particular inspiration from readings such as Petrie's "A Digger's Life" or the many examples we saw from Aurel Stein's diaries in *The Compensations of Plunder*. There are also many other primary sources we read in this class that could provide models. The sort of themes you will want to explore might include, but are not limited to:
 - a. the compensations of cooperation (diplomatic, political, social, and economic capital)
 - b. ideological or political tensions (i.e., perceptions of cultural continuity or discontinuity, secular pharaonism, Moses vs. Pharaoh, ethnocultural avatars, distinctions between "legitimate scholars" and "illegitimate treasure-seekers")
 - c. theft, disobedience, punishments, subtle and overt forms of obstruction
 - d. covert espionage

While touches of humor and creativity are most welcome, your grade on this assignment will ultimately be determined by how well you demonstrate your understanding of the material covered in this course. If you have any questions, require greater clarification, or would like feedback on a rough draft, please do not hesitate to contact me via e-mail.

STUDENT LEARNING OUTCOMES

SOCIO-HISTORICAL INQUIRY

- 1. Examine an idea, problem, policy, or institution over a defined period of time**
 - a. In this course, students will identify and trace the evolution of ideological and geopolitical factors that fueled the transport of cultural artifacts across ethnic and cultural boundaries during the age of global Western empires. Guided class discussions, two in-class exams, a take-home paper, and the production of a mock field diary will provide students with opportunities to demonstrate their grasp of the material and immaterial factors that facilitated the rise and fall of Western archaeological expeditions and excavations.
- 2. Employ a critical or systematic method to analyze the relationship between human values, ideas, institutions, policies, or perspectives and their social and historical contexts or conditions**
 - a. In this course, we will analyze and compare primary and secondary sources produced by or about Western archaeological expeditions. One paper, and two in-class exams will allow students to demonstrate their ability to differentiate between primary and secondary sources and identify author biases and agendas.
- 3. Analyze and evaluate evidence and sources to develop an argument, or other student work product, that takes into account social and historical contexts or conditions**
 - a. In this course, we will engage in close comparative readings of private and public narratives produced by archaeologists during and about their expeditions or excavations. Guided class discussions on public vs. private discourses in the writings of various archaeologists will allow students to demonstrate their ability to weigh and judge historical evidence and develop an argument sensitive to evolving cultural and political contexts.

STATEMENT ON ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Standards of academic conduct are set forth in the University's Academic Integrity Code. By registering, you have acknowledged your awareness of the Academic Integrity Code and are obligated to become familiar with your rights and responsibilities as defined by the Code. Violations of the Academic Integrity Code will not be treated lightly, and disciplinary actions will be taken should such violations occur. Please see me if you have any questions about the academic violations described in the Code in general or as they relate to the particular requirements for this course. The code is available online at <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/index.htm>.

COURSE SCHEDULE

WEEK 1

May 13: Introduction

1. **WATCH:** all twenty-one episodes of the Youtube documentary *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*. Each episode is between 11-15 minutes and the entire series will take about 3 hours to watch.
2. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** This documentary series will serve as a “visual textbook” for our course, to which you can—and should—refer back in the seven weeks ahead. In broad chronological and thematic fashion, it covers the major historical figures and interpretative concepts that we will repeatedly encounter and continue to build upon throughout the semester. I originally made these episodes as a visual companion to a textbook of the same name—and in the past used to assign that textbook in this course—but am now convinced that it is more effective in the online version of this course to simply watch the documentary all at once and then assign selected chapters from the textbook for the few topics that cannot be adequately explored in video format. You should take notes as you watch, making note of important figures, dates, and sites, along with the overall takeaway message (or messages) of each episode.

May 14: From Napoleon to the Nazis

1. **WATCH:** “Meet the Real Indiana Jones” (113:28)
2. **READ:** “Indiana Jones and the Big Lie”

May 15: Who Was Indiana Jones?

1. **LISTEN:** *Indiana Jones in History* podcast, ep. 1: “Who Was Indiana Jones?” (89:58)
2. **READ:** Petrie, “A Digger’s Life,” pp. 1–11; **Commentary I**
3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Today we engage in a general overview of the major themes that animate the historical Indiana Jones. I want you to reflect carefully on the assigned podcast episode and primary source reading. “A Digger’s Life” was written by Flinders Petrie, one of the more prominent Egyptologists to work in Egypt during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In this chapter excerpt, we see him discussing the ways in which he interacts with the poor Egyptian peasants who form his labor force in the field. Strictly speaking, Petrie is engaged in an excavation, not an expedition (that’s the case with most Egyptian digs). But many of the dynamics between educated Western scholar and illiterate, poor native unskilled laborers are the same for both excavations and expeditions. You should read Petrie’s account with the goal of identifying the ways in which his attitudes and actions reflect various elements of the historical Indiana Jones as delineated in the podcast episode.

