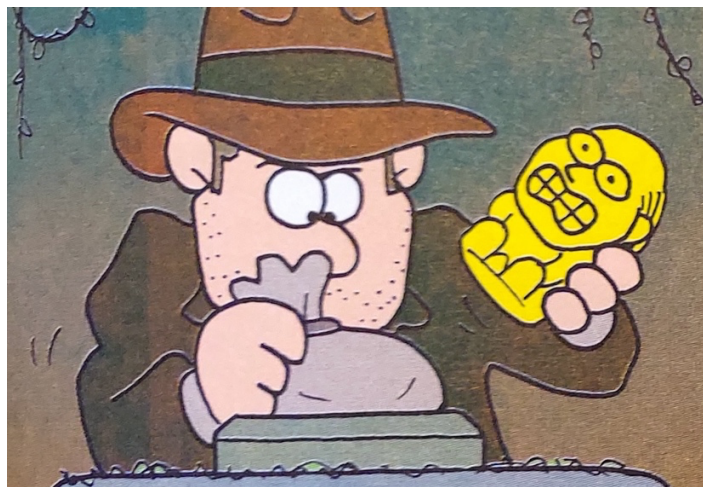


HIST 265
HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL
EXPEDITIONS

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Course Website
<http://edspace.american.edu/cave17/>

Office Hours
Tues. & Fri., 11:30-12:30 (Battelle 153)



COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course provides an overview of the historical era in which Western scholars, diplomats, collectors, and soldiers transported large quantities of artifacts across ethnic and cultural boundaries and then deposited them 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. To a lesser extent, we will also examine the activities of soldiers, dealers, and diplomats who collected artifacts by other methods. Our focus, however, will not be only on the various collectors themselves. In order to fully understand the business of archaeology, we will also interrogate the history of the museum, 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

All readings, films, videos, and audio recordings will be provided for free either on Canvas or your instructor's personal course website (<http://edspace.american.edu/Cave17/>). There are no required course materials to purchase.

STUDENT ASSIGNMENTS

MAP QUIZ (10 minutes). SEPTEMBER 10.

Over the course of this semester we will be following archaeologists and collectors across the world and will become familiar with many now iconic sites and artifacts. In order to gain a better spatial sense of where all the action is taking place, each student will take a short ten-minute map quiz in class on September 10. This quiz will require you to identify on a blank printed map the names of twenty sites or artifacts that we will encounter during this course. A study guide that

includes both the map and all twenty identifications in their proper locations has been posted to Canvas to assist in your review. **Please note:** when marking the site of artifacts that have since been transported to Western museums on the map, you must mark the original spot where the artifact was located before it was moved abroad. In other words, if you label the Elgin Marbles as being in London (which is where they are today), your answer will be marked as incorrect and you will lose points.

ARTIFACTION REPORT (1,500-2,000 words). OCTOBER 15.

When an archaeologist removes an object from a site and places it an exhibit in a museum, this object undergoes a process of “artifaction.” This awkward word is just a fancy way of saying that the utility and meanings of an object are transformed by its placement into a new context. Not only is this process of transformation fundamental to the discipline of archaeology, but it also served to mark perceived divisions between “enlightened” Westerners (who supposedly turned artifacts into didactic tools to improve the world) and “backward” non-Westerners (who didn’t). We will discuss the process of artifaction at length during our September 27 class session, which includes a very important reading on the topic. You will then have two weeks to visit three Smithsonian museums and exhibits in person and write a short paper—i.e., “Artifaction Report”—that analyzes three (3) examples of “artifaction” on display.

You must choose *one artifact from each* of the following three Smithsonian sites:

- National Museum of Asian Art (formerly the Freer and Sackler Galleries)
- National Museum of African Art (*not* the African-American Museum)
- “Eternal Life in Ancient Egypt” exhibit (2nd floor, National Museum of Natural History)

For each artifact you profile, you must identify and analyze the following three aspects of the object:

1. **its function and meaning in its original incarnation**
 - a. who likely owned it/commissioned it/created it and for what purpose was it used?
 - i. read the explanatory placards, watch videos and listen to audio presentations, talk to the docents, read the museum brochures and other literature, compare your artifact to other artifacts nearby, and do a little bit of internet sleuthing based on what you learn from these sources
2. **how it was likely collected and transported from its original location**
 - a. what was the ideological motivation to do so, how was it most likely acquired?
 - i. look for evidence of a named collection that the artifact belongs to or named fund that helped to purchase it, then try to learn something about that name
 - ii. plug in the various information recorded on the explanatory placard on Google and see what sort of additional leads come up, while also checking other nearby artifacts to see if any connections or gaps in information can be filled in
3. **its new function and meaning as an exhibit item on display at this museum**
 - a. what new practical and ideological function does it serve in the museum?

