Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Revisited

by

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Please hold the line for a local call from Seleucia. We know it must be so because it is coming through in Greek capital letters, six of them. But there has been some accident, the message breaks off somewhere midway of the lines. You may be sure we shall do our best to pick up the lost portion. There is still another difficulty, it is mixed up with a long distance call in cuneiform Babylonian, there has been very bad interference and a blur of static, probably bad thunder storms in the Tigris Valley 3000 years back. It is coming through very slowly, this older message, and it is going to be a tedious job to decode it, anyhow we shall take it down. It is almost certainly Opis trying to get through to the 20th century A.D., or it may be the older city. We picked up this part of the communication in the fourth sub level and we expect to find the rest in the fifth, sixth or seventh. Hello! Second level interruption! Akshak speaking! Wave length 5000 years, another slow message thirty lines accounted for to date, still more lost and some of these 30 damaged beyond repair. As far as possible we shall ask for a repeat. Signed off.

Without any "kidding" now, I sent the cable as a Christmas card from the old buried cities that lie underneath our feet out here. They are beginning to speak and while it may be yet only in their sleep, I feel sure that if I could stay on till Easter there would be a general resurrection![1]

[1] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 21, 1928, TMA/Mesopotamian.

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DEDICATION

For those who did the work.

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ABSTRACT

Ancient Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, located in modern Iraq, was a multiethnic imperial capital city in Mesopotamia. Founded by Seleucus I Nicator in the late fourth century BCE, the city was conquered by the Parthians in 141 BCE and eventually superseded by nearby Ctesiphon. An excavation sponsored by the University of Michigan, the Toledo Museum of Art, and the Cleveland Museum of Art explored the site over six seasons from 1927 to 1937. Per antiquities laws instituted under British Mandate rule, finds from the excavation were dispersed between those U.S. institutions and the Iraq Museum.

This dissertation examines this excavation—and the collection and archive it produced—as a legacy collection. It probes three frames for the Seleucia excavation: the colonial context of British control of Iraq between World Wars I and II; the excavation's approach to artifacts (consequential for object recovery and documentation); and the history of and discourse around "nonexpert" labor on the excavation in Iraq and on the collection in Detroit. These frames are prerequisites to understanding the excavated corpus—its contours and its limitations—and thus the site, and to advancing a more equitable archaeological practice.

Chapter 1 offers a backdrop discussion of legacy collections and archaeological archives, with particular attention to archival practice. A description of extant archival resources offers a window into archival process and a resource for future Seleucia researchers.

The context of the British Mandate in Iraq is presented in Chapter 2, which outlines intertwined political and archaeological developments in interwar Iraq. The consequences of British rule on interwar archaeology in Iraq were not limited to antiquities laws: a case study of

British Royal Air Force involvement at Seleucia illustrates British colonial facilitation of foreign archaeological practice.

The results from the Michigan excavation at Seleucia remain under-published and under-incorporated into knowledge about Seleucid and Parthian Mesopotamia. Partially due to ruptures of 20th century global events, this is also a consequence of excavation practices. Chapter 3 identifies a view of finds as objects—not contextualized artifacts—dually rooted in the project's initial Biblical goals and its practice of acquiring objects under division for sponsoring institutions.

The second half of the dissertation considers "nonexpert" labor as a key aspect of knowledge production about Seleucia. A review of previous scholarship on archaeological labor in the Middle East and Africa (Chapter 4) offers frameworks drawn from history/sociology of science and critical histories of archaeology. These frameworks are applied to Seleucia in Chapters 5 to 7, which examine the (in)visibility of and discourse around Iraqi excavation workers in Seleucia's publications, archival texts, and archival photographs. Details about excavation roles and individual excavation workers are also offered from archival evidence. This discussion recognizes the decisions of individual workers, made within the excavation's overall object orientation and recovery strategy, as shaping the extant artifactual corpus. The lens of "nonexpert" labor shifts to the U.S. in Chapter 8, which is focused on a Works Progress Administration project in Detroit, contextualized by other New Deal archaeological projects. Political necessity made the WPA lab workers highly visible, in contrast to the Iraqi workers. These newly presented histories of Iraqi and American contributors to knowledge about Seleucia offer a more robust view into the biography of the Seleucia collections at Michigan, as well as a fuller set of stakeholders.

Introduction

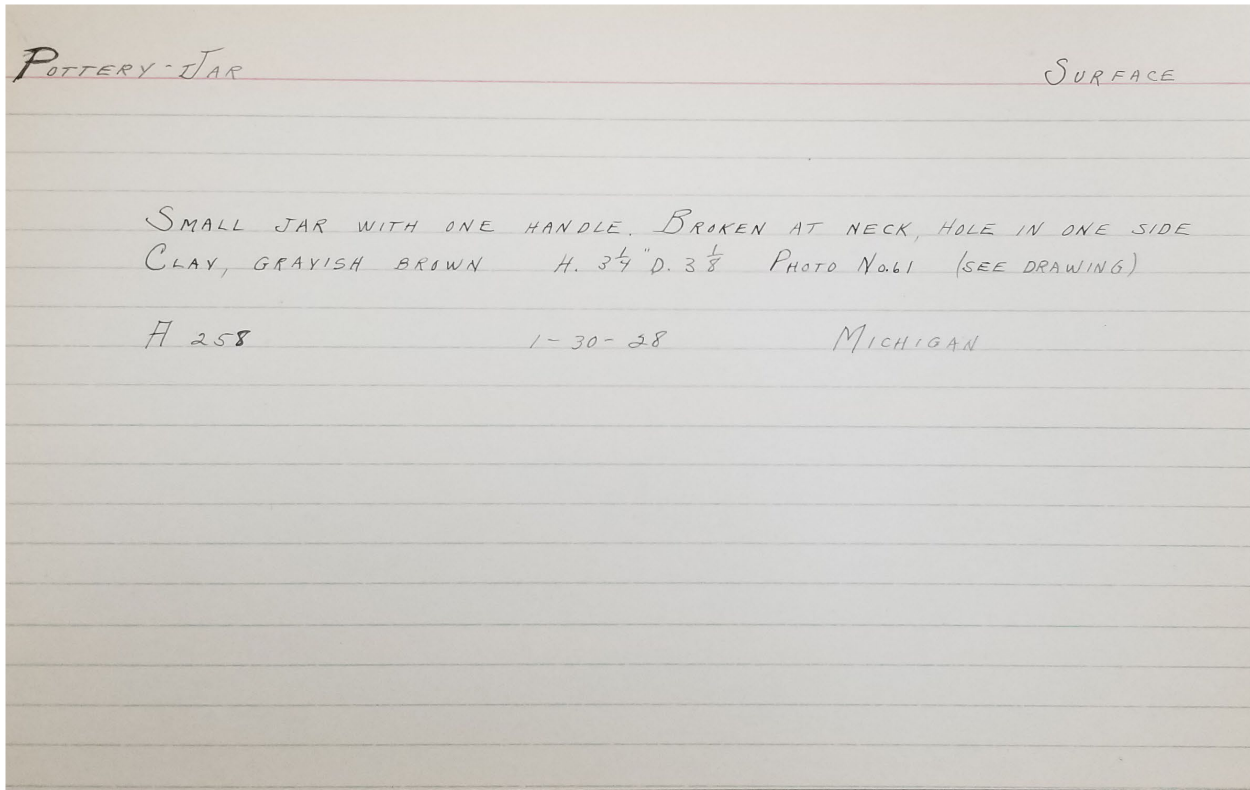
On January 30, 1928, a small boy who lived near Tel Baruda on the west bank of the Tigris River, south of Baghdad, received 1 anna (one-sixteenth of an Indian rupee) in payment for a small, grayish brown jar with one handle. It was not in great condition: it had a hole in one side and was broken at the neck. It was old, too: some 2000 years old, give or take a hundred years or so.

The boy, whose name was probably Khalaf, had found the jar somewhere near Tel Umar, a few miles from where he lived, as he picked up coins from the ground. That day, January 30, 1928—it was a Monday—he "brought in a lot of coins also."[2] This was his main job, collecting coins; he was paid about 15 U.S. cents a day to collect coins. He was good at his job: he had only been at it for about a week and he had already picked up about 500 coins.[3]

Someone, probably Leroy Waterman, assigned the jar the number 258, writing its details into an object register book. Someone, probably Nicola Manasseh, drew the jar, but the drawing is lost. Someone, probably F.H. Sproule, took a photograph of it, but the negative and prints are missing. The jar was supposedly sent to Ann Arbor, Michigan, but it either never was sent, never arrived, or was lost somewhere. Later, someone, perhaps in a repurposed firehouse in Detroit, Michigan, maybe in 1939 or so, copied its entry from that object register book onto an index card

[2] Waterman Notebook 1, January 30, 1928. See Bibliography for abbreviations used in citations of archival materials.
[3] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 25, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.

with a thin pen. That index card is now on the third floor of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology on State Street in Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.



POTTERY - JAR SURFACE

SMALL JAR WITH ONE HANDLE. BROKEN AT NECK, HOLE IN ONE SIDE
CLAY, GRAYISH BROWN H. $3\frac{1}{4}$" D. $3\frac{1}{8}$ PHOTO NO. 61 (SEE DRAWING)

A 258 1-30-28 MICHIGAN

Figure I-1 Snapshot of object card for A258, Seleucia Cards Box 20, KMA Archive

Where are the coins that Khalaf picked up from the modern surface covering the ancient city of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris on January 30, 1928? Many, today, are probably in the climate-controlled lower basement of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan, in the United States, far from where Khalaf picked them up, far from where they were dropped by an ancient inhabitant of Seleucia or a traveler passing through. It is not possible to determine, however, which ones Khalaf picked up: those records are gone or, perhaps, were never made.

and the Cleveland Museum of Art, all institutions in the United States that, on account of antiquities laws created under the British Mandate, received some amount of the artifacts Khalaf and others removed from the ground near where they lived. Many other objects went to Baghdad, into a new museum.