May 16: Why Does That Belong in a Museum?

1. **LISTEN:** *Indiana Jones in History* podcast, ep. 2: “Why Does that Belong in a Museum?” (73:19)
2. **READ:** di Venuti, “A Description of the First Discoveries of the Ancient City of Heraclea”; Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Mission Statement”; “A Baltimore Museum Tried to Raise Money by Selling Three Pricey Artworks: It Backfired Stupendously”; **Commentary II**
3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Our focus for this topic is the modern public museum. In our podcast and documentary episodes, we learned about the evolution of the unique institution of the museum, from private royal collections to “cabinets of curiosities” to the Louvre. Two of the more interesting transitional sites on this journey toward the modern museum were Herculaneum and Pompeii, both first excavated during the middle of the 18th century, about the same time as plans for the British Museum and Louvre were gaining steam. I have asked you to read two primary sources, separated from each other by more than 200 years. The present-day mission statement of the Metropolitan Museum represents the polished discourse of one of the most powerful and wealthiest museums in the world today. By contrast, the *Description of the First Discoveries of the Ancient City of Heraclea* was published by Marcello di Venuti in 1750 as a preliminary overview of the accomplishments of the work of Alcubierre at Herculaneum up to that point. What you have here is di Venuti’s preface from his book, with its original orthography (in which the letter “s” looks like the letter “f” and he expects all of his readers to be fluent in Latin—just skip over those parts!). You should recognize the year 1750, when di Venuti’s book was published, as representing a significant turning point in the history of the museum, both in the Bay of Naples and in Paris. As such, you should regard di Venuti’s writings here as a transitional phenomenon—he both anticipates the imminent creation of the modern public museum AND reminds us of how far the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii have to go before they will truly embody the ideals of the Louvre 43 years later. Try to identify the ways in which di Venuti’s preface both *does* and *does not* embody the ideals of the modern museum. In doing so, you should make an explicit contrast with the mission statement of the Metropolitan Museum, which fully embodies the ideals of the modern museum (even if it also conceals less savory agendas).

WEEK 2

May 20: Early Expeditions in the Ottoman Empire

1. **READ:** Belzoni, “Narrative of the Operations...”; “Text of Elgin’s Second *Firman*”; **Commentary III**
2. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Today we are taking a closer look at two of the earliest and most famous expeditions in the Ottoman Empire, which was the nearest empire to western Europe that was perceived by the Europeans as representing a significant culturally alien “other.” The agents of these removals were Giovanni Belzoni and Lord Elgin, both of whom undertook their activities during the first two decades of the 19th century and both of whose acquisitions eventually ended up at the British Museum—where they remain to this day. I’ve

asked you to read two primary sources related to these expeditions: the *firman* which gave permission Elgin's men to remove sculptures from the Parthenon in Athens and Belzoni's own published account of how he came to Egypt, met the *pasha* ("Bashaw") Muhammad Ali, and eventually decided to remove the granite head of the ancient pharaoh Ramesses II ("the Memnon Head") from the west bank of Luxor (ancient "Thebes"). In reading these primary sources, look for evidence of the attitudes of the Egyptian and Ottoman authorities toward Belzoni and Elgin. Why are Elgin and Belzoni given the freedom to do pretty much do as they please with the antiquities of Thebes and Athens? In other words, what is the ultimate source of their leverage that results in such favorable treatment by the local authorities in Cairo and Athens?