- i. try and “read” the room in which this artifact is displayed, along with all extant museum literature and signs—what takeaway messages are museum patrons supposed to imbibe, both about the artifact itself and the larger agenda of the museum staff, donors, and government sponsors?
- ii. observe the foot traffic near your artifact for 5-10 minutes—how are people interacting or not interacting with these intended messages?

One of the great virtues of studying at American University is having the ability to visit these impressive museums in person. In order to ensure that you get up close and personal with your artifacts and take in the sights and sounds of an in-person museum experience, you must include a selfie photo of yourself in front of each artifact that you are analyzing within your report. Artifaction Reports that are clearly based upon internet searches and do not include any evidence of an in-person visit will receive no credit.

IN-CLASS EXAMS (75 minutes). SEPTEMBER 24, OCTOBER 29, DECEMBER 3.

Each student will complete three (3) in-class exams. The exams will include a range of identifications, short essay questions, and primary source quotation analysis, all of which will appear on an expanded study guide one class session before the exam. The actual exam will consist of roughly one-third of the material from the study guide, *with all identifications, prompts, and quotations selected by your instructor*. In other words, everything on the exam will have already appeared on the study guide, but you will not know which material from the study guide will appear on the exam until the day of the exam. In order to get the best grade possible, make sure you provide answers and analysis that are derived from material presented and analyzed in our course—it is painfully obvious to me when students simply regurgitate factoids found on Wikipedia or some other unvetted internet website. *Answers that are not derived from details and interpretations presented in course materials will not receive any credit.*

GROUP SKITS (15 minutes). DECEMBER 6.

I am not generally a big fan of group projects, but I’ll make an exception for a well-conceived and enthusiastically performed historical skit. On the last day of class, you and a randomly selected group of 3-4 classmates will perform a 15-minute skit in front of the class that demonstrates your detailed understanding of how to run an archaeological excavation or expedition during the heyday of Western empires. The events, dialogue, characters, artifacts, and action that occurs in your skit should reveal your mastery of major themes and topics explored in our course, from the initial formation of the archaeological enterprise all the way until the material fruits of the excavation are transported abroad and deposited in new homes. To the extent possible, students should attempt to memorize their lines or at least work off short notes. Whatever you do, do NOT read from your script! Costumes and props are welcome but not required. Your classmates for this skit will be randomly assigned by the instructor approximately 3-4 weeks into the semester once the class roster has been finalized.

GRADING:

The breakdown of your final grade will be as follows:

Map Quiz	10 pts. (10%)
Artifaction Report	20 pts. (20%)

Exam #1	20 pts. (20%)
Exam #2	20 pts. (20%)
Exam #3	20 pts. (20%)
Group Skit	10 pts. (10%)
Total:	100 pts. (100%)

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, three in-class exams, a museum artifact report, and the development and performance of a group skit 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. Guided class discussions, one museum artifact report, and three 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

August 27: WHO WAS INDIANA JONES?

1. **READ:** “Introduction,” in *Plunder? How Museums Got Their Treasures*, pp. 7–21
 - a. This reading will be posted to Canvas and may only be used for this assignment. Please do not circulate the PDF to anyone outside this course.

August 30: INTRODUCTION * ZOOM SESSION *****

1. **NOTE:** Today’s session will be conducted remotely via Zoom—a link will be posted to Canvas in the “Announcements” section. In order to maximize our time in class, I have moved the standard course introduction spiel to today rather than the first day of the course.

WEEK 2

September 3: HOW DID CHINA LOSE ITS TREASURES?