These artifacts, with the archaeological contexts in which they were found, have told, and can continue to tell, the story of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, an imperial capital city founded by Seleucus I Nicator in the late fourth century BCE, conquered by the Parthians in 141 BCE, and eventually superseded by nearby Ctesiphon. They offer stories of a multiethnic community in Hellenistic- and Parthian-period Mesopotamia, a region with a deep imperial and urban history. They also are part of the story of interwar Iraq, and of Iraqis, and of some unemployed Detroiters in the years prior to the outbreak of World War II.

A more typical excavation history of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris might start with these details: The University of Michigan excavated Seleucia under the direction of Leroy Waterman (1927-1932) and Clark Hopkins (1936-37); the project was halted because of the Great Depression, a rupture made final by the onset of World War II. As a result of division (*partage*) practices, a portion of the finds came to the University of Michigan, where they are today housed in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. The Italian Archaeological Mission of the Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per I Medio Oriente e l'Asia excavated at Seleucia for 14 seasons from 1964 through 1976 and 1985 through 1989. These details are all important. But who, in this story, is the "University of Michigan" who excavated the site?

In this dissertation, I revisit the excavation and study of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris in the interwar period under the auspices of the University of Michigan. I do so with an explicit focus on the archaeological archives generated by this excavation, the modern contexts of interwar Iraq

(first under a British Mandate, then nominally independent), the archaeologists' approach to their work and the artifacts they excavated, and the labor force, typically invisible, in Iraq and the U.S. that enabled the entire endeavor. I argue that these factors are necessary to understand the excavated corpus—its contours and its limitations—and to advance a more equitable archaeological practice, one attentive to the overlooked contributors to archaeological knowledge whose stories are available even in archaeological archives whose documentation is messy. This attention to a broad range of contributors is an ethical necessity and dovetails with the need to recognize a broader range of archaeological and cultural heritage stakeholders. I argue that these are prerequisites to revisiting the archaeological corpus itself, to reinterpreting Seleucia-on-the-Tigris through the University of Michigan excavations. The collection and archive produced by the Michigan excavation at Seleucia have much more to offer to knowledge of the Seleucid empire, of Parthian Mesopotamia, and more—but critical attention to the production of this collection and archive must be given first in order to better understand what these collections and documentation offer.

In Chapter 1, I introduce recent scholarship on legacy collections and archaeological archives, before briefly introducing the archival repositories and available materials for the University of Michigan excavation that form the basis of this study. In Chapter 2, I offer a brief survey of historical and political developments in British Mandate Iraq as intertwined with antiquities laws and foreign archaeological practice, as these form the context in which the Michigan excavation at Seleucia occurred. The chapter concludes with a case study of the contributions of the Royal Air Force in Iraq to the Seleucia Expedition, as an example of the British colonial and military facilitation of foreign archaeological practice in interwar Iraq. In Chapter 3, I discuss the Michigan excavation's approach to objects at Seleucia, arguing that a

somewhat decontextualized view of objects was rooted in both the excavation's understanding of its work and the framework which required recovery of objects (acquirable under division practices) for institutional sponsors.

Chapters 4 to 7 form a group focused on the locally-hired excavation workforce at Seleucia in Iraq. I begin the section with a review of the literature on archaeological labor in the Middle East in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 examines the ways that Iraqi excavation workers at Seleucia appear and do not appear in print: I consider archaeological publications before turning to the news and popular press. I examine the workforce in textual components of the Seleucia Expedition archive in Chapter 6, both investigating the discourse around workers and attempting to offer information about individual workers where possible. I turn to the photographic archive in Chapter 7, examining the visual evidence and discourse around locally-hired Iraqi workers in excavation photographs. In order to do so, I analyze the photographs in seven groups based on the photograph's subject matter and composition, specifically, how the workers appear in the photograph.

Chapter 8 continues the theme of "invisible" archaeological labor, but in a new context. In that chapter, I discuss a long-ignored Works Progress Administration project that ran in Detroit from 1938 to 1941 with the intention of processing the Seleucia collection and documentation in preparation for publication. I first offer an introduction to New Deal-funded archaeological work and the discourse around relief work in the Great Depression before turning to the specifics of the WPA laboratory in Detroit. Like the field excavation, this project employed nonexpert workers, but valued them quite differently. Additionally, this case study can be thought of as a public history project; it thus opens the way to consider reception of the

Seleucia collection in the U.S. The final component of this dissertation is an appendix that offers brief biographical details about the Michigan excavation staff members as an aid to orientation.

Chapter 1 : Revisiting Legacy Collections and Archives

1.1 Introduction

A re-examination of the results of the Michigan archaeological expedition to Seleucia-on-the-Tigris requires attention to the modern contexts of the excavation and study of the site. The archaeological results of this excavation are less incorporated into historical narratives of the Seleucid and Parthian periods in Mesopotamia than might be possible with further study and dissemination of results. Any further contribution, however, requires specific interrogation of the potentials and limits of the data: legacy data—and data, generally—are not objective.[4] The archaeological material excavated, collected, and recorded at Seleucia between 1927 and 1932 and again between 1936 and 1937 is not an objectively-, organically-created assemblage. Rather, this corpus is a product of its excavation; its excavators' questions, methods, and choices; the frameworks within which its excavators and interpreters worked; and the records they produced. The moments in which Seleucia was excavated informed the questions asked, the information recorded, and the initial interpretations; all have shaped our understanding of the site since the corpus' partial publication in the 1930s.[5] Thus, attention to these modern contexts allows vastly better-informed interpretations of the archaeological corpus than are possible from autopsy of the objects alone. What we know about ancient Seleucia was created in the interplay of excavated object, context and documentation, and methodology: understanding how this knowledge was created allows us to better assess the meanings of these archaeological data. Additionally,

[4] Allison 2008, 9.
[5] Debevoise 1934; McDowell 1935a, 1935b; van Ingen 1939.

attention to modern contexts also allows us to see how excavation at Seleucia fits into and contributes to the history of archaeological practice and into the entanglements between archaeology and 20th century geopolitics. Thus, the Seleucia collections—artifactual and archival—in the Kelsey Museum allow us to focus on multiple planes, including ancient Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, interwar American archaeology in Iraq, and late 20th century American university museology. In this chapter, I contextualize this project as belonging to a trend in archaeological scholarship of renewed attention to historical excavations; I then situate my archival research in relation to the wider "archival turn" in the humanities and archival studies/practice scholarship.

1.2 Revisiting: Legacy Collections

My project of revisiting the University of Michigan's Seleucia excavation is situated among an archaeological research trend of explicit interest in collections-based research and legacy collections.[6] "Legacy collections," traditionally viewed, are collections inherited by a museum or archaeological repository. In this definition, these collections are typically older, larger, and have messy (missing or difficult) contextual or provenience information; sometimes, collections are missing objects; the holding institutions typically lack access to the original excavator (or survey archaeologist); these collections are frequently neglected in storage.[7] While work with previously generated data, documentation, and collections has always been a part of archaeological research, a more recent trend is *explicit* attention to archival work and legacy data that makes the excavation and collections histories the objects of critical study and explicit theorization.[8]

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[6] Flexner 2016; King 2016, 5.
[7] King 2016, 5.
[8] E.g., Baird 2014; Baird and McFadyen 2014; Riggs 2019a.

The archaeological "curation crisis" forms the background to this research trend; its recognition has led to the establishment of standards of practice regarding management of excavated material and data. The crisis has been discussed in the American archaeological context since the mid-1970s. Archaeologists recognized the accelerating specter of neglected, badly-stored, unprocessed, uninventoried, under-documented, under- or unstudied excavated corpora—to say nothing of disorganized or missing supporting documentation—filling storerooms, warehouses, and museums worldwide and consequently remaining unpublished. The result was a flurry of literature regarding standards of practice, advocating the need to accept and plan for long-term responsibility for excavated corpora, through both shorter-term publication plans and longer-term efforts to maintain collections' research value. Much of the literature about the curation crisis is centered around collections excavated and stored in the United States: it largely interrogates the disciplinary and legal contexts of American archaeological practice (particularly the increased rate of collection accumulation resulting from government-funded archaeology)[9] and offers logistical solutions to mitigate the challenges.[10] Despite the largely U.S.-focus of this scholarship, many of the problems and lessons of this literature are applicable to non-North American materials held both within and outside the United States. Due to modern national cultural property laws, in Mediterranean and Middle Eastern archaeological practice, collections typically accumulate in their countries of origin rather than in European and North American museum collections, but the same stress on resources results.[11] This is not to say that ongoing projects to publish backlogs of excavated material are not underway,[12] but the

[9] Marquardt, Montet-White, and Scholtz 1982; Cherry 2011; Voss 2012; Stansell 2015. For discussion of U.K. contexts, see Merriman and Swain 1999 including bibliography; Brown 2011. For Mediterranean and Middle Eastern contexts, see Kersel 2015 and bibliography therein.
[10] Marquardt, Montet-White, and Scholtz 1982, 149; Voss 2012; Kersel 2015; King 2016.
[11] Cherry 2011; Kersel 2015, 46-7.
[12] E.g., the continued publication of volumes in series of decades-long excavations, such as the ASCSA excavations at the Athenian Agora and Corinth.

imbalance remains.

