

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE POLITICS OF THE PAST

The University of Chicago
Anthropology 46100
Winter 2022, Friday 1:30-4:20
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Office Hours: Mondays 1:00-3:00

This seminar explores the use of the past as a symbolic resource by modern communities and the social situation and responsibilities of archaeologists in this process. This is an issue of fundamental importance to the historical development and definition of archaeology as well as to current debates about the nature and direction of archaeological practice, theory, and epistemology. It is also an issue of major significance to the societies in which archaeologists operate and of which archaeology constitutes a field of knowledge production with far-reaching, and often unintended, consequences.

After a discussion of basic concepts and goals, the course will begin by first trying to situate the particular problems of archaeological research within broader discussions of the sociology, history, and philosophy of science (or "science studies") and the philosophy of history. Readings are designed to furnish the analytical tools necessary to examine questions concerning the ways in which archaeological practice (including the selection of appropriate research questions, the evaluation of knowledge claims, and funding for research and for the preservation of archaeological sites) is affected by the institutional landscape of archaeology and the socio-political context of its disciplinary formation. Case studies from a variety of contexts are then used to show how archaeology has been involved in the politically charged construction of ethnic and regional identities and nationalist and colonialist mythologies in modern history, in the commodification and consumption of the past (as "heritage" or entertainment) within the current context of globalization and the expansion of neo-liberal capitalism, and in current struggles over populism and indigeneity. Current debates about the authority of competing interpretations of archaeological evidence, the right to control public representations of the past, the contested ownership of archaeological materials and sites, and the role of media in defining narratives about the past and the practice of archaeology are also discussed.

Obviously, the seminar grapples with delicate and important epistemological, metaphysical, and ethical issues that all archaeologists must ultimately address. However, it is a basic contention of the course that such issues cannot be resolved simply by recourse to philosophical reflection and argumentation. Rather, archaeology must be understood not as a set of abstract theoretical propositions, but as a practice (or set of practices) embedded in particular socio-cultural contexts requiring careful historical and sociological analysis. As the principal authoritative conduit to the distant past, it is crucial that archaeologists develop a critical reflexive awareness of their own situation and their responsibilities in investigating and presenting the past in the midst of rival appeals to its use in authenticating modern collective identities and political projects, and to its potential marketability. This means that it is important to look

simultaneously inward, trying to understand how the broader socio-political context of the discipline affects archaeological practice and knowledge production, and to look outward, trying to comprehend the effects of disciplinary practices on society at large.

REQUIREMENTS

Students will be expected to:

1) Read and critically discuss the readings for each seminar session. The class will be divided into three groups and each group will have specific responsibilities for discussion each week.

2) Prepare a **research paper** (maximum 15 pages, double-spaced) on a specific case study to be decided early in the quarter (**due March 11**).

TEXTS (The Seminary Coop Bookstore will individually order the first two books for students, but they have not made a general order to stock them -- so act early, especially for the Bourdieu -- needed week 2). The Connerton book is available in electronic format through the UChicago library. All other reading are available as PDFs on Canvas.

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

Science of Science and Reflexivity (2004), by Pierre Bourdieu. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

How Societies Remember (1989), by Paul Connerton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

Week 1:

Introduction to the Course: Issues, Concepts, and Goals

The first class will be one third introductory lecture and two thirds open discussion of the articles.

READING:

Trigger, B. (1984). Alternative archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist. *Man*, 19:355-370.

Trigger, B.G. (1994). The coming of age of the history of archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 2(1): 113-36.

Moro Abadía, O. (2010). Beyond externalism. Exploring new directions in the history of archaeology. *Archaeological Dialogues* 17(2):215-236.

Hamilakis, Y. (1999). La trahison des archéologues? Archaeological practice as intellectual activity in postmodernity. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 12(1):60-79.

Hofmann, Daniela, et al. (2021). Forum: Populism, identity politics, and the archaeology of Europe. *European Journal of Archaeology* 24(4):519-555.