1. **READ:** “The Treasures of China,” in *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*, pp. 123–56
2. **READ:** “One of the First to Emerge from the Library Cave: The Seattle Art Museum Sutra Fragment,” pp. 77–94
 - a. This is a fascinating article that attempts to trace the long and complicated journey of an ancient Buddhist sutra once it was discovered by an illiterate Daoist priest in the secret “library cave” (now Cave 17) at the Mogao Grottoes in northwestern China in the year 1900. As the author slowly unravels the mystery of the many hands through which this sutra passed over the century since its unexpected discovery, pay attention to the *means* of such transfers: that is, why and how does the sutra keep ending up in another person’s possession? Is there any common theme that unites the various people through whose hands this sutra passes over the first four decades of the 20th century? What does this tell us about Chinese conceptions of the ownership of antiquities at this time?

September 6: HOLLYWOOD VS. HISTORY

1. **READ:** “*Raiders of the Lost Ark*: Story Conference Transcript, 1978,” pp. 1–19
 - a. This is the first chunk of a series of brainstorming sessions held by the creative team behind the first Indiana Jones film, *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981). The sessions were recorded and later transcribed, then leaked to the media in 2008 when the fourth Indiana Jones film, *Kingdom of the Crystal Skull*, was released. As you will see in this brief excerpt, Lucas, Spielberg, and Kasdan had good reason to keep the details of these sessions under wraps. You should read this transcript with an eye toward understanding how Lucas originally conceived the character of Indiana Jones and his relationship with antiquities and museums. Also pay attention to their sources of creative inspiration, attention (or lack thereof) to historical detail, and their ideas about “Oriental” peoples and “exotic” non-Western locales.

WEEK 3

September 10: VISUALIZING THE MAJOR THEMES

1. **WATCH:** all 21 episodes of your instructor's amateur Youtube documentary series *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.
 - a. This documentary series will serve as a “visual textbook” for our course, to which you can—and should—refer back to over the course of the semester. 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 efficient (and cheaper) 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 messages of each episode. We will spend our time in class today reviewing the major themes, people, and events that you have encountered in this course thus far.
2. ***** MAP QUIZ *** (administered during the last 10 minutes of class)**

September 13: WHY DOES THAT BELONG IN A MUSEUM?

1. **READ:** “That Belongs in a Museum,” in *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*, pp. 1–30
2. **READ:** Marcello di Venuti, “A Description of the First Discoveries of the Ancient City of Heraclea”
3. **READ:** Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Mission Statement”
4. **READ:** “A Baltimore Museum Tried to Raise Money by Selling Three Pricey Artworks: It Backfired Stupendously”
5. **READ:** “Commentary I: Why Does That Belong in a Museum?”
 - a. Our focus for this topic is the modern public museum. In our lectures and documentary episodes thus far, we have 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. For today's session, I have asked you to read three secondary sources and two primary sources. (Only the di Venuti reading and the textbook chapter are of any length.) The two primary sources are 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, while 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 4

September 17: ARCHAEOLOGISTS & MILITARY PLUNDER

1. **LISTEN:** *Indiana Jones in History Podcast*, Ep. 1: “Who Was Indiana Jones?” (90 min.)
2. **READ:** Evans, “Looted Art and Its Restitution”
3. **READ:** Wood, “Display, Restitution, and World Art History: The Case of the ‘Benin Bronzes’”
4. **READ:** Hevia, “Looting and Its Discontents: Moral Discourse and the Plunder of Beijing, 1900-1901”
 - a. For today’s session we will tackle two distinct topics: the cultural and professional profile of a typical Western archaeologist or collector of antiquities, and the controversial but oft misunderstood phenomenon of military plunder. In order to save time for more class discussion, I am assigning one of my recorded lectures on the first topic so that you come to class already prepared to review the most important details and themes regarding the “profile” of a typical Western archaeologist.