Analysis of the curation crisis has drawn attention to the much greater investments of value, funding, and labor allotted to fieldwork, in comparison to all the archaeological activities adjacent and/or subsequent to data extraction through survey and excavation in the field. In Voss's analysis, "[t]he curation crisis can be understood as a gross imbalance between the continued generation of archaeological collections through excavation, and a corresponding lack of resources and facilities devoted to accessioning, analysing, reporting, curating and otherwise caring for these collections."[13] The relatively low value attributed to archaeological curation means that such processes of stewardship and management are afterthoughts.[14]

The secondary place in the disciplinary hierarchy given to curation and collection-based research—and the lesser funding opportunities that result from this devaluation—contributes to the curation crisis: collections accumulate, under-processed, while new collections continue to be generated. And yet, as Kersel and others have suggested, revisiting legacy collections and legacy data is a possible, partial solution to the curation crisis.[15] Research on existing collections could slow the accumulation of new material by absorbing a certain amount of archaeological labor (considered critical for both academic training and archaeological bona fides) and attention that would otherwise generate newly-excavated collections, which then require curation, study, and storage.

Moreover, there is research value in these activities: curatorial work and additional research on existing collections can contribute new or reinterpreted content, bases for comparative analysis, and methodological lessons for field practices in the present day. Voss

[13] Voss 2012, 146.
[14] For a popular, non-archaeological discussion of the sexist rhetoric of being a "maker" today, see Chachra 2015.
[15] Kersel 2015, 46-7.

acknowledges the difficulties of working on legacy and/or orphaned collections,[16] noting the gap between common expectations about the research yield of legacy collections and actual intensity of the curatorial activities required in order to generate knowledge: "this ideal of untapped research potential, waiting to be unleashed, quickly fades against the reality of conducting research on existing collections."[17] Such experiences of difficulty often dissuade potential researchers from pursuing collections-based work, but, she argues, that recognition that this hard work—inventorying, cataloguing, interpreting archival documentation as well as the physical assemblages, rehousing, conservation—*is indeed research* by both members of the field and funding bodies can help address this gap. Voss indicates that the ways in which even orphaned collections, which are often viewed as lost causes, can productively be analyzed and interpreted, once curation processes are recognized as generative research undertakings on their own, rather than "routine" and "mere precursors to actual research."[18] She includes among these curation activities accessioning, inventory, cataloguing, conservation;[19] to these I would add critical engagement with whatever archaeological documentation and excavation archives exist. Her recognition of such curatorial activities as archaeological research is echoed by Wingfield. He argues that museums are not merely another kind of archaeological field site, archive, or fieldwork repository—that they are not "merely" sites of extraction, in which information is gleaned for the same exact same kinds of research undertaken in those other contexts. Rather, for Wingfield, museums are (and have been historically) research settings that are "generat[ive] of forms of archaeological knowledge associated with description, comparison, classification and generalization," which emerge from museums' processes of collection, themselves "mode[s] of

[16] Voss 2012, 147-48. "Orphaned collections" are uncurated, abandoned, and/or unreported collections.
[17] Voss 2012, 148.
[18] Voss 2012, 150.
[19] Voss 2012, 149.

assemblage and reassemblage."[20]

Voss offers a case study in the Market Street Chinatown Archaeology Project, a collections management and research program focused on an orphaned collection excavated in a 1980s salvage excavation in San Jose, California. Research on this collection, led by long-term cataloguing and processing activities, has been generative, yielding, *inter alia*, artifact-specific studies, contextually-focused studies shedding light on differences between late 19th century ethnic groups' waste disposal practices, and reexamination of original excavators' cataloguing terminology with a specific focus on their ethnic designations. Further, Voss argues that cataloguers' physical engagement with the collection, through slow, intimate, hands-on curatorial activities, was part of the generative research process: these engagements, which lead to particular research outputs, suggest that "sensual experience of handling and caring for artefacts may be an entry point for self-reflexive curation methodologies."[21] Work on legacy collections is generative work.

Additionally, as King argues, legacy collections-based research can valuably inform current archaeological fieldwork practice, particularly when stock is taken of the methodological difficulties encountered in analysis of legacy collections.[22] Legacy collection work offers methodological lessons regarding comparability and documentation that can be applied to current fieldwork practices. One of the disheartening realities that punctures the myth of "untapped research potential" noted above is that it is often difficult to compare legacy data to "new" data. As King describes in with reference to the Colonial Encounters Project, a

[20] Wingfield 2017, 600.
[21] Voss 2012, 166.
[22] King 2016. As King writes, "[t]his use has allowed researchers to move past problems of collections housing and storage and focus on the research value of the materials at hand. As a result, deeper problems, ones having to do with field and laboratory collection strategies—the practices that generated the collections—are becoming increasingly apparent. These problems, which have always existed but which were previously overshadowed by the curation crisis, reflect a continuing lack of standardized strategies for data collection"(6).

comparative, collections-based research program that examined 34 archaeological collections from the Chesapeake Bay,

> [n]ot only does a lack of standardization inhibit comparison, but in some cases, the recovery of objects was privileged over the recovery of contextual information. Records are limited in the kinds of information they contain, not because the records are missing but because they were not created in the first place.[23]

However, this problem is not limited to historical excavation data. Rather, the more obvious ways in which historical legacy data is unstandardized can shed light on methodological pitfalls and thus improve future fieldwork. Learning from the methodological challenges (and solutions, even when partial) of collection-based research, King draws attention to the ways in *all* archaeological collections, not just legacy collections, have the potential to be problematic for comparative research. As such, she argues that all those who generate archaeological collections through fieldwork ought to consider their corpora as future legacy collections: she urges present-day archaeologists to remember that their collections, too, will "typically leave the custody of their principal researcher and [be] accessioned by an often administratively separate museum or repository."[24] The collections and their documentation and/or publication will need to stand apart from their generating archaeologists; their documentation and methodologies need to be developed and presented with future comparability in mind. Thus, in addition to the data and interpretations extracted from hard work on existing collections, King encourages application of the methodological lessons concerning standards of practice gleaned from legacy collections to new fieldwork.

In addition to offering methodological and ethical lessons for future fieldwork, particular

[23] King 2016, 7.
[24] King 2016, 7.

processing and interpretive steps can ensure that legacy collections are approached with conceptual nuance. Allison, for example, prefaces engagements with "legacy data"[25] with cautions that "legacy data are not objective archives of facts and figures" and that "data characterization" is a necessity.[26] Witcher considers data characterization as part of the "source criticism" necessary in using legacy data: writing about GIS/survey data, he argues that practices of discernment and classification of features/parameters of the data should be also applied at a conceptual level aimed at archaeologists' practice, in order to generate contextual metadata that sheds light on how the choices made by the original researchers shaped the data.[27] That this is necessary for both legacy collections and more recently-excavated bodies of data will be discussed below. As comparability is a frequently sought outcome of legacy data analysis,[28] these contributions are—in most cases, and certainly in the case of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris—only possible by assessing methodologies and characterizing the data with regard to the original researchers' choices: that is, by critical engagement with *both* the objects and the documentary archives.

Understanding the research potential and limitations of the legacy data—artifacts and archival documentation—requires understanding how these data were produced. Indeed, recent survey (involving qualitative interviews) of the needs and practices of "archaeological data reusers" draws attention to a consistent "need for information about the methodological and

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[25] Allison 2008, 3. According to Allison, "[t]he technical definition of 'legacy data' is data from obsolete information systems [...] This term essentially means that these data are not already digitised and geo-referenced, but must be prepared, and often manipulated, before they can be used in a digital environment." Although my study is less concerned with GIS applications than are those introduced by Allison with that frame, the same exhortations apply.
[26] Allison 2008, 9.
[27] Witcher 2008, e.g., 2.6. "Firstly, more emphasis should be placed on source criticism (i.e. the creation of contextual metadata through a process of data characterisation) as a means of understanding data, including particular attention to the interaction of past and present action (i.e. the behaviour of people in the past and of the archaeologists studying them)."
[28] Allison 2008; King 2016, 11.

interpretative contexts in which the original research took place," regardless of the age of the data: this need was felt for research focused on historical legacy data *and* more recently generated data.[29] Archaeologists interviewed for this study pointed to the many ways that they assessed the reliability and meaning of the data and its contexts. They described using various parameters of practice in order to triangulate what the data meant: they considered data collection procedures, how context was recorded (including by interpreting excavators' priorities from how excavation narratives were written), rationales behind collection and interpretation, archaeologists' training and institutional pedigree, and the reputation of data repositories (as regards metadata and transparency). Ixchel Faniel and the other researchers involved in the survey conclude that

> [t]hese points indicate researcher interest in the entire data lifecycle, from excavation to deposit in a repository […] the conditions and methods that shaped data creation therefore needs much greater elaboration in archaeological ontologies so that archaeologists can make more informed judgments about the suitability of datasets for different forms of reuse.[30]

Such processes of "source criticism" and data characterization ought to occur at multiple scales, from broad conceptual approaches to field and recording practices. Moreover, the challenges posed by legacy data and collections from historical excavations, particularly those whose documentation and publications lack explicit statements of methodology and goals, require recourse to a wider set of archival sources than may be required by reevaluations of more recent projects. For a historical excavation like that Michigan Seleucia expedition in the interwar period, such multiscalar "data characterization" requires revisiting the contexts of and assumptions embedded in the data collection: the theories, methodologies, and field practices

[29] Faniel et al. 2013, 297.
[30] Faniel et al. 2013, 302-03.

that were applied are largely implicit in the documentation and publication, rather than explicitly stated. This need has been noted in other work on early 20th century excavations. For example, Lisa Nevett discusses the challenges and limitations of legacy data in restudying the houses of Olynthos, Greece. The site was excavated in the late 1920s and 1930s under the director of David Moore Robinson; Nevett notes that "there are no explicit statements of aims and techniques of excavation and of how these may have developed, either in the publication or in the field-books."[31] Nevertheless, she argues that "the ways in which the aims of the original excavations influenced the collection and recording of information" must be attended to in this data reuse, just like deposition and post-depositional processes.[32] In lieu of explicit methodological and theoretical statements, these practices and assumptions must be interpreted from the documentary records contained in archaeological archives (including memos, budgets, correspondence, and other supplemental documentation not explicitly concerned with archaeological *evidence*) in combination with close readings of the publications.