May 21: Consuming Indiana Jones

1. **READ:** "Consuming Indiana Jones," in *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*, pp. 61–92; Bingham, "The Discovery of Machu Picchu"; Stein, "Explorations in Central Asia, 1906-8"; **Commentary IV**
2. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** For this topic we are taking a closer look at the relationship between specialized scholarly enterprise (-ology) and the popular media consumption of the material fruits of this expertise (-mania), both of which arose in the 19th century. Though our focus in the textbook chapter "Consuming Indiana Jones" is Egyptology vs. Egyptomania (and Maya-mania), you could append "-mania" and "-ology" to pretty much any field of study that the historical Indiana Jones engaged in. For instance, the primary sources I've asked you to read today could be characterized as the embodiment of "Inca-mania" (Hiram Bingham and Machu Picchu) and "Silk Road-ology" (Aurel Stein in Central Asia). Compare the style and content of Bingham's published account of his discovery of Machu Picchu in 1913 with Stein's published account of his various discoveries along the Silk Road in northwestern China in 1909. Please don't read Stein's account word for word—you'll fall asleep in less than five minutes. But that's sort of my point: what is it about Stein's presentation that places him firmly within the category of Silk Road-ology, while Bingham's account is clearly the embodiment of Inca-mania?

May 22: The Age of Discontent

1. **READ:** "The Age of Discontent," in *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*, pp. 93–122; Hasan Al-Banna, "Between Yesterday and Today" (skim read); Naguib Mahfouz, *Thebes at War* (excerpt); **Commentary V**
2. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** For this session, we are interested in exploring the economic and cultural divide between modern Egyptian elites and the majority of the people over whom they govern. Our lens of analysis is their respective responses to the Western obsession with ancient Egypt, either in Egyptomania or Egyptology guise. In Episode XI of the Youtube documentary, chapter 4 of the textbook, Hasan al-Banna's "Between Yesterday and Today," and Naguib Mahfouz's *Thebes at War*, we see their divergent views come to fore. Compare these two platforms in detail, with supporting evidence drawn from the two major Egyptian voices covered in our readings: Naguib Mahfouz and Hasan al-Banna.

How do they respond differently to the pharaonic past, and how are these divergent responses rooted in issues of class and culture?

3. **Study Guide for Exam #1 available today**

May 23: * NO NEW CONTENT *****

1. **STUDY:** for Exam #1

May 24: * EXAM #1 *****

1. Exam #1 will be posted to our course Canvas page today at 9 a.m. EST under both the “Announcements” and “Files” sections of the site. Upload your completed exam to Canvas no later than 10:30 a.m. EST. If you are located in a time zone that will make it particularly difficult to complete the exam within this timeframe or have other commitments at that time, please contact me directly to make alternative arrangements. However, please note: if you are granted permission to take the exam at a different time, make sure you do *not* log in to Canvas before your appointed time, since this will grant you early access to the exam. Canvas records all log-in times for every user, and I will be checking this feature to verify that you did not gain access to the exam before your allotted window. Finally, make sure that your answers reflect your understanding of interpretations, details, and debates presented in this course—answers derived from Wikipedia, online searches, and AI that evince no engagement with course materials will not receive credit.

WEEK 3

May 27: * NO SCHEDULED CONTENT—MEMORIAL DAY *****

May 28: *The Night of Counting the Years*

1. **WATCH:** *The Night of Counting the Years* (1969, 102 minutes); “Analysis of *The Night of Counting the Years*” (49:40)
2. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** For today’s class session I’ve asked you watch an Egyptian film from 1969. It is based upon an actual event in history in which a hidden cache of ancient mummies were discovered by chance by a local Egyptian in the 1870s: one day a man named Abd el-Rassul Ahmed was herding his sheep through one of the mountain ridges high above the Valley of the Kings, which lies in the hills along the west bank of the Nile River in Luxor in Upper Egypt. All of a sudden, his goat fell into a hidden crevice. After cursing his misfortune, Abd el-Rassul Ahmed decided to explore this hole in the ground. It turned out to be an ancient tomb from the New Kingdom era (1500-1000 BC), but it contained far more than just the mummy of the tomb’s originally intended occupant, Panedjem II, a high priest of the god Amun. In addition to Panedjem’s mummy and those of his family members, it also contained the mummies of more than 50 pharaohs, queens, and lesser royals, including the legendary kings Thutmose III, Seti I, and Ramesses II. Apparently, these were all mummies whose tombs in the Valley of the Kings below had been raided in antiquity, so the kings of a later dynasty decided to remove the mummies for safekeeping in this high, inaccessible burial