September 20: THE ELGIN MARBLES

1. **READ:** “Swords of the Hills” (1933), p. 3–27
 - a. This is a short story by the popular Depression-era pulp fiction writer Robert E. Howard that incorporates one of the major themes of our course: the tendency for Western archaeologists to project their preferred genealogy of Western civilization onto places of archaeological interest far beyond the traditional cultural boundaries of Europe. Of course, no archaeologists appear in this story, but it nonetheless shows just how pervasive it once was for Western intellectuals to imagine that there were pockets of ancient Western ancestors hidden away among the “barbarian” peoples of now “savage” lands. In this case, as you’ll see, those ancestors are long-forgotten Greeks in the lost valleys of Afghanistan. This theme is one that we highlighted in our previous session in discussing the professional profile of a Western collector, and it is also very appropriate to our discussion today of Lord Elgin’s fixation on the ancient Greek marbles of the Parthenon in Athens—and the subsequent exclusion of all other possible

cultural influences that have since graced the Acropolis after the fall of the ancient Greeks.

2. **READ:** “Why the Elgin Marbles Should Not Be Returned to Greece ... Yet”
3. **READ:** “The Parthenon Marbles: Refuting the Arguments”
4. **READ:** “Commentary II: Early Expeditions in the Ottoman Empire”
 - a. Though our focus today is on the Elgin Marbles, it is important to remember that the forces that enabled Lord Elgin’s peaceful removal of the Parthenon marbles were very similar to those that enabled Giovanni Belzoni’s peaceful removal of the Memnon Head from Luxor. This commentary explores the connections between the two men and their archaeological enterprises.
5. **Study Guide for Exam #1 posted to Canvas today**

WEEK 5

September 24: ***** EXAM #1 *****

September 27: ARTIFACTION OF THE MEMNON HEAD

1. **READ:** “The Artifaction of the Memnon Head”
 - a. As you read this interesting (yet occasionally dense) book chapter about the long and complicated life history of the Memnon Head—removed from Luxor by Giovanni Belzoni in the early 19th century—try to get a sense of what author Elliot Colla means by the word “artifaction.” An admittedly clunky and awkward linguistic invention, the term is nevertheless quite useful in helping us conceptualize the fundamental changes that an inanimate object will undergo as it moves through different physical and ideological contexts. In other words, the Memnon Head meant something very different to the people of Luxor in the early 19th century than it would to the curators of the British Museum in the middle of the 19th century—and this article addresses how such an ideological evolution takes place. The lessons we learn here will be applicable to nearly any object held in any museum throughout the world.

WEEK 6

October 1: SUBSISTENCE DIGGERS

1. **READ:** Petrie, “A Digger’s Life”
2. **READ:** “Commentary III: Flinders Petrie, *A Digger’s Life*”
3. **READ:** “A Poem of Praise for the Expedition, by Obulmahdi of Karakhoja”
4. **READ:** Matsuda, “Subsistence Diggers”
 - a. Our focus for today is the topic of “class” as it pertains to archaeological expeditions and excavations. That is, how should we view the role of the mostly illiterate and impoverished manual laborers whose assistance was absolutely indispensable to goals of an educated Western archaeologist? “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 excerpt from one of his books, we see him discussing the ways in which he interacts with the poor Egyptian peasants, or *fellahin*, who form his labor force in the field. Pay attention to the tensions within the relationship between an educated Western

scholar and his illiterate, poor native unskilled laborers and think about how Petrie's attitudes and reactions reflect historical ideologies typically held by someone of his background. Then turn to the poem by Obulmadhi and see how a Muslim Uyghur assistant regarded the work and behavior of his employer, the German archaeologist Albert von Le Coq. Finally, read the article "Subsistence Diggers" to get a sense of how some scholars today are pushing for a new, less judgmental label to be applied to poor, uneducated people who supplement their meager livelihoods by "looting" long-buried antiquities.

October 4: CONSUMING INDIANA JONES

1. **READ:** "Consuming Indiana Jones," in *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*, pp. 61–92
2. **SKIM READ:** Bingham, "The Discovery of Machu Picchu"
3. **SKIM READ:** Stein, "Explorations in Central Asia, 1906-8"
4. **READ:** "Commentary V: Consuming Indiana Jones"
 - a. 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?

WEEK 7

October 8: THE AGE OF DISCONTENT

1. **READ:** "The Age of Discontent," in *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*, pp. 93–122
2. **READ:** Naguib Mahfouz, *Thebes at War* (excerpt)
3. **READ:** Al-Banna, "Between Yesterday and Today"
4. **READ:** "Commentary VI: The Age of Discontent"
 - a. 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, in chapter 4 of the textbook, in Hasan al-Banna's "Between Yesterday and Today," and in 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?