Attention to the larger-scale, more conceptual frameworks and biases with which data were produced and interpreted aids us in understanding past work. Bruce Trigger notes that "[a]rchaeological interpretations consciously and unconsciously (it is often impossible to determine which) echo current concerns"[33] but suggests that, in addition to attention to archaeological theory, engaging in historiography of archaeological practice benefits contemporary practice while helping us to understand the data and interpretation generated in past work. As he writes

> [s]tudying the history of archaeology, by enhancing an awareness of the theories that archaeologists used in the past and what happened when these theories were

[31] Nevett 1999, 60. See also, Cahill 2002, 61-72.
[32] Nevett 1999, 59-61.
[33] Trigger 2006, 484.

> employed to interpret archaeological data, not only makes archaeologists more aware of the biases that were built into such concepts but also lessens the chances of their reinventing of the wheel.[34]

One recent approach to historiography of archaeological practice, the conceptual tool of the "object habit," has the benefit of situating these practices in their wider historical milieux. Alice Stevenson, Emma Libonati, and John Baines use the notion of the "object habit" to refer to attitudes toward objects in a given time and place: they argue that how objects are regarded and conceived of in wider society is not separable from choices made regarding archaeological objects in the field and in museums.[35] Stevenson explains that this concept

> takes into account factors that influenced the types of things chosen; motivations for collecting; mechanisms of acquisition; temporal variations in procurement; styles of engagements with artefacts; their treatment, documentation and representation; and attitudes to their presentation and reception. These practices emerge not only within the museum or out in the field, but also, significantly, between the two within the wider world.[36]

For example, Stevenson draws attention to several factors in interwar Egyptology that informed how Egyptian antiquities were regarded and circulated: the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb by Howard Carter, changing antiquities laws in Egypt which changed partage practices with foreign excavators from automatic to at the discretion of the Egyptians, modernist and consumerist

[34] Trigger 2006, 546. He also writes, "[t]here is no evidence that in their interpretation of archaeological data archaeologists today are less influenced by the milieu in which they live than they were formerly [… And yet] the history of archaeology suggests that a growing body of archaeological data offers ever stronger resistance to the misapplication of such ideas and the specific misinterpretation of archaeological evidence. Although there can be no certainty about the "objectivity" of any specific interpretation of archaeological findings, the chances of archaeologists construing such findings in whatever way they wish appear to be lessening [due to active self-reflection and theoretical consideration in assessing biases, theories, and data]" (484).

[35] Stevenson 2014; Stevenson, Libonati, and Williams 2016; Libonati 2017; Stevenson, Libonati, and Baines 2017. They define the "object habit as: 'an area's customs relating to objects, taking into account factors that influence the types of things chosen, temporal variations in procurement, styles of engagement with artefacts or specimens, their treatment, documentation and representation, as well as attitudes to their presentation and reception. These customs emerge not just within the museum or out in the field, but between the two and affected by the full agency of the world. The idea of object habits encourages exploration of a multiplicity of intersecting factors that might enable, condition, and constrain what gets collected, from where, when, and why'"(Stevenson, Libonati, and Baines 2017, 115-16.).

[36] Stevenson 2019, 2.

trends, and shifts from museums to universities as the loci of academic leadership. These dynamics were at play in a growing gap between public perceptions of Egyptology and academic practices.[37] The "object habit" is also useful for discerning attitudes toward Near Eastern antiquities in the interwar period. Chapter 3 examines the influence of institutional preferences for object collection in conditioning the Seleucia archaeologists' less contextual approach to archaeological artifacts. For now, suffice it to state that explicit attention to the wider cultural dynamics of how objects and archaeological objects were conceived in the interwar period contextualizes excavators' explicit and implicit choices.

This is true at the level of the individual expedition as well at discipline-wide levels of practice. The terms in which the Seleucia excavators were thinking, interpreting, and writing were consequential for the archaeological record(ing) they produced, both at the level of the broad research frame in which they were operating (e.g., Leroy Waterman's goal of excavating the Biblical city of Opis, discussed in Chapter 3) and at the level of classification and terminology. In the latter category, choices concerning classification and terminology encode excavators' assumptions and interpretations in the data itself. This tendency is amplified in terminology applied to contexts of cultural interaction (or presumed cultural interaction). Labels (object names, feature names, building type names) that imply particular practices or cultural (especially ethnic) affiliations have problematically begged the question of the specific cultural engagements in the evidence by preemptively reifying cultural binaries or creating an undynamic, monolithic third category of "hybrid" prior to assessment of the evidence.[38] These descriptors have the capacity to condition reception of the data. J.A. Baird has investigated the

[37] Stevenson 2019, 145-80.

[38] For application of more intentional ways to consider hybridity that seek shed this essentialism with regards to terracotta figurines from Hellenistic Babylonia, see Langin-Hooper 2013b, 2013a.

problem of terminology for the Dura-Europos excavations: she has detailed the way that the descriptors applied to initial findings, specifically architectural spaces, are embedded with assumptions and biases.[39] For example, at Dura-Europos, the use of the term "bazaar" to describe the city's marketplace in the Parthian period (referred to by the same excavators as an "agora" in the Hellenistic period) inappropriately implies both a shift in function and similarity to modern Middle Eastern urban features (just as the label "agora" implied "Greek" practice).[40] Similarly, the description of a Dura house's large central room, off a courtyard, as a "diwan," a reception hall in Islamic architecture, implies a function not supported by the evidence, and, again, evinces an inappropriate analogy between ancient architecture and practices and those of the modern Middle East.[41] Indeed, more than to modern Middle Eastern architecture and practices, the excavators of Dura-Europos drew parallels between what they saw in the ancient material and their visions of the "Orient" with these descriptions.[42] These terminological choices froze such interpretations into the way these spaces were labeled, described, and published—and, thus, encountered by others.

A single Seleucia example shows that these terminological effects are by no means limited to Dura-Europos. The Michigan excavators designated large mudbrick structure excavated at Tel Umar as a ziggurat as a result of Waterman's intention of finding pre-Hellenistic occupation at the site. Indeed, Waterman optimistically identified the tell as a ziggurat on his first visit to the site, prior to excavation.[43] Further excavation by an Italian team, decades later, revealed that this mudbrick structure was a theater.[44] The presence of a ziggurat at

[39] Baird 2007.
[40] Baird 2007, 35-37.
[41] Baird 2007, 37-39.
[42] Baird 2007, 39-40.
[43] Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman November 25, 1927, Bentley/Waterman, Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927 Folder.
[44] Messina 2010.

the site would imply both a greater time depth of urban occupation than has been demonstrated at Seleucia and continued reproduction and use of specifically Mesopotamian religious features. Thus, the publication of this this initial, hypothesized label of "ziggurat" froze an interpretation and a concomitant cultural association in print: later scholars reckon with it each time they encounter the site through the Michigan publications.[45] Labeling the mudbrick feature a "ziggurat" thus created confusion in documentation and set up expectations of specific cultural dynamics and cultural legacies at the site; noticing this label and its afterlife sheds light on the conceptual frame in which the excavators first interpreted the site.

In this section, I reviewed archaeological literature regarding legacy collections data, in order to indicate the particular benefits of working with legacy data. In the context of the continuing archaeological curation crisis, research on legacy data meets an ethical need for these existing collections to be of use. Additionally, while not excavation, work on existing collections is archaeological research: tasks often considered "routine" are generative, knowledge-producing processes, and research on legacy collections can offer comparative data and methodological lessons for new fieldwork. Lastly, the literature on engaging with legacy data strongly indicates that reevaluation of how all data—but especially legacy collections and data that lack explicit methodological statements—were produced helps us better understand what the data mean. This reevaluation best involves understanding broader cultural trends and discipline-wide trends influencing decision-making, as well as practices and conceptual frameworks used by specific archaeological expeditions. With this latter aspect in mind, I turn next to the specific question of archaeological archival research.

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[45] On publication and literary production in witnessing and authorizing knowledge, see Shapin 1984; Lucas 2012, 248. See also Baird and McFadyen 2014, 22.