shaft. And there they stayed for two thousand years. After his discovery, Abd el-Rassul Ahmed and his extended family members decided to keep the hidden cache a secret and sell valuable artifacts from the mummy's coffins on the open market. (Each mummy could have as many as 150 valuable objects, such as gold amulets and bejeweled daggers, wrapped within the linens that enfolded it.) As valuable artifacts started to appear on the market, Emile Brugsch, the French director of the Egyptian Antiquities Service at the time, decided to investigate the origin of these remarkable artifacts that kept appearing in Cairo. Eventually a member of the Abd el-Rassul Ahmed family revealed the location of the tomb and all the contents of the cache were removed to the National Museum in Cairo. This movie, released in 1969, draws upon these events for its main plotlines. It's not a terribly exciting movie, so make sure you aren't sleepy when you start to watch it. But it wonderfully illustrates some of the tensions that we've been exploring in this course, and a close and careful viewing will be amply rewarded with historical insights. While watching the film, I'd like you to think about the following questions: Whose side this film is on? Does the filmmaker sympathize more with the fictionalized version of the Abd el-Rassul Ahmed family, with the fictionalized version of Gaston Maspero and the Antiquities Service, or with the fictionalized Egyptian antiquity dealers? What does the Egyptian filmmaker want his Egyptian audience to take away from this film? Is his ideological agenda more representative of that of the Westernized Egyptian elite or of that of the Muslim masses?

May 29: The Lost Treasures of China

1. **LISTEN:** *Beyond Huaxia*, ep. 32: "The Lost Treasures of China" (75:38)
2. **BROWSE:** Chimei Museum website (URL link is under "Multimedia Resources")
3. **READ:** "A Scholar-Painter's Diary"; **Commentary VI**
4. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Today we leave Europe and the Near East behind and make our way to China. We want to try and answer several important questions. For example, in what ways was the collection of Chinese antiquities both similar to and different from that which have thus far seen in Western lands? When did the exodus of Chinese art from East Asia take place and what sort of art was targeted in different times and places? The podcast episode will help you answer the who, what, when, and where, while "A Scholar-Painter's Diary" will illustrate the mode of interaction between Confucian elites and works of art that long predated the arrival of Western collectors. Finally, take some time to browse through the English-language website of the Chimei Museum, which is located in the city of Tainan on the island of Taiwan. What sort of artwork is this museum's collection chiefly comprised of? Does this surprise you? If so, why? And most importantly, what insight might you be able to draw about modern museum collecting practices from the revelation of the unique holdings of the Chimei Museum?

May 30: Scholars at War

1. **READ:** Morley, "Three Classified Reports on Central American Geography, Economy, and People" (1918—skim read); Lisa Leff, *The Archive Thief: The*

Man Who Salvaged French Jewish History in the Wake of the Holocaust, pp. 1–22, 199–204; “Three Speeches by Wernher von Braun”; **Commentary VII**

2. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Today we deal with the longstanding tendency of archaeologists (and scholars more generally) to pursue covert—and sometimes morally odious—agendas under the impeccable cover of “science” in the decades before World War I (and sometimes beyond). To illustrate this phenomenon more fully, I’ve asked you to consider the activities the American archaeologist Sylvanus Morley, the Nazi expeditions of the Ahnenerbe, the archival thefts of Jewish nationalist Zosa Szajkowski, and the political afterlife of Nazi rocket scientist Wernher von Braun (you may want to refresh your memory of the details of each by re-watching episodes 19–21 of the Youtube documentary). Think about the following questions: 1) What sort of intelligence does Morley provide to the U.S. government and when does it cross the line into a morally dubious enterprise? 2) Do the archival thefts and scholarly activities of Zosa Szajkowski in any way embody the flip side of the ideological coin as represented by the Ahnenerbe expeditions? 3) How does Wernher von Braun invoke the ostensibly altruistic ideals of politically disinterested science in order to further the political goals of his employer (i.e., the U.S. Army)?

May 31: Evolution of the Smithsonian

1. **WATCH:** “Evolution of the Smithsonian” (53:20)
2. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Today we will explore the history of America’s most famous scholarly institution: the Smithsonian Institution. Be prepared to think about the ways in which the evolution of the museums and events sponsored by the Smithsonian reflect the tensions between “-ology” and “-mania” as well as the changing expectations of what a public museum should even be.

WEEK 4

June 3: Dinosaur Nationalism

1. **WATCH:** “The Politics of Dinosaur Fossils” (43:10)
2. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** If you thought that only historical artifacts were susceptible to being infused with a politicized and nationalist agenda, then think again! Today we will learn how prehistorical objects also get folded into the ideological umbrella of nationalism: in this case, dinosaurs more than 100 million years old will be perceived as somehow representative of the essence of the modern American nation. This is a preview of the same ideological agenda that will get foisted upon the dinosaur eggs found by Roy Chapman Andrews in China in the 1920s and how Chinese intellectuals will view the bones of “Peking Man” during the same decade.