Week 2:

Opening Pandora's Box: Theory, Practice, Context, and Ideology in Science -- Situating Archaeology within some general issues in Science Studies and the Philosophy of History

-A brief review of historical developments in the sociology of science (or "science studies") and the philosophy of history (from the progressive positivism of Popper, Reichenbach, and Carnap, to Mertonian functionalism, to Bachelard's discontinuities and Kuhn's paradigm revolutions, to the "new sociology of science", to Bourdieu's relational fields and "participant objectivation", to the semiotic symmetry of Latour and Woolgar, to anglophone reflexivity, to the "disunity of science" approach, "internalist" vs. "externalist" explanations, knowledge networks,...etc.)

-How is archaeology different from and similar to other disciplines in terms of its practices, discourse, structure, knowledge claims, and social effects? Are there significant differences between "field sciences" and "laboratory sciences", and where does archaeology fall? Is archaeology a discipline, or is it something else (for example, a technique)? How are academic disciplines constituted and how do they operate? What is the international institutional landscape of archaeology?

-How do we undertake an effective reflexive analysis of archaeology? How do we evaluate the issues of "influence", "context", "power", "culture", "symbolic capital", "relational fields", "boundaries", etc. and their role in the production of scientific/historical knowledge? Should we concentrate on what archaeologists say or what they do (in other words, on discourse/interpretation or practices/techniques)?

-What implications does this kind of analysis have for archaeological epistemology? What is the nature of historical knowledge? What kinds of knowledge about the past are archaeologists producing and how do we evaluate rival claims within a discipline and between different "epistemic cultures"? What is the relationship between knowledge and power?

READING:

Bourdieu, P. (2004). *Science of Science and Reflexivity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Parts I & II (pp. 1-84) [Group A]

Bourdieu, P. (2004). *Science of Science and Reflexivity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Part III & Conclusion (pp. 85-116) [Group B]

Lenoir, T. (1997). *Instituting Science: The Cultural Production of Scientific Disciplines*. Chapter 3, "The Discipline of Nature and the Nature of Disciplines," pp. 45-74. [Group C]

Week 3:

"Influence" and "Context": Nationalism, Identity and the Past (European cases)

"Historians are to nationalism what poppy-growers in Pakistan are to heroin-addicts: we supply the essential raw material for the market.... What makes a nation is the past, what justifies one nation against others is the past, and historians are the people who produce it."
(Hobsbawm 1992:3)

"History is the most dangerous product which the chemistry of the mind has concocted. Its properties are well known. It produces dreams and drunkenness. It fills people with false memories, exaggerates their reactions, exacerbates old grievances, torments them in their repose, and encourages either a delirium of grandeur or a delusion of persecution. It makes whole nations bitter, arrogant, insufferable, and vainglorious."
(Paul Valery, *Regards sur le Monde Actuel* 1949:43)

-What do we mean by "nationalism"? How are different kinds of nationalism constructed? Why are history and archaeology, in particular, so often implicated in struggles over nationalism and identity? How do we evaluate the role of nationalism in archaeological practice and the production of archaeological knowledge, and, reciprocally, the role of archaeology in the construction and performance of nationalism?

-What can a focus on European contexts, the cradle of both nationalism and archaeology, tell us about the history of this relationship and its implications for disciplinary practice? What are the competing locations (national, regional, supra-national, factional group, gender, etc.) of identity politics and how/why has archaeology been drawn into various struggles or, in some cases, been ignored? What positions/actions have archaeologists taken in response to these complex forces, what different dangers does each entail, and how do we grapple with these difficulties?