1.3 Revisiting: Archaeological Archives

Revisiting the archives is a necessary part of work on archaeological legacy data: the information desired for data characterization discussed above can only be found publications and the various forms of documentation. However, language around archaeological archives is often unclear: it is not always clear to what exactly the words "archaeological archives" refer. In part, this terminological muddiness results from unresolved questions about how archaeological documentation relates to other physical materials.[46] One definition of "archaeological archive" prevails in publications concerned with standards of practice in the U.K.: "archaeological archive" is an umbrella term encompassing two types of collections generated by archaeological fieldwork: documentary archives (including records, drawings, and photographs) and material archives (including objects and samples recovered in fieldwork).[47]

This slipperiness is echoed by the multiple meanings of "archaeological record," as Gavin Lucas discusses. To most, term "archaeological record" refers to the material evidence encountered on site by archaeologists; to others, it refers to the documentation that the archaeologists generate;[48] still others slip between the two definitions. These two definitions are symptomatic of a certain philosophical ambivalence about where archaeological evidence lies[49]: does the evidence and knowledge about the past reside in the objects (including excavated soil), in the records, or in both? This problem of terminology further is complicated by the drawing of conceptual or metaphorical parallels of the archaeological record to archives: for example, Lucas discusses the accumulation of archaeological assemblages as "auto-archiving" physical matter.[50]

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[46] Archaeologists are far from the only field researchers obsessed by their work's documentation and its status, meaning, and practice. See, for example, regarding anthropologists' thoughts about their fieldnotes: Jackson 1990.
[47] Merriman and Swain 1999, 250; Brown 2011, 4.
[48] Lucas 2012, 18 ff.
[49] For example, see discussion in Hamilakis 1999, 69. See also Baird 2011, 428.
[50] Lucas 2010, 355. He writes, "the archaeological record (and material reality in general) lies between these virtual extremes of total preservation and total erasure […] The question is fundamentally about change and the extent to

For clarity's sake, I will use the term "archives" to refer to documentary materials unless otherwise indicated and will indicate when I am discussing artifacts/object collections with the nouns "corpus(ora)" or "collection(s)" and/or descriptors such as "artifact(ual)" or "object,"[51] while also acknowledging that we should also pay attention to the material qualities of documentary materials as objects and artifacts in their own right.[52]

Lucas views archaeological archives and excavated corpora as the displacement of an archaeological site that has been changed by the process of excavation, i.e., as a substitute for the site: he argues that records produced during fieldwork "take on the epistemological status previously assigned to "the site itself" and comparable to the objects we decide to retrieve from the site."[53] In this way, archaeologists tend to treat the records as "the site." As such, he argues that excavation archives

> are materializing strategies for enabling the archaeological record to be subject to repeated excavation […] [t]he archive we create in archaeology is thus our answer to the scientific experiment— it is a way of re-excavating a site, reanalysing an object over and over again.[54]

While this point of view rather devalues the specificity of the knowledge generation processes that come after field recording, Lucas's note that the archive "is the only medium through which a site in all its detail is perceived by the archaeological community at large,"[55] provides a more

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which changes in material organization preserve traces or memories of previous organizations. If the notion of the assemblage discussed above foregrounds the temporality of objects as events, the notion of the archive or record foregrounds the preservation of material changes within an assemblage – it presents us with the idea of matter auto-archiving its own past."

[51] The modern documentary archives are to be distinguished from *ancient* archives, assemblages of documents or forms of documentation (sealings) from ancient contexts. The site of Seleucia is the source of three ancient archives (extant the form of sealings), two private archives ("A" and "B") and the public archive (McDowell 1935b; Invernizzi, Messina, and Bollati 2004; Invernizzi et al. 2004b, 2004a.)

[52] See Stevenson 2019, 4-5. For discussion of the materiality of excavation photographs specifically, see Baird 2011, 2017. Also, Demb draws attention to the physical conditions (often poor) of records produced in the field and stored with artifacts in discussing the particular challenge fieldnotes offer to museum archivists. These facts of materiality and process have consequences for how they are handled in museums/archives (Demb 2004, 178-79.).

[53] Lucas 2001b, 44.

[54] Lucas 2001b, 44.

[55] Lucas 2001b, 43.

pressing reminder that the archive is a necessary site of critical evaluation, as most researchers will engage with the excavation through the materials generated—whether the raw data, the resulting publication, or the excavated site with dirt and artifacts removed—*not* by participating in the acts of excavation themselves. Because the data, the records, and the archived documentation are all human-generated, the products of human decisions and interpretive calls, they must be the target of a critical eye in any endeavor to "re-excavate" the site. In addition to the fact that the archaeological record, in the sense of archaeological evidence encountered on-site, never offers perfect, complete material representations of past events prior to archaeologists' interventions, the materials that constitute archaeological archives are also products of human interventions.

As discussed in this chapter's first section, the need for data characterization will always apply when revisiting excavation results. Excavations occur within social and intellectual frameworks and particular object habits; documentation captures interpretations and constitutes meanings: it is necessary to read both with and against the grain of an archaeological archive. Moreover, ideally these archives contain more than archaeological data records, such as documentation around the project (correspondence, budgets, memos, proposals, etc.): as noted before, the lack of explicit statements of methods and goals by the excavators of historical expeditions means that these factors must be interpreted and triangulated.

Archaeological archives are peculiar kinds of archives. These particularities include, firstly, the charged relationship of documentation to other kinds of physical materials; secondly, that archaeologists make their own archives (they create the records that they themselves then (re)study); thirdly, related to this previous facet, the often idiosyncratic and informal circumstances of the archive's generation, collation, and institutional archiving. The second point

was partially addressed within the discussion of legacy data above. A case will be made here that the third point requires additional attention and that light can be shed on how archaeological archives are produced and function through attention to normal archival processes.

Baird and Lesley McFadyen have called for archaeologists to think of archaeological documentary archives as more than just a format in which data are accessed ("archive-as-source"). Rather, they call for attention both to the "archive-as-subject"—following the "archival turn" that has occurred broadly in humanistic research under influence of postmodern critical theory[56]—and to the "archive-as-practice."[57] As they write, "beyond the archive as a source for archaeology's own history, the form of the archive itself, for example how it is organized, labelled and accessed, is something that has a direct relationship to the creation, form and possibilities of archaeological knowledge."[58] As a result, for Baird and McFadyen, putting archive-as-subject and -practice on archaeologists' research agenda provides disciplinary space for understanding how the specifics of past archaeological knowledge construction impacts our archaeological knowledge today and for self-reflexively considering alternative kinds of archive-making that capture the relations between material and record more robustly.

Indeed, beyond postmodern theorists[59] and researchers taking archives (or notions of "the Archive"[60]) as their subjects, practicing archivists and archival studies scholars themselves have drawn much attention to the ways in which archives are constructed and are neither neutral nor

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[56] E.g., Stoler 2002, 2009.
[57] Baird and McFadyen 2014.
[58] Baird and McFadyen 2014, 17.
[59] E.g., Derrida 1996.
[60] Cook 2011, especially 614, 22. For discussion, additional to that of Cook, regarding the problematic gap between the humanities and critical theory notion and metaphor of "the Archive" in the "archival turn" and actual existing archives/archival studies scholarship, also see Caswell 2016. Caswell draws attention to the devaluing of archival intellectual contributions and lack of engagement with archival studies scholarship in the "archival turn" as problematically gendered and classist (with archival labor gendered feminine and viewed as service or "mere" practice, rather than as intellectual activity); this resonates with the devaluing of curatorial activities and collections-based research, discussed above.

objective.[61] The interventions of an archivist, professional or otherwise (as is the case for many archaeological documentary archives), resulting from regular archival practice and interpretation, have consequences for the archive itself and for users; as Terry Cook argues, this is a point often missed even by scholars who study archives (or, rather, the "Archive") in order to understand institutional power.[62] As such, the "data characterization" processes discussed above must take into account the production of the archive for that data to be used.

An archival collection is not a complete, objective documentary record of, e.g., a given bureaucratic unit or an excavation. Rather, it is a curated collection of individual records whose composition and assembly has undergone multiple processes of intervention. While archival science/studies theory and practices have often been neglected in historical and anthropological scholarship,[63] I suggest that attention to archival processes, as theorized and practiced by archivists, is useful for assessing archaeological archives. The following processes (discussed in the following paragraphs) occur explicitly when professionally archived and implicitly (and, likely, less systematically) when informally archived (see further discussion below on the idiosyncrasies of fieldnotes); they are worth reviewing here because they provide clues to specific interventions that precede a researcher's (re)use of an archaeological documentary archive and offer an additional location of labor in the trajectory of an archaeological excavation.

In professional archival practice, potential records are subjected first to "appraisal": this process involves value assignment (determined on the grounds of contextual research, institutional missions, interpretations) and subsequent selection for inclusion in the archive.

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[61] Cook 2001; Ketelaar 2001; Cook and Schwartz 2002; Hedstrom 2002; Nesmith 2002; Schwartz and Cook 2002; Jimerson 2006, 21-23; Evans, McKemmish, and Rolan 2017. My thanks to archivist and special collections librarian Genna Duplisea, of McKillop Library at Salve Regina University, for her aid and thoughts regarding archives and archival practice.
[62] Cook 2011.
[63] As noted above, see, *inter alia*, Cook 2011; Caswell 2016.

Next, records undergo archival description or representation: this step entails contextualization, description, classification, and production of metadata, through which a user will find, access, and understand the collection in question.[64] Importantly, these processes are undertaken by humans—archivists—who make interpretive choices at each stage; further, stewards of an archive continue to make interpretive choices continuously throughout the archival life of a given collection. All these choices "shape what may be known from archival records."[65] Thus, for example, Cook highlights the archival practice of appraisal as a major point at which "[a]rchivists thereby co-create the archive," as they decide what will be included.[66] Eric Ketelaar goes further, drawing attention back to a framework that exists even before a given record is evaluated for inclusion in an archive, to a point that he calls "*archivalization* […] meaning the conscious or unconscious choice (determined by social and cultural factors) to consider something worth archiving."[67] This point of "archivalization" is similar to the "object habit" discussed above, the collation of social, institutional, and individual attitudes that determine what counts as an object or artifact. As wider socio-cultural contexts, professional standards of practice, institutional settings and missions, and individual interpretations and values change, so, too, do the kinds of individual records that are identified as having value and the ways they are described: these factors shape, indeed, are determinants, of an archival collection. An example by Tom Nesmith, concerning the interpretive choices and dynamic changes to understanding a given archive that occur over time, is instructive:

> For example, until fairly recently women's records were not represented as archival records by most archivists. This new recognition changed the context for understanding these records, and thus changed what they *are*. This transformation

[64] Caswell 2016.
[65] Nesmith 2002, 31.
[66] Cook 2011, 604.
[67] Ketelaar 2001, 133.