October 11: ***** FALL BREAK—NO CLASS *****

WEEK 8

October 15: ANTIQUITY DEALERS

1. **READ:** “Dealers,” in *Plunder? How Museums Got Their Treasures*, pp. 74–125
 - a. This reading will be posted to Canvas and may only be used for this assignment. Please do not circulate the PDF to anyone outside this course.
2. **READ:** “Hadji Hamid and the Brigand”
3. **READ:** *An Exhibition of Chinese Stone Sculptures* (1940), “Preface”
4. **READ:** *Chinese Frescoes of Northern Sung* (1949), “Introduction”
5. **READ:** “Mr. Loo and the China Trade” (1950)
 - a. Today we are going to analyze the ubiquitous but often shadowy role of antiquity dealers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Though swashbuckling archaeologists get all the attention, most of the artifacts you see on display in a museum are the result of the activities of dealers. As you approach today’s readings, try to shed any preconceptions you may have about the immorality of the dealer’s trade and instead think about why they have been so successful. What sort of conditions allow the dealer to flourish? Who helps him? How widespread is such assistance? Why do antiquity dealers still flourish today in all countries of the world while archaeologists have found their activities severely curtailed and restricted by these same countries? We start with a narrative overview of the topic before sampling a series of short stories and first-person testimonials (including two from the infamous Chinese dealer C.T. Loo) that will provide an inkling of the perspective of the dealer himself rather than the scholars who criticize him.

➔ ***** ARTIFACTION REPORT DUE *****

- a. **Post your Artifaction Report to Canvas no later than 5 p.m. EST.**

October 18: *THE NIGHT OF COUNTING THE YEARS*

1. **WATCH:** *The Night of Counting the Years* (1969, 102 minutes)
 - a. 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?

WEEK 9

October 22: MUSEUMS IN THE NON-WESTERN WORLD

1. **READ:** "Making Sense of Osman Hamdi Bey's Paintings"
2. **BROWSE:** Chimei Museum website and Tripadvisor reviews from visitors
 - a. Our topic for today's session concerns the history of museums that arose in the non-Western world in explicit imitation of the Western museum—the same museum that Western collectors habitually held up in decades past to shame non-Westerners into believing that they weren't as "progressive" or "modern" as the Westerners for their lack of such an institution. Not surprisingly then, many non-Western museums attempted to emulate closely what they saw as the cardinal features of Western museums. A great case study of this mentality can be found in the career of the Ottoman archaeologist and museum curator Osman Hamdi Bey. The article that I've assigned for today's class treats the scholarly interpretations of his own paintings that long sought to locate some form of subtle anti-Western resistance in his artistic creations—but the author pushes

back against this and says that Osman Hamdi Bey's paintings instead demonstrate beyond a doubt that Osman was entirely an ideological creature of the West, and that previous scholarly interpretations are all just wishful thinking. In the story of Osman Hamdi Bey's paintings we will see an echo of his role in lobbying for and then managing the Ottoman Imperial Museum in Istanbul, for which he served as director for nearly two decades in the late 19th century. We will also learn about the history of museums in East Asia, including the (to many people, including myself) surprising phenomenon of non-Western museums whose holdings are comprised chiefly of Western art: classical, medieval, and Renaissance. Why is the Chimei Museum in Taiwan such a shock to our senses today? What can we learn from the realization that even today a museum can still acquire a vast collection of culturally alien art without the aid of an ounce of imperialist force? For in case you hadn't already noticed, Taiwan is about as politically weak a country as any could possibly be, and yet ... there it is: the Chimei Museum, filled to the brim with Western art! What are we to make of this?