READING:

Hobsbawm, E. (1992). Ethnicity and nationalism in Europe today. *Anthropology Today*, 8(1):3-8. [Group B]

Díaz-Andreu, M. (2001). Guest editor's introduction: nationalism and archaeology. *Nations and Nationalism* 7(4):429-440. [Group B]

Dietler, M. (1994). "Our ancestors the Gauls": archaeology, ethnic nationalism, and the manipulation of Celtic identity in modern Europe. *American Anthropologist*, 96: 584-605. [Group C]

Tomásková, S. (2003). Nationalism, local histories and the making of data in archaeology. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 9(3):485-507. [Group C]

Arnold, B. (2006). Pseudoarchaeology and nationalism. In *Archaeological Fantasies: How Pseudoarchaeology Misrepresents the Past and Misleads the Public*. G.G. Fagan, ed. Pp. 154-179. London: Routledge. [Group A]

Effros, B. (2011). Contested origins: French and German views of a shared archaeological heritage in Lorraine. In *Multiple Antiquities -- Multiple Modernities: Ancient Histories in Nineteenth Century European Cultures*, G. Klaniczay, M. Werner and O. Gecser (eds.), pp. 305-333. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag. [Group A]

Kohl, P.L. and G. Tsetskhladze (1998). Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology in the Caucasus. In *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, Kohl, P. and C. Fawcett (eds.), pp. 149-174. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P. [Group A]

Week 4:

Collective (or Social) Memory and Nationalism

-How is collective (or social) memory constructed, performed, and contested? Is it different from history? What is its relationship to nationalism and identity? How is archaeology involved in the construction of memory?

READING:

Renan, E. (1990 [1882]). What is a nation? In *Nation and Narration*. H.K. Bhabha, ed. Pp. 8-22. New York: Routledge. [Group C]

Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: *Les lieux de mémoire*. *Representations* 26:7-24. [Group C]

Connerton, P. (1989). *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P. Pp. 1-71. [Group A]

Schwartz, B., Y. Zerubavel, B.M. Barnett and G. Steiner (1986). The recovery of Masada: a study in collective memory. *The Sociological Quarterly* 27(2):147-164. [Group B]

Dietler, M. (1998). A tale of three sites: the monumentalization of Celtic oppida and the politics of collective memory and identity. *World Archaeology*, 30: 72-89. [Group B]

Rubertone, P. (2008). Engaging monuments, memories, and archaeology. In *Archaeologies of Placemaking: Monuments, Memories, and Engagement in Native North America*, Rubertone, P. (ed.), pp. 13-33. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press. [Group B]

[Recommended for further reading: Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. (transl. L.W. Coser). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Especially pp. 37-53, 120-189.]

Week 5:

Archaeology and the Institutional Landscapes of Scientific Disciplines:
The case of Philology, Classical Archaeology, Romanticism, Prehistory, and Medieval
History in Germany

-How do academic disciplines form and transform? What are the social context and forces that structure these processes? How do we go about analyzing this complex relational process in historical detail? What can a focus on German classical archaeology and prehistory tell us about relational fields, symbolic capital, disciplinary habitus, and, ultimately, other domains of archaeological research?

READING:

Marchand, S. (2008). *Kultur and the World War*. In *Histories of Archaeology: A Reader in the History of Archaeology*. T. Murray and C. Evans, eds. Pp. 238-278. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Group A]

Hamilakis, Y. (2009). *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 3: "From Western to Indigenous Hellenism", pp. 57-124. [Group A]

Roche, H. (2017). The peculiarities of German philhellenism. *The Historical Journal* doi:10.1017/50018246X17000322:1-20. [Group B]

Fazioli, K. P. (2012). From First Reich to Third Reich: German imperialism and Early Medieval scholarship in the southeastern Alpine region (c. 1919–1945). *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 8 (2):116-144. [Group B]

Arnold, B. (2006). 'Arierdämmerung': race and archaeology in Nazi Germany. *World Archaeology* 38(1): 8–31. [Group B]

Hare, J. L. (2014). Nazi archaeology abroad: German prehistorians and the international dynamics of collaboration. *Patterns of Prejudice* 48(1):1-24. [Group C]

Halle, U. (2005). Archaeology in the Third Reich. Academic scholarship and the rise of the 'lunatic fringe'. *Archaeological Dialogues* 12(1):91-102. [Group C]

Week 6:

Archaeological Practice, Social Field, Symbolic Capital, and the Politics of the Academy:

-What role do the micro-political domains of life in the academy and "laboratory life" play in the production of knowledge, and how do we study them?