> of current records into archival records and even “treasures” draws attention at different times to certain records over others. The destruction or exclusion of non-archival records “re-creates” the surviving records by repositioning them in the archives vis-à-vis related records, or by removing aspects of their context of interpretation. The records elevated to the status of archives them become the focus of the meaning-making or interpretive process, which in turn makes and remakes them.[68]

Because these archival processes embed subjectivity in the archive, Cook has called for greater transparency in archival practice, such as the creation of “negative entries” in archival description, making available to researchers information about which materials were not chosen for inclusion and about rationales for appraisal and value criteria.[69] The contents of these “negative entries” provide very similar information to that desired by archaeological data reusers interviewed by Faniel et al., so that they could best evaluate the meaning, reliability, and suitability of existing data sets.[70] Such self-reflexive discussions and practices in archival science and archival studies scholarship offer parallels to archaeological knowledge-making[71] as well as useful language and processes with which to evaluate the documentary elements of the archaeological record as it is available to a researcher.

A few additional dynamics mark the slightly idiosyncratic space and practice of archiving archaeological records. As Sarah Demb discusses in the second edition of the Society of American Archivists’ handbook *Museum Archives: An Introduction*, scientific and archaeological field notes provide particular challenges in the wider world of museum archives, making them slightly different than other kinds of institutional archives.[72] These include questions of purview in the museum (curatorial versus archival domains); intellectual property issues (with the boundary between personal research and institutional work often uncertain); the

[68] Nesmith 2002, 33-34.
[69] Cook 2001, 34-35.
[70] Faniel et al. 2013.
[71] E.g. Lucas 2010, 355.
[72] Demb 2004.

often personal character of notes (due to the reduced boundaries between the personal and the professional in fieldwork) and implicit organizational (e.g., hierarchy) information contained in records, both of which their creators are often not eager to enshrine in official records (but are of interest to researchers); and the frequently poor physical condition of fieldnotes and other records.[73] Furthermore, there is a difference between fieldnote records created for consultation (i.e., archaeological documentation) and material created for other purposes that are subsequently subject to archiving (i.e. correspondence). However, the following discussion of the Seleucia Excavation archives generally, and the Seleucia directors' notebooks specifically in Chapter 6 shows, shows how this line blurs.

1.4 Revisiting: The Seleucia Expedition Archives at the University of Michigan

Here, I offer a sketch of the archival presence of Michigan's Seleucia expedition, in order to introduce the kinds of documentary evidence available from the site. The primary documentary archives for Seleucia are concentrated in three archival collections: excavation documentary archives in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (KMA); Kelsey Museum institutional archives; and the papers of Leroy Waterman in the University of Michigan's Bentley Historical Library.

The Kelsey Museum holds the Seleucia Expedition Records archives.[74] This collection includes:

- Finds registers for each season (handwritten and typed). The KMA Registry has digitized the finds registers by collating them in an Excel spreadsheet.
- Directors' notebooks: seven written by Leroy Waterman (Seasons A through C;

[73] Demb 2004, 177-79.
[74] Seleucia Expedition Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan. Abbreviated in footnotes under the citation "KMA/Seleucia [Box #].[Folder #]."

December 1927 to August 1930) and one written by Clark Hopkins (Season F, October to December 1936). These are discussed further in Chapter 6.[75]

- Three "levelling notes books" for 1927 to 1932. No additional concordance plotting the locations of these levels is extant in the archive, and the specificity of the locations and features to which these measurements refer recorded in the notebooks is varied.
- A collection of photographs (of the site, work, and objects). A subset of these pertaining to excavation workers is discussed in Chapter 7.
- Drawings by Mary Samuels and Doris Richards (pottery)
- Various find lists and research notes, including "frequency files" and "frequency tables" organized by different artifact types, lists of artifact type distribution by room, and burial lists
- Various drafts (at different stages) of Samuel Yeivin's small finds manuscript and some copies of plates
- Various ephemera related to the expedition (newspaper clippings, exhibition pamphlets)
- Manuscripts, offprints, and copies of various Seleucia publications, reports, and dissertations
- Various memos and correspondence related to the expedition, the site's publication, and the collection
- Various card files, on index cards and in photocopied sets of index cards
- Additional research materials, including bibliographic cards (for various archaeological sites in the Near East)
- Large format maps, plans, tracings, aerial photographs, architectural renderings and other

[75] See notebook citation abbreviations in Bibliography.

large graphics (including some images prepared for publication)

In summer 1983, three art history graduates, Mary Christianson, Janet Donovan, and Joan Foley, and KMA secretary Kathi Davis, worked as interns with registrar Pam Reister in order to catalogue almost 400 Seleucia objects and assess and organize the Seleucia records. They also created a guide to using the Seleucia records. In the course of this work, they created outlines of the card files that formerly lived in Clark Hopkins' office and had been moved to the KMA attic in the 1970s. The card files were a tripartite set: Set A was organized by object type, B by provenance ("Room File"), and C by material. They typed the material from Set A, and then discarded the Set A cards to save space.[76] In the course of their work, they also found Yeivin's small finds manuscript (whose location had been long unknown), as well as Matson's dissertation (see Appendix I).[77]

More recently, a preliminary finding aid created by IPCAA student James Cook in Winter 2007; a new finding aid was created by undergraduate Registry intern Emma Creamer in 2017; and a new finding aid, reflecting changes in box organization, was created by undergraduate Registry intern Curtis Hunt in winter 2019. As this shifted box and folder designations in the midst of this dissertation research, I had done my best to update archival citations to reflect the current organization of the archive. The finding aids are obtainable from the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology Registry.

In addition, the Kelsey Museum Archive contains some Seleucia material associated with but not formally organized into the Seleucia Expedition Records (and not reflected on the finding

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[76] Today, Set B is still in the KMA archive.

[77] Memorandum "Final report on the Seleucia Project," Pam Reister to Kelsey Staff, September 1, 1983, KMA/Seleucia 5.5; Undated memorandum, "Seleucia Archival Information: Disposal of Boxes of Cards" KMA/Seleucia 5.4; Memorandum, Pam Reister to "Coach," April 4, 1983, KMA/Seleucia 5.4; Memorandum "1983 Summer Internship Project Final Report," KMA/Seleucia 5.4; Memorandum "Final report on the Seleucia Project," Pam Reister to Kelsey Staff, September 1, 1983, KMA/Gazda 12.43; Kelsey Museum of Archaeology 1984.

aids). Six boxes of cards, loose cards (some are object cards; another set is labeled "Seleucia Description of Levels" and seems to primarily pertain to G5 Level III contexts in Season F), an additional card file box, and two boxes of photocopied material pertaining to Seleucia can be found on shelves at the back of the KMA archive room. They have not, as of yet, been formally incorporated into the archive. The cards are largely object cards organized be provenance (provenience). One box contains cards cataloguing pottery: they are type-written, organized by vessel type, and many have appended drawings or photographs. Additionally, two upright file boxes contain photocopies which collate index cards by context, each index card containing information about a context with its citation. The sources represented are both those in the Seleucia Expedition Records (Waterman's diaries) and those apparently not extant (e.g., Manasseh's notes). These photocopies are likely the only extant documentation for some of this contextual information, as, for example, Manasseh's notes (except where transcribed by Waterman into his own diaries) are not apparent in the Seleucia records.

In Fall 2020, two upright file boxes appeared on the KMA archive shelves, grouped with the Seleucia records, containing Seleucia material from Frederick Matson (see Appendix I). These have since been partially rehoused into archival boxes but are not yet formally incorporated into the Seleucia archive or finding aid. I posit that these came to the KMA in 1989, when he transferred Seleucia terracotta figurines in his possession to the Kelsey (notes dated March and August 1989 pertaining to these figurines and to thin sections can be found in these materials).[78] Among these materials are notes of various kinds, four notebooks (described in Chapter 6), and pamphlets from the WPA Seleucia project (discussed in Chapter 8).

[78] Note, "Seleucia Figurine Data: Figurine Fragments returned the Kelsey Museum in Summer, 1989. (FRM to Slide Photos of Figurines)," KMA/Seleucia, Box "N"; Phone message slip, Frederick Matson to Elaine K. Gazda, August 16 [1989?], KMA/Gazda 12.43.

Additional relevant materials are archived with the Sepphoris Expedition/Excavation records in the Kelsey Museum Archive.[79] In particular, two of Waterman's notebooks, covering Season D and E,[80] with the 1931 Sepphoris season bridging the two notebooks, are housed with the Sepphoris materials. An additional small notebook with a leather cover is also archived with the Sepphoris materials;[81] I have attributed this notebook to Seleucia's Season F and to Robert H. McDowell, rather than Sepphoris. This notebook and my reasons for its attribution to Seleucia and to McDowell are discussed in Chapter 6. Finally, a notebook of levels taken at both Seleucia and Sepphoris is archived with the Sepphoris records. This notebook along with Waterman's Notebook 8 are both currently on view in the KMA galleries (second floor, Roman Imperial Provinces gallery).