June 4: The Compensations of Plunder

1. **READ:** Jacobs, *The Compensations of Plunder: How China Lost Its Treasures*, pp. 1–49
2. **WATCH:** “The Compensations of Plunder” (79:35)

3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Equipped with general background knowledge about the history of archaeological expeditions and excavations in Europe, Egypt, and China, we are now ready to dive into the fruits of my own research along the Silk Road. Over the past fifteen years, these findings have led me to formulate the concept of “the compensations of cooperation” which in a slightly tongue-in-cheek form (as “plunder”) also lends its name to the book we will be reading in full. The introduction of the book and video lecture will provide you with a fuller understanding of just what I mean by this phrase. Pay close attention to the major concepts, historical figures, and scholarly debates presented in the Introduction and video lecture, as they form the basis for much of our understanding of events in China that we will be covering over the coming weeks.

June 5: Sahibs in the Desert

1. **READ:** Jacobs, *The Compensations of Plunder: How China Lost Its Treasures*, pp. 50–83; “A Poem of Praise for the Expedition, by Obulmahdi of Karakhoja”
2. **WATCH:** “Sahibs in the Desert” (67:35)
3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Today you will read about the economic capital that formed the primary incentive for poor, mostly illiterate Muslim and Chinese peasants to engage the “compensations of cooperation” offered by Western archaeologists in northwestern China during the early decades of the twentieth century. Pay attention to the various forms of economic compensation that manual laborers and guides coveted in return for their services. Though wages are an obvious incentive, there was much more on tap than just cold, hard cash. Just as important are the *disincentives* to cooperate that certain members of these expeditions experienced. Toward this end, pay close attention to the nature of discontent and disputes that Stein had with Ram Singh (discussed in the Introduction) and Li Yuansun (discussed in this chapter). And finally, be sure to read closely “A Poem of Praise for the Expedition,” which was written by a Muslim Uyghur in northwest China about the German archaeologist Albert von Le Coq, for whom the author worked as a guide. How does the poem portray Le Coq? Does this surprise you? What sort of incentives to cooperate with men like Le Coq are mentioned in this poem? (Note: the poem is translated by Dr. Eric Schluessel, and I have retained his original introduction that he added for use in his own class at GW.)

June 6: * NIGHT OF COUNTING THE YEARS PAPER DUE *****

1. **SEND** → upload your paper to Canvas by 11:59 p.m. EST

WEEK 5

June 10: Accumulating Culture

1. **READ:** Jacobs, *The Compensations of Plunder: How China Lost Its Treasures*, pp. 84–114
2. **WATCH:** “Accumulating Culture”

3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Our topic for today is the relationship that educated—and usually wealthy—elites have both with each other and with art and antiquities. (You might want to revisit our earlier reading “A Scholar-Painter’s Diary”.) As you read this chapter, you should be thinking about the ways in which the mode of engagement between Confucian elites and their antiquities conditioned them to treat Western archaeologists in a way that allowed the latter to remove untold amounts of cultural treasures without becoming the target of criticism from the Confucian elites themselves. Why didn’t the Chinese regard men like Stein or Pelliot as thieves, even after they knew what they had taken and how they had taken it? How does the case study of Dunhuang colophons illustrate the Confucian mode of engagement with antiquities and their views toward Western collectors? Last but not least, think about the nature of the social and political capital that was coveted by the Chinese officials and scholars with whom the Western archaeologists interacted.

June 11: Gentlemen of Empire

1. **READ:** Jacobs, *The Compensations of Plunder: How China Lost Its Treasures*, pp. 115–49
2. **LISTEN:** *Indiana Jones in History* podcast, ep. 3: “Who Enabled Indiana Jones?” (92:01)
3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Today’s chapter and podcast will address more fully than we’ve seen before the various forms of capital that Western archaeologists and local elites from the host country exchanged with one another during the course of an expedition. Do you find the argument about political and social capital being perceived as more valuable than artifacts convincing or not? Do you think that there is still room for corruption, deceit, and coercion to play a role in the relationships you see discussed in this chapter? Do you think that any of the forms of compensations described in this chapter may still be coveted by politicians today?