-What kinds of intellectual and institutional capital are deployed in struggles for power within academic fields? How do we study the effects of individual intellectuals navigating career politics, scholarly networks, and institutions?

-How do we evaluate the interplay of local and international forces and relations in the history of archaeological practice?

Van Reybrouck, D. (2002). Boule's error: on the social context of scientific knowledge. *Antiquity* 76:158-164. [Group B]

Maischberger, M. (2002). German archaeology during the Third Reich, 1933-45: a case study based on archival evidence. *Antiquity* 76:209-218. [Group B]

Kaeser, M.-A. (2002). On the international roots of prehistory. *Antiquity* 76:170-177. [Group B]

Shott, M.J. (2005). Two cultures: thought and practice in British and North American archaeology. *World Archaeology* 37(1):1-10. [Group C]

Flannery, K. (1982). The golden Marshalltown: a parable for the archaeology of the 1980s. *American Anthropologist* 84(2):265-278. [Group C]

Hutson, S.R. (2006). Self-citation in archaeology. Age, gender, prestige and the self. *Journal of archaeological method and theory* 13(1), 1-18. [Group C]

Kawa, N. C. et al. (2018). The social network of US academic anthropology and its inequalities. *American Anthropologist* 121 (1):14-29. [Group A]

Smith, S. (2015). Multiple temporalities of knowing in academic research. *Social Science Information* 54(2):149-176. [Group A]

Gero, J. M. (1985). Socio-politics and the woman-at-home ideology. *American Antiquity* 50(2):342-350. [Group A]

Leighton, M. (2020). Myths of meritocracy, friendship, and fun work: class and gender in North American academic communities. *American Anthropologist* 122(3):444-458. [Group A]

Week 7:

Archaeology and Colonialism: Creating Landscapes and Monuments;
Ownership of the Past; The Past and Colonial Imaginaries

-How and why has archaeology been deployed in colonialist projects? What is the relationship between forms of knowledge and power in colonial contexts? How is the lived landscape reshaped through archaeological practice? How does archaeology produce erasure as well as discovery? What are the political effects of both technical practice and interpretation? How are claims to ownership made and enforced? What are the complexities of "interests" that structure colonial archaeology? Can archaeology escape its colonialist origins/legacy?

READING:

Abu El-Haj, N. (1998). *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 1-129. [Group C]

Abu El-Haj, N. (1998). *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 130-281. [Group A]

Dietler, M. (2010). *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 27-47. [Group B]

Week 8:

Archaeology, Decolonization, and the Postcolonial Situation

-Institutions, Communities, Public Archaeology, Indigenous Archaeology

-The Law, Archaeology, and Politics

-Ethics, Ethical Codes and Practices

-Archaeology in Violent and Post-Violent Conflict Situations

-What are the effects of colonial archaeology in "postcolonial" societies? How do these differ in situations where the indigenous population constitutes the majority versus those where they have become a marginalized minority? How do local post-colonial archaeological communities relate to cosmopolitan archaeological bodies? How does international geopolitics define hierarchies of prestige and significance within academic fields in the post-colonial world? How does the law deal with questions of contested ownership of the past, control of archaeological practice, and the correction of colonial injustice? Are "Public" or "Community" Archaeology and "Indigenous" Archaeology effective in correcting problems of exclusion and enabling alternative archaeologies?