The Kelsey Museum institutional records are split physically between the Bentley Historical Library and the Kelsey Museum's own archive. Scattered throughout this collection are various records concerning the Seleucia expedition, such as memos charting the movement of files and artifacts.[82] Two subcollections housed in the Bentley Historical Library are particularly pertinent to the Seleucia expedition.

The first is the subcollection of the Institute for Archaeological Research (I.A.R.).[83] This University of Michigan committee existed from 1924 to 1949. Originally constituted in 1924 as

[79] Sepphoris Expedition/Excavation, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan. This collection is abbreviated in footnotes under the citation "KMA/Sepphoris."
[80] Waterman Notebook 8, covering August 21, 1930, to August 20, 1931, does not have a box number; it is on display in the KMA galleries. Waterman Notebook 9, covering August 21, 1931, to February 19, 1932, is archived in Sepphoris Expedition/Excavation, Box 1, Folder 1.
[81] [Robert H. McDowell?], Leather Notebook [1930, 1936-1937], Folder 2, Box 1, Sepphoris Expedition/Excavation, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan. Hereafter abbreviated as McDowell Notebook, Season F.
[82] E.g., "Seleucia Excavations Material put away June 1942," Bentley/KMA/KMA 3.7. N.B. Box 3 is housed in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology's Archive.
[83] Institute of Archaeological Research records 1924-1949 subgroup, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology records, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Hereafter abbreviated in footnotes as "Bentley/KMA/IAR [Box #].[Folder #]."

the Advisory Committee on Near East Research (and then renamed the "Committee on Near Eastern Research" in 1927) to manage funds provided by Horace Rackham for Francis Kelsey's work at Karanis in Egypt, the committee's purview included the other Michigan archaeological projects in the Near East (though it largely focused on Karanis). Renamed the Institute for Archaeological Research in 1931, in addition to funding and coordinating the field projects including the Seleucia expedition, it also allocated funding for archaeological study of material in Michigan and related publication projects. It was reconstituted in 1941 as the "Committee on Research and attached to the Museum of Art and Archaeology" and was specifically charged with acquisition of archaeological materials, organizing the study and publication of those materials, and oversight of the archaeological field expeditions.[84] The archival collection derived from this unit contains project proposals; excavation reports and correspondence (including letters reporting on the expedition work at Seleucia to the committee's Executive Secretary, Frank Robbins); budgets, funds/position authorizations, memos, meeting minutes and reports, all of which provide context for the Seleucia expedition amidst other Mediterranean and Middle Eastern archaeological fieldwork at the university. Among these documents is one additional Seleucia excavation notebook from winter 1929, authorship of which is unclear.[85] This notebook is discussed in Chapter 6.

Another relevant subcollection within the Kelsey files housed at the Bentley are the papers of Robert H. McDowell, member of the Seleucia-on-the-Tigris expedition.[86] This

[84] "History" in Finerman 1981-1983. Finding Aid to Kelsey Museum of Archaeology Records, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/f/findaid/findaid-idx?c=bhlead&idno=umich-bhl-89487

[85] Notebook, Folder 9, Box 7, Institute of Archaeological Research records 1924-1949 subgroup, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology records, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Hereafter cited as "Anonymous Notebook, Season B."

[86] Box 1, Robert H. McDowell subgroup, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology records, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Hereafter cited as "Bentley/KMA/McDowell 1.[Folder #]."

subcollection includes notes and correspondence related to McDowell's numismatic research, a few annotated manuscripts of Clark Hopkins, research notes concerning the ancient textual record for Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, and various versions of Samuel Yeivin's small finds manuscript.

The Bentley Historical Library also holds the papers of Leroy Waterman, Professor of Semitics, Chair of Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures, and first director of the Michigan expedition to Seleucia (Tel Umar), 1927 to 1932.[87] The Seleucia expedition-related holdings include object division and shipping lists, copies of the Iraqi government's annual report on archaeological excavations, museum exhibition programs, photographs, and various annotated versions of Samuel Yeivin's reports and small finds manuscript. Among is correspondence are letters he wrote from the field, covering Seasons A to D.[88] Other journals, not covering the dates of his field seasons, are also archived in this collection.

Beyond archives at the University of Michigan, correspondence related to the excavation is held by the archives of both the Toledo Museum of Art (TMA) and the Cleveland Museum of Art (CMA), institutional sponsors of the excavation. At the present, the TMA does not have a finding aid for the Mesopotamian Expedition materials.[89] The CMA also holds Seleucia-related correspondence, as well as some newspaper clippings, in the Records of the Director's Office.[90]

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[87] Leroy Waterman Papers, 1887-1972, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Hereafter cited as "Bentley/Waterman Box [#], Folder Title."

[88] Bentley/Waterman Box 1.

[89] Mesopotamian Expedition Reports/Folder 1, Archives, Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, OH. Hereafter cited as "TMA/Mesopotamian."

[90] Mesopotamian Expedition, 1929-1935 [Folder], Box 28, Series I. Alphabetical Administrative Correspondence of William M. Milliken, Records of the Director's Office, Cleveland Museum of Art Archives, Cleveland, OH. Hereafter cited as "CMA/Milliken."

Chapter 2 : Interwar Iraq and Archaeology

A University of Michigan-led project excavated at the site of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris from 1927 to 1931 and again in 1936-1937. A wider historical frame for this period in Iraq involves British control under a League of Nations Mandate and continued British influence after the end of the mandate,[91] the formation of the Iraqi state and the Hashemite kingdom in Iraq, and the development of antiquities policy in this changing political context. This context is palpable in the Seleucia archives: the use of the Indian rupee in Iraq,[92] in which first excavation director Leroy Waterman recorded his financial accounts in his director's notebooks; Waterman's stays in the YMCA in Baghdad when running errands in the capital; the world of the Baghdad School of the American Schools of Oriental Research; the aerial photographs of Seleucia taken by British Royal Air Force (RAF) pilots for the archaeologists. All these elements within the texture of Michigan's project at Seleucia locate it in wider Anglo-American engagements in interwar Iraq and broader networks of the late British Empire. Furthermore, this period saw the creation of the Iraqi state, which determined the trajectory of cultural heritage legislation/politics in Iraq. I will sketch the political context in Iraq here and provide a case study of RAF-archaeologist

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[91] Simon 1997; Tripp 2007; Baram, Rohde, and Zeidel 2010; Provence 2016; Robson 2017b; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 17-28.

[92] As Priya Satia notes, the British occupation of Mesopotamia in the World War I Mesopotamian Campaign, initially under the Government of India, saw the implantation of British Indian administration structures nearly immediately: "Indian police, currency, legal code—all followed within a week of the occupation of Basra" (Satia 2015, 286). Others have described this initial approach, including the use of the rupee, to directly governing Iraq (and replacing Ottoman administration) according to British practices in governing India as "the Indian school" or the "imperial school" (Tripp 2007, 36; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 18-19). See also Dodge 2003, 10-11; Sluglett 2007, 13-18; Llewellyn-Jones 2015.

engagements, acknowledging my focus on policy and administrative structures.[93] I additionally acknowledge my reliance on Anglophone secondary scholarship for this synthetic summary, which is meant to be background setting rather than innovative. As such, it leans heavily on the synthetic accounts of Iraqi history by Charles Tripp, Peter Sluggett, and Phebe Marr; on the work of Magnus Bernhardsson and James Goode on the intersection of nation-building and archaeology in the 20th century Middle East; and the work of Priya Satia and Toby Dodge on the Royal Air Force in interwar Iraq.[94]

Seleucia-on-the-Tigris is located approximately 30 km south of modern Baghdad. Prior to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, it was part of an Ottoman province (*vilayet*) centered on Baghdad. This province and two others, centered on Mosul to the north and Basra to the south with access to the Persian Gulf, respectively, came to constitute the modern state of Iraq, but these Mesopotamian provinces were not conceived as a single unit by the Ottomans.[95] It was the outcome of First World War and the British occupation of these three provinces that determined the territorial boundaries for the new Iraq state established after the war.

2.1 World War I: the Mesopotamian Campaign, and the British Occupation

In October 1914, the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers in World War I. Looking to protect British interests in the Persian Gulf and territory in India, a British Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force (MEF), composed of the Indian Expeditionary Force D of the Indian Army and directed by the Government of India, landed near Basra and took the city by the end of November 1914. They controlled the province of Basra by September 1915. This

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[93] During the Mandate, the British attempted to control archaeological activities exclusively, avoiding any Iraqi decision-making (Bernhardsson 2006, 110-12). As such, I have focused on contours of British power, as these dictated the context of archaeological practice in which most of the Seleucia excavation took place. For a review of Bernhardsson, see Abdi 2011.
[94] Cited specifically throughout.
[95] Tripp 2007, 8-29. For discussion of the names "*Mesopotamia*" and "*Iraq*," see Bernhardsson 2006, 97-100.