October 25: ANATOMY OF AN EXCAVATION

1. **READ:** "Sahibs in the Desert," in *The Compensations of Plunder: How China Lost Its Treasures*, pp. 50–83
2. **SKIM READ:** "Unwilling Laborers" and "Discipline Problems," in *Excerpts from Silk Road Field Diaries and Letters*
 - a. Our goal today is to prepare you and your future group classmates to create and perform a historically plausible group skit depicting a Western archaeologist and his experience in the field. In order to prepare for our discussion, I am assigning a chapter from one of my previous books that synthesizes all the archival data, anecdotes, and insights that I have uncovered in my research regarding how the "Silk Road" expeditions of men like Aurel Stein, Paul Pelliot, Albert von Le Coq, Ellsworth Huntington, and Sven Hedin played out on the ground in the deserts sands of northwestern China during the first three decades of the 20th century. In tandem with today's reading and discussion, you will also find it useful to review your notes from our earlier session on "subsistence diggers," especially Petrie's "A Digger's Life" and Obulmahdi's poem in honor of Le Coq. And be sure to skim read my own research notes on "Unwilling Laborers" and "Discipline Problems," which I drawn upon in the writing of the book chapter you are reading.
3. **Study Guide for Exam #2 posted to Canvas today**

WEEK 10

October 29: ***** EXAM #2 *****

November 1: CONFRONTING INDIANA JONES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

1. **READ:** "Confronting Indiana Jones," in *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*, pp. 157–76 (stop reading at start of last paragraph on p. 176)

2. **READ:** “Excerpts from the Diary of Howard Carter, 1923–24”
3. **READ:** “Commentary VII: Confronting Indiana Jones in the Middle East”
 - a. At long last, it is time to see how the “compensations of cooperation” (or “plunder,” depending on your view) experienced a dramatic deflation in value in the decades after World War I, leading to the first acts of non-Western obstruction against Western archaeologists on the basis of principles that we would recognize today. In analyzing this process, we will focus first on events and historical actors in the Near and Middle East, saving the situation in China for next session. Pay close attention to the nature of obstruction experienced by Western archaeologists in foreign lands and how this changed after 1914. We will address the Sardis excavations in Turkey and Carter’s work on the tomb of Tutankhamun in Egypt, before examining “the King Tut effect” on the hapless American archaeologist James Henry Breasted in his activities throughout the Middle East. For Carter, we have access to a valuable primary source: 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.

WEEK 11

November 5: * NO CLASS—ELECTION DAY *****

November 8: END OF THE SILK ROAD EXPEDITIONS

1. **READ:** “Confronting Indiana Jones,” in *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*, pp. 176–90 (begin reading at start of last paragraph on p. 176)
2. **READ:** “A Scholar-Painter’s Diary”
3. **READ:** “Commentary IV: The Lost Treasures of China”
4. **READ:** “English Translation of Wan Rong’s Postface to the Chinese Translation of Stein’s *Preliminary Report* for His First Expedition in Xinjiang” (1902)
5. **READ:** “A Selection of Letters from Chinese Officials in Xinjiang”
6. **READ:** “Statement Regarding Sir Aurel Stein’s Archaeological Expedition in Chinese Turkestan” (1930)
 - a. Today we will do for China what we did for Egypt and the Middle East last session: understand how the “compensations of cooperation” ceased to outweigh the newly perceived “priceless” valuation of antiquities in China after World War I. Our two primary sources are a study in contrasts: Wan Rong’s postface reminds us vividly what the attitude of educated Chinese elites toward men like Stein was back in “the good ol’ days” of 1902, while the statement issued by the Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities—written and signed by 19 Western-educated Chinese scholars—shows us just how much things had changed by 1930. And yet the story of just how Stein still managed to nearly complete this 4th and final expedition to Xinjiang in 1930–31 serves as poignant reminder that the Westernized Chinese scholars in Beijing who

obstructed men like Stein were not necessarily representative of “the Chinese people” writ large—for a great many people were still willing to let Stein take away the so-called “priceless heritage of the Chinese nation” even as late as 1930, otherwise he never would have reached Xinjiang in the first place or secured a passport from Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government in Nanjing.