READING:

Díaz-Andreu, M. (2018). Archaeology and imperialism: from nineteenth-century New Imperialism to twentieth-century decolonization. In *Unmasking Ideology in Imperial and Colonial Archaeology: Vocabulary, Symbols, and Legacy*. B. Effros and G. Lai, eds. Pp. 3-28. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology. [Group B]

Shepherd, N. (2003). 'When the hand that holds the trowel is black . . .' Disciplinary practices of self-representation and the issue of 'native' labour in archaeology. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3 (3):334-352. [Group B]

Horning, A. (2007). Cultures of contact, cultures of conflict? Identity construction, colonialist discourse, and the ethics of archaeological practice in Northern Ireland. *Stanford Journal of Archaeology* 5:107-133. [Group B]

Orser, C. E. (2004). Archaeological interpretation and the Irish diasporic

community. In *Places in Mind: Public Archaeology as Applied Anthropology*. P.A. Shackel and E. Chambers, eds. Pp. 171-192. New York: Routledge. [Group B]

Hamilakis, Y. (2012). Are we postcolonial yet? Tales from the battlefield. *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 8(1):67-76. [Group C]

Greenberg, R. (2015). Ethics in action: a viewpoint from Israel/Palestine. In *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*. A. González-Ruibal and G. Moshenska, eds. New York: Springer. [Group C]

Atalay, S. (2006). Indigenous archaeology as decolonizing practice. *American Indian Quarterly* 30(3/4):280-310. [Group C]

Two Bears, D. R. (2006). Navajo archaeologist is not an oxymoron: a tribal archaeologist's experience. *American Indian Quarterly* 30(3/4):381-387. [Group C]

Murray, T. (2011). Archaeologists and indigenous people: a maturing relationship? *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40:363-378. [Group A]

McLaughlin, R. (1998). The American archaeological record: authority to dig, power to interpret. *International Journal of Cultural Property* 7:342-375. [Group A]

Kersal, M. M. (2010). The changing legal landscape for Middle Eastern archaeology in the colonial era, 1800-1930. In *Pioneers to the Past: American Archaeologists in the Middle East, 1919-1920*. G. Emberling, ed. Pp. 85-90. Chicago: The Oriental Institute. [Group A]

Blain, J. and R.J. Wallis (2004). Sacred sites, contested rites / rights: contemporary pagan engagements with the past. *Journal of Material Culture* 9(3):237-261. [Group A]

Week 9:

“Heritage” and the Commodification of the Past: Globalization, Capitalism, Neo-Imperialism, Populism, and Transnational and Regional Identities

-What is meant by "heritage"? Why has this concept become such a salient focus of interest for governments, popular movements, and capitalist enterprises in recent years? How has the past been transformed into a commodity and marketed? What are the economic stakes and ethical issues involved (for local people, foreign consumers, and archaeologists) in the globalized antiquities market and the transformation of archaeological sites into tourist attractions? Alternatively, what dangers do the rapid expansion of neo-liberal capitalism and globalization pose for the destruction of "heritage" and the archaeological record? What are the technologies and media of heritage construction, performance, and consumption? How have new transnational ethnoscaapes of identity engaged with the past and with archaeology?

How has resurgent populism and concepts of indigeneity reshaped the terrain of politics?

-What implications do these newly emerging conditions have for current and future archaeological practice?

-Archaeologists as Scholars, Activists, and Public Intellectuals

-How should/can archaeologists responsibly navigate the complex ethical and epistemological issues raised by a reflexive analysis of the politics of archaeological practice? How would you implement “participant objectivation”? Where do you go from here?