June 12: The Priceless Nation

1. **READ:** Jacobs, *The Compensations of Plunder: How China Lost Its Treasures*, pp. 150–86
2. **WATCH:** “The Priceless Nation”
3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Today’s chapter treats a very important theme that can be applied in any country throughout the world where foreign archaeologists undertook excavations or expeditions. In short, how did everything change? How did we go from a world in which Western archaeologists were almost always regarded as scientific heroes to a world in which they were more often regarded as thieves? The chapter we are reading today analyzes this question through two distinct case studies: the aborted obstruction of Governor Yang Zengxin toward Aurel Stein in Turfan in 1914–15, and the first Fogg Museum expedition to Dunhuang led by Harvard art historian Langdon Warner in 1923–24. In the two decades which frame these expeditions, men like Stein and Warner find the political grounds shifting underneath their feet. While reading this chapter, try to

identify the various political and cultural conditions necessary to create an ideological environment in which Indiana Jones the hero becomes Indiana Jones the villain—despite the fact that “Indiana Jones” himself has hardly changed his ways at all.

June 13: Rise of the Apprentices

1. **READ:** Jacobs, *The Compensations of Plunder: How China Lost Its Treasures*, pp. 187–227
2. **WATCH:** “Rise of the Apprentices”
3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Now it gets really interesting! The subject of the chapter we are reading for today is cooperation—but it is a very different type of cooperation than we are used to seeing within the framework of “the compensations of plunder.” Now we’ve reached the era when non-Western elites have been raised within a Western educational environment, whether at home or abroad. It should not surprise us, then, to find these non-Western Westernized elites subscribing to the exact same view of the political value of art and antiquities that the Western scholars have long subscribed to. Normally the result of such a situation would be intractable conflict. But the 1920s and 30s was still a time when most non-Western countries found themselves far poorer and weaker than the Western empires. So while the Westernized Chinese elites discussed in this chapter are fully capable of replacing the Westerners themselves on the expedition trail, they do not yet have the resources to undertake the same sort of expedition themselves. The result are mixed expeditions consisting of Western and Westernized native elites—a situation ripe for tensions and comedy. Take careful note of these tensions, with particular attention paid to men like Chen Wanli, Xu Xusheng, Yuan Fuli, and Huang Wenbi. What is their background, what do they want, and how do they go about pursuing their goals? How do Langdon Warner and Sven Hedin, the Westerners in charge of these mixed expeditions, respond differently to the tensions raised by working in tandem with their Westernized Chinese colleagues?

WEEK 6

June 17: Foreign Devils Begone

1. **READ:** Jacobs, *The Compensations of Plunder: How China Lost Its Treasures*, pp. 228–86
2. **WATCH:** “Foreign Devils Begone”
3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Today we reach the definitive end of unilateral Western archaeological expeditions. Not surprisingly, those Westerners who had long been accustomed to getting their way in foreign lands will prove most reluctant to adapt to the new conditions. In what ways are Roy Chapman Andrews and Aurel Stein different from each other? In what ways are they the same? Why did Stein think he could succeed where Hedin and Andrews had failed? Think also about the fact that not everyone in China actually tried to obstruct Stein. Who in China tried to help him and why? Considering the surprising amount of support

for Stein’s fourth expedition among Chinese and Muslims of diverse backgrounds, why did he choose to give up in the end? What do you think would have happened if he didn’t? Regarding the conclusion of the book, I want you think hard on the implications of the author’s argument. Is the “compensations of plunder” really the “compensations of cooperation,” or is it really plunder? Do you agree or disagree with the points made in the conclusion?

June 18: Confronting Indiana Jones in the Middle East

1. **LISTEN:** *Indiana Jones in History* podcast, ep. 4: “Who Confronted Indiana Jones?” (stop at 48:30)
2. **READ:** “Excerpts from the Diary of Howard Carter, 1923–24”; **Commentary VIII**
3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Now that we understand the interpretive concept of the “compensations of plunder,” we are ready to see how these compensations experienced a dramatic deflation in value in the decades after World War I. In analyzing this process, we will focus chiefly on events and historical actors in the Near and Middle East, since the situation in China was addressed more fully in *The Compensations of Plunder*. Pay close attention to the nature of obstruction experienced by Western archaeologists in foreign lands and how this changed after 1914. More specifically, we will address the Sardis excavations in Turkey and Carter’s work on the tomb of Tutankhamun in Egypt. For Carter, we have access to a valuable historical resource: the diary he kept while attempting to manage the disputes that arose after the discovery of Tut’s tomb. In reading these selected excerpts from Carter’s diary, think about the specific sources of tensions that led to conflict among Howard Carter, representatives of the Egyptian government in Cairo, and Pierre Lacau, the French director of the Egyptian Antiquities Service as they prepared to unveil Tutankhamun’s sarcophagus in the winter of 1923–24.