WEEK 12

November 12: SCHOLARS AT WAR

1. **REWATCH:** Episodes 19-21 of your instructor’s amateur Youtube documentary series *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*
2. **SKIM READ:** Morley, “Three Classified Reports on Central American Geography, Economy, and People” (1918)
3. **READ:** Lisa Leff, *The Archive Thief: The Man Who Salvaged French Jewish History in the Wake of the Holocaust*, pp. 1–22, 199–204
4. **READ:** “Three Speeches by Wernher von Braun”
5. **READ:** “Commentary VIII: Scholars at War”
 - a. Today we deal with the longstanding tendency of archaeologists (and scholars more generally) to pursue covert—and sometimes morally odious—agendas under the impeachable cover of “science” in the decades before World War I (and sometimes beyond). To illustrate this phenomenon more fully, I’m asking you to consider the activities of 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 should refresh your memory of each of these topics by rewatching Episodes 19-21 of the Youtube documentary series.) 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)?

November 15: EVOLUTION OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1. **READ:** “James Smithson’s Last Will and Testament” (1826)
 - a. Today we will explore the history of America’s most famous scholarly institution: the Smithsonian Institution. We will learn 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. In other words, the story of the Smithsonian will take us down to the present day in terms of thinking about how museums might change to address some of the uglier aspects of their institutional histories.
 - b. We will also set aside time today to discuss expectations for the Group Skit that will be performed on the last day of the course.

WEEK 13**November 19: WESTERN MUSEUMS STRIKE BACK**

1. **READ:** Appiah, “Whose Culture Is It?”
2. **READ:** Montebello, “And What Do You Propose Should Be Done With Those Objects?”
3. **READ:** Ray, “Whose Loot Is It Anyway?”
 - a. In case you hadn’t noticed, Western museums have come under a great deal of criticism in recent decades, often charged with having stolen everything you see on display. Today we’ll take a closer look at some of the more scholarly arguments that have been put forth by museum defenders to advocate for the continued retention of these collections and think about whether or not any of their talking points aligns or misaligns with insights we’ve gained over the course of this semester.

November 22: THE INDIANA JONES FILM FRANCHISE

1. **WATCH:** one of the five Indiana Jones films: *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), *The Temple of Doom* (1984), *The Last Crusade* (1989), *Kingdom of the Crystal Skull* (2008), or *The Dial of Destiny* (2023)
2. **READ:** “Hollywood vs. History,” in *Indiana Jones in History: From Pompeii to the Moon*, pp. 225–50
 - a. Today we will embark on an in-depth critique of the Indiana Jones film franchise, comparing it against the historical knowledge we have obtained in this course. Your job is to watch one of the five Indiana Jones films—take your pick, though hopefully not everyone chooses the same one—and to read my analysis of the first four. We will then marshal our knowledge of the real history of archaeology and museums to assess the plausibility of the artifacts, characters, and plot lines of all five films. Though we know the filmmakers hardly consulted any respectable historical scholarship whatsoever, where might they still have inadvertently invoked a theme, character, or event that is historically accurate? Where did they inevitably go wrong? How could they have incorporated more accurate historical plot lines, characters, and artifacts without sacrificing an entertaining movie-going experience?

WEEK 14**November 26: DINOSAUR NATIONALISM *** ZOOM SESSION *****

1. **READ:** “Most Colossal Animal Ever on Earth Just Found Out West” (1898)
2. **READ:** “The Grant Brontosaurus in Central Park” (April 1905)
3. **READ:** “Letter from Walter Granger to Ma Heng” (February 2, 1929)
 - a. 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 part and parcel of the same ideological agenda that will get foisted upon the dinosaur eggs found by Roy Chapman Andrews (and his colleague Walter Granger) in China in the 1920s and how Chinese intellectuals will view the bones of “Peking Man”—a half-million year old hominid fossil—during the same decade.

- b. **NOTE:** Due to the Thanksgiving holiday this week, today’s session will be held online. A Zoom link for this session will be posted to the “Announcements” section of Canvas.

4. **Study Guide for Exam #3 posted to Canvas today**

November 29: ***** THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY—NO CLASS *****

WEEK 15

December 3: ***** EXAM #3 *****

December 6: ***** GROUP SKITS *****

1. **PREPARE:** To end the semester with a bang by acting out your carefully designed group skit depicting a historically plausible archaeological excavation or expedition in history, replete with themes and details we have learned about throughout this course. Each skit should be about 15 minutes long and every member of the group should participate in a substantive way. Props and digitally projected background slides are encouraged and appreciated but not required.