Mesopotamian campaign involved a battle—a major setback for the British—near Seleucia: pushing toward Baghdad (and with the Allies' major loss at Gallipoli in mind), these British and Indian troops met entrenched Ottoman troops at Salman Pak,[96] the town that lies on the opposite (east) side of the Tigris River from Seleucia and partially encompasses the site of Al-Mada'in (which itself includes Ctesiphon and Seleucia). After this battle, the British/Indian troops were forced to withdraw south to Kut al-Amara, where the Ottomans besieged them until a humiliating British surrender in April 1916. Eventually and more cautiously, the British resumed the campaign under the command of the London War Office, rather than under the Government of India, and took control of Baghdad in March 1917.[97]

In May of that year, upon occupying Baghdad and declaring it "liberated," the British commanding officer, Lieutenant-General Stanley Maude, banned removal or sale of antiquities from occupied Mesopotamia without permission, as well as unauthorized excavation or defacement of monuments.[98] Despite this moment of decisiveness, as Magnus Bernhardsson recounts, a British debate began that summer regarding the status and ownership of antiquities.[99] Different British administrative offices (the War Office, the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, the India Office), high-level administrators and politicians, and museums (the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum) argued in meetings, memos, cables, and letters over

[96] Most British accounts refer to this action as the Battle of Ctesiphon, rather than as the Battle of Salman Pak. Salman Pak is the name of the town, named for the tomb of Salman the Persian, companion and barber of Muhammad. The British commander, General Charles Townshend, writes in his memoir that he proposed that the place be referred to as "Ctesiphon" rather than "Salman Pak" in telegrams, for, "out of regard for the feelings of Mohammedans [he] thought it would be better not to make use of his name" (Townshend 1920, 217-18). However, it seems to have been a pragmatic rather than empathetic decision, given that, according to Townshend, in preparations for the battle, Muslim soldiers among the Indian troops were extremely reluctant to advance against Salman Pak, given the holy associations (Townshend 1920, 226, 53). Even so, it is impossible not to note the British interest in the *ancient* pre-Islamic site, over the Islamic holy locale. For discussion of the Ottoman defenses through the site, see (no relation to the general of the same name) Townshend 2010, 151-52.
[97] Satia 2007, 211-12; Sluglett 2007, 8-11; Tripp 2007, 30-32; Townshend 2010; Satia 2015, 276-77; Rogan 2016; Satia 2016b, 83. See also Atia 2016.
[98] Bernhardsson 2006, 88, 92, 102, 251 n. 156; Al Gailani Werr 2014.
[99] Bernhardsson 2006, 71-92.

antiquities and archaeological policy, all the while jockeying for position (the administrative offices) and possession (the museums).[100]

Bernhardsson traces the debates about and development of British policies for antiquities from Mesopotamia during the British occupation through examples of how the British handled issues of German-excavated antiquities in Iraq, of German-excavated antiquities outside of Iraq, and of antiquities excavated by the British with Turkish POW labor during the war.[101] At stake in this debate were questions of ownership: could antiquities, particularly those excavated before the war by German archaeological projects (e.g. Ernst Herzfeld's excavation at Samarra), be considered war trophies and brought back to England to enrich British museum collections? Some offices and officials argued that this potential policy was generally at odds both with Allied criticism of German looting during the war and with British rhetoric presenting their campaign and occupation as liberating Mesopotamia from oppressive Turks. At the very least, the optics would be bad.[102] As the debate continued after the war's end (in the period prior to the establishment of the Mandate), questions of longer-term antiquities policy were brought into the discussion: what materials was it necessary and appropriate to retain in their country of origin? What shares should foreign excavators be permitted to take home, as they certainly would expect? Bernhardsson points out that these British officials' early discussions, begun before the end of the war, presupposed the creation of a "state that had a museum," even as several players asserted that Islamic objects should go in this hitherto unimagined national museum and that more ancient Assyrian objects ought to be brought to the British Museum.[103] Additionally implicit was the idea that they, *the British*, would be setting up a new nation-state in these

[100] Bernhardsson 2006, 71-92.
[101] Bernhardsson 2006, 75-91.
[102] Bernhardsson 2006, 71-75.
[103] Bernhardsson 2006, 77-78.

territories. Some of the rhetoric justifying export of these antiquities to England involved notions of (in)accessibility to scholars. These conversations included the assumption that in Baghdad, the objects would be inaccessible to scholars (notably only Western European scholars were included in this constituency)[104]—and accepted the argument that exporting the objects would safeguard their physical well-being.[105] Furthermore, the question of future foreign archaeologists' expectations was raised: they would be able to export at least a portion of their finds.[106] Thus, the parameters for exporting the antiquities flip-flopped between permanent export for British ownership or loans to British institutions until the time that a local/national museum in Mesopotamia would be considered ready to serve as steward of cultural patrimony.[107]

Bernhardsson reports that the general commanding officer of the MEF wrote a memorandum in September 1917 to the chief of the general staff in India, suggesting that an archaeologist be sent to look at the fragile state of the monuments at Ctesiphon and make necessary repairs. These official actions placed archaeological site preservation on the British agenda: preservation of ruins was deemed, in subsequent memos, to be the responsibility of the British government as the occupying power. Ctesiphon underwent some small repairs, and guards were posted at the sites of Samarra and Babylon in order to prevent looting.[108] Despite this preliminary interest and discussion about (ex)portable antiquities noted above, policy regarding future archaeological work was not set until after the war by Gertrude Bell.

2.2 Postwar and British Mandate Iraq: British Policy and State Structures

In October 1918, the Armistice of Mudros ended Ottoman involvement in the war and

[104] Bernhardsson 2006, 79, 81.
[105] Bernhardsson 2006, 80-81, 83, 90.
[106] Bernhardsson 2006, 80.
[107] Bernhardsson 2006, 71-75.
[108] Bernhardsson 2006, 92.

dictated that Ottoman garrisons in Mesopotamia surrender to the British. Under that stipulation, the British demanded the surrender of Mosul, despite Ottoman protests that Mosul was not part of Mesopotamia. Ottoman forces withdrew from Mosul in November and the armistice line was set at the northern border of Mosul province.[109] Although there were links between politically-active groups in the three Mesopotamian provinces who were interested in either reform or some form of provincial or Arab autonomy under late Ottoman rule, according to Charles Tripp, "these [connections] were insufficient to create internal momentum for the establishment of a separate state"; rather, it was the British occupation and administrative attitude that treated these three provinces as one unit and the consequent territorial decisions that anchored together these territories as one state.[110] The "artificially created" state contained diverse populations—diverse in both ethnicity and religion—within its territorial boundaries[111]; historians such as Reeva Simon argue that the trajectory of Arab nationalism in Iraq, which maintained the British-supported minority-Sunni dominance reminiscent of Ottoman administrative practice, during the interwar period failed to gain an integrating quality.[112]

In the Allies' Conference of San Remo of April 1920, the League of Nations Mandate for Mesopotamia was given to Britain.[113] This system of "mandates" created "British and French colonial holdings that were, theoretically, being supervised on the road to national independence

[109] Tripp 2007, 28, 32.
[110] Simon 1997, 87-88; Tripp 2007, 36.
[111] See for example Tripp 2007, 33-34, 53-54, 57; Robson 2017b; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 23-24. On the "Kurdish question," see Tripp 2007, 57, 65-66. Contra the narrative that Iraq was "invented" solely by the British, see Pursley 2015a, 2015b.
[112] Simon 1997, 87-88; Tripp 2007, 31, 45. This conclusion is widely held. For example, in Iraqi author Ahmed Saadawi's 2013 novel *Frankenstein in Baghdad* (translated into English in 2018), set in 2005 during the American occupation of Baghdad, the "Whatsitsname" creature –which is sewn together out of blown-up body parts—explains that the followers he has attracted view him as various types of epitomes: a destroyer prior to the coming of the religious savior; the religious savior himself; or, most relevant here: "The young madman thinks I'm the model citizen that the Iraqi state has failed to produce, at least since the days of King Faisal I. Because I'm made up of body parts of people from diverse backgrounds—ethnicities, tribes, races, and social classes—I represent the impossible mix that never was achieved in the past." (Saadawi 2018, 146-47.)
[113] Tripp 2007, 40; Schayegh and Arsan 2015; Provence 2016.

by their European overseers."[114] As Michael Provence describes this system, "the theory sounded something like adult guardianship over minor children."[115] Satia notes that India, the independent member of the League of Nations under whom the British invasion of Iraq had occurred, had angled for this mandate but was not awarded it.[116]

The vital context and motivator of the Mandate system was the shift in international relations and standards of acceptable international practice after World War I. This change marked the end of territorial imperialism's acceptability to the international community and the beginning of the end of British imperial dominance worldwide: direct annexation was not acceptable.[117] American president Woodrow Wilson's rhetoric about self-determination and sovereign states added to the popular opposition to British involvement in Iraq among both the British (particularly on financial grounds) and Iraqi populaces, resulting in changes to the type of control the British would have in the new Iraq. More specifically, the slow and uneven recognition of this postwar restructuring of global power and international relations by British officials meant that there were stepped shifts between 1919 and 1927 in how British officials conceived of Britain's role in Iraq. With their initial plan to annex Basra province no longer considered acceptable or viable in the world of Wilson's Fourteen Points, the British then accepted the tutelary position of Mandated control, before shifting in 1923 to viewing themselves as advisors in an even more indirect role, and, ultimately, to attempting to quickly relieve Britain of its responsibilities to Iraq.[118] All the while, however, the British were committed retaining influence in Iraq, albeit in increasingly indirect and less expensive ways, as will be discussed

[114] Robson 2017b, 2.
[115] Provence 2016.
[116] Satia 2007, 249, 2015, 282- 89, esp. 86.
[117] Dodge 2003, 1-45; Sluglett 2007, 4. See also Pedersen 2010, 2015; Satia 2016a.
[118] Dodge 2003, 9, 2004.

with reference to the Royal Air Force in a case study below.

Thus, despite initial wartime attempts to set up British Indian-style administrative structures, because of this changing postwar political environment,[119] the British approach to administering Iraq was not immediately apparent or consistent. As Eugene Robson reports, "the nature of British rule in Iraq would