June 19: * NO SCHEDULED CONTENT—JUNETEENTH *****

1. **WORK:** on your Mock Field Diary

June 20: * MOCK FIELD DIARY DUE *****

1. **SEND →** upload your Mock Field Diary to Canvas by 11:59 p.m. EST

June 21: Confronting Indiana Jones in the Middle East

1. **LISTEN:** *Indiana Jones in History* podcast, ep. 4: “Who Confronted Indiana Jones?” (stop at 48:30)

WEEK 7

June 24: Creating Indiana Jones

1. **WATCH:** *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981, 115 min.) You can stream this film on many different subscription streaming services or simply pay \$2.99 to stream it

through Amazon or Youtube. Unfortunately, the AU library does not offer a free streaming link, though it does have a physical copy of the DVD if you can make it to campus. (And a little bit of internet sleuthing will likely turn up some sites where you can watch it for free...)

2. **READ:** “*Raiders of the Lost Ark: Story Conference Transcript, 1978*,” pp. 1–19
3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Today you will read the first nineteen pages of a transcript of a brainstorming session held in January 1978, in which George Lucas, Stephen Spielberg, and Larry Kasdan discuss their ideas for the first Indiana Jones film (*Raiders of the Lost Art*, 1981). Then you will also watch the final film that resulted from this brainstorming session. The brainstorming transcript, which runs to over one hundred pages, was leaked to the internet when the fourth film, *Kingdom of the Crystal Skull*, was released in 2008. We know it is authentic because several pages of it—carefully vetted—were reproduced in an officially licensed coffee table book that provided a retrospective of the first three films. For today’s class, I want you to be able to apply a critical analytical lens to both the brainstorming transcript and the film. Are they faithful mirror images of one another, or do they diverge in some ways? As they discuss their ideas for a film that will star an archaeologist, do the filmmakers seem to have much knowledge about the actual history of archaeological expeditions? Where do the film and brainstorming transcript reproduce—consciously or unconsciously—some of the major themes and concepts that we have discussed over the past fourteen weeks of our class? Is there anything in either the film or brainstorm that disturbs you today?

June 25: Hollywood vs. History

1. **LISTEN:** *Indiana Jones in History* podcast, ep. 5: “Did Hollywood Get It Right?” (94:04)
2. **READ:** “Hollywood vs. History,” from *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*, pp. 225–50
3. **FOOD FOR THOUGHT:** Today you will read and listen to my analysis of Hollywood vs. History and how I find divergences and convergences between the 1978 brainstorm, *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, and the historical archaeologists that we have been studying in this course throughout this semester. As you listen to my critique, you should be thinking about how you might avoid the pitfalls pointed out in the podcast episode while still retaining some of the entertainment value that a mainstream action film requires. Here is where you will learn which sort of plot elements are plausible for a historically informed Indiana Jones film—and which ones are not. (Note: Both this recorded lecture and book chapter predate the release of the fifth Indiana Jones film in Summer 2023, which explains the many references to coming up with more historically accurate ideas for a plausible plotline. The movie itself simply avoided all these issues by choosing an artifact and backdrop that did not take Indiana Jones outside of the boundaries of Western culture.)

4. Study Guide for Exam #2 available today

June 26: * NO NEW CONTENT *****

2. STUDY: for Exam #2

June 27: * EXAM #2 *****

2. Exam #2 will be posted to our course Canvas page today at 9 a.m. EST under both the “Announcements” and “Files” sections of the site. Upload your completed exam to Canvas no later than 10:30 a.m. EST. If you are located in a time zone that will make it particularly difficult to complete the exam within this timeframe or have other commitments, please contact me directly to make alternative arrangements. However, please note: if you are granted permission to take the exam at a different time, make sure you do *not* log in to Canvas before your appointed time, since this will grant you early access to the exam. Canvas records all log-in times for every user, and I will be checking this feature to verify that you did not gain access to the exam before your allotted window. Finally, make sure that your answers reflect your understanding of interpretations, details, and debates presented in this course—answers derived from Wikipedia, online searches, and AI that evince no engagement with course materials will not receive credit.