READING:

Harvey, D. (2008). The history of heritage. In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. B. Graham and P. Howard, eds. Pp. 19-36. Burlington, VT: Ashgate. [Group A]

Vizcaíno Estevan, A. (2016). Consuming the past, digesting identity: when the past becomes a product. In *Archaeology and Neoliberalism*. P. Aparicio Resco, ed. Pp. 59-70. Madrid: JAS Arqueología Editorial. [Group A]

Silberman, N.A. (2007). 'Sustainable' heritage? Public archaeological interpretation and the marketed past. In *Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics*, Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke (eds.), pp. 179-193. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press. [Group A]

Breglia, L. (2005). Keeping world heritage in the family: a genealogy of Maya labour at Chichén Itzá. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11(5):385–398. [Group A]

Kersal, M. M. (2012). The power of the press: the effects of press releases and popular magazines on the antiquities trade. In *Archaeology, Bible Politics, and the Media. Proceedings of the Duke University Conference, April 23-24, 2009*. E.M. Meyers and C. Meyers, eds. Pp. 73-83. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns. [Group B]

Brittain, M. and T. Clack (2007). Introduction: archaeology and the media. In *Archaeology and the Media*, Clack, T. and M. Brittain (eds.), pp. 11-65. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press. [Group B]

Hamilakis, Y. (2009). The “War on Terror” and the Military–Archaeology Complex: Iraq, ethics, and neo-colonialism. *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*. [Group B]

Tarlow, S. (2000). Decoding ethics. *Public Archaeology* 1: 245–259. [Group B]

Tarlow, S. and L. Nilsson Stutz (2013). Can an archaeologist be a public

intellectual? *Archaeological Dialogues* 20(1):1-5 plus multiple responses: 5-79. [Group C]

TallBear, K. (2014). Standing with and speaking as faith: a feminist-indigenous approach to inquiry. *Journal of Research Practice* 10(2):1-7. [Group C]

Popa, C. N. (2019). The responsibility of European archaeologists. *European Journal of Archaeology* 22(2):255-268. [Group C]

González-Ruibal, A., P. Alonso González and F. Criado-Boado (2018). Against reactionary populism: towards a new public archaeology. *Antiquity* 92(362):507–515 & 525–527. [Group C]

ADDITIONAL READING:

This is neither a comprehensive bibliography nor an endorsement – it is merely a partial list of some other relevant works to explore (for example, in connection with the research papers):

- Abdi, K. (2001). Nationalism, politics, and the development of archaeology in Iran. *American Journal of Archaeology* 105:51-76.
- Abélès, M. (1988). Modern political ritual: ethnography of an inauguration and a pilgrimage by President Mitterrand. *Current Anthropology*, 29:391-404.
- Abu El-Haj, N. (1998). Translating truths: nationalism, the practice of archaeology, and the remaking of past and present in contemporary Jerusalem. *American Ethnologist* 25:166-188.
- Albarella, U. (2009). Archaeologists in conflict: empathizing with which victims? *Heritage Management* 2(1):105–14.
- Allen, H. and C. Phillips (eds.) (2010). *Bridging the Divide: Indigenous Communities and Archaeology in the 21st Century*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Alonso, A.M. (1988). The effects of truth: re-presentations of the past and the imagining of community. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1(1):33-58.
- Alonso González, P. (2016). Between Certainty and Trust: Boundary-Work and the Construction of Archaeological Epistemic Authority. *Cultural Sociology* 10 (4):483 - 501.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (second edition). London: Verso.
- Angelbeck, B. and C. Grier (2012). Anarchism and the archaeology of anarchic societies: resistance to centralization in the Coast Salish region of the Pacific Northwest Coast. *Current Anthropology* 53(5): 547-587.
- Anthony, D. W. (1998). Nazi and eco-feminist prehistories: ideology and empiricism in Indo-European archaeology. In *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, edited by P. Kohl and C. Fawcett, pp. 82-96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aparicio Resco, P. (ed.) (2016). *Archaeology and Neoliberalism*. Madrid: JAS Arqueología Editorial.

- Apter, A. (1999). Africa, empire, and Anthropology: a philological exploration of Anthropology's Heart of Darkness. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28:577-598.
- Arnold, B. (1990). The past as propaganda: totalitarian archaeology in Nazi Germany. *Antiquity*, 64:464-478.
- Arnold, B. (1998). The power of the past: nationalism and archaeology in 20th century Germany. *Archaeologia Polona* 35-36:237-253.
- Arnold B. (2002). Justifying genocide: archaeology and the construction of difference. In *Annihilating Difference: the Anthropology of Genocide*, ed. By A.L. Hinton, pp. 95-116. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Arnold, B. (2006). 'Arierdämmerung': race and archaeology in Nazi Germany. *World Archaeology* 38:8-31.
- Arnold, B. and Hassmann, H. (1995). Archaeology in Nazi Germany: the legacy of the Faustian bargain. In *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, edited by P. Kohl and C. Fawcett, pp. 70-81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Atalay, S. (2006). Indigenous archaeology as decolonizing practice. *American Indian Quarterly* 30(3/4):280-310.
- Atalay, S. (2012). *Community-Based Archaeology: Research With, By, and For Indigenous and Local Communities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Atalay, S., L. R. Clauss, R. H. McGuire & J. R. Welch (eds.) (2014). *Transforming Archaeology: Activist Practices and Prospects*. Walnut Creek, CA: LeftCoast.
- Atkinson, J.A., I. Banks and J. O'Sullivan (eds.) (1996). *Nationalism and Archaeology: Scottish Archaeological Forum*. Glasgow: Cruithne Press.
- Badone, E. (1991). Ethnography, fiction, and the meaning of the past in Brittany. *American Ethnologist* 18:518-545.
- Bachelard, G. (1971). *Épistémologie. Textes choisis*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Bachelard, G. (1980) [1938]. *La formation de l'esprit scientifique: contribution à une psychanalyse de la connaissance objective*. 11th edition. Paris: Vrin. [Now translated into English as *The Formation of the Scientific Mind*, 2002, Clinamen Press.]
- Bahrani, Z., Z. Çelik, and E. Eldem (eds.) (2011). *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*. Istanbul: SALT.

- Balibar, E. (1991). The nation form: history and ideology. In *Race, Nation, Class - Ambiguous Identities*, ed. by E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein. Pp. 86-106. London: Verso.
- Barkan, L. (1999). *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Barker, A.W. (2010). Exhibiting archaeology: archaeology and museums. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39:293-308.
- Barnes, B. (1974). *Scientific Knowledge and Sociological Theory*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Barnes, B. and D. Bloor (1982). Relativism, rationalism and the sociology of knowledge. In *Rationality and Relativism*, edited by M. Nollis and S. Lukes. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Barry, B. (2002). Essentialism and multiculturalism. A response. *Ethnicities* 2:284-287.
- Bennett, T. (2002). Archaeological autopsy: objectifying time and cultural governance. *Journal of Cultural Research* 6(1-2):29-48.
- Ben-Yehuda, N. (1995). *The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Berliner, D. (2005). The abuses of memory. reflections on the memory boom in anthropology. *Anthropological Quarterly* 78(1):183-197.
- Bernal, I. (1980). *A History of Mexican Archaeology*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Bernbeck, R. and S. Pollock (1996). Ayodhya, archaeology, and identity. *Current Anthropology* 37(Supplement):138-142.
- Bernbeck, R. and S. Pollock (2018). Archaeology's 'People'. *Antiquity*, 92: 516–17.
- Bernhardsson, Magnus T. (2005). *Reclaiming a Plundered Past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Blain, J. and R.J. Wallis (2004). Sacred sites, contested rites/ rights: contemporary pagan engagements with the past. *Journal of Material Culture* 9(3):237-261.
- Blakey, M. (1990). American nationality and ethnicity in the depicted past. In *The Politics of the Past*, ed. by P. Gathercole and D. Lowenthal, pp. 38-47. London: Routledge.
- Blix, G. (2009). *From Paris to Pompeii: French Romanticism and the Cultural Politics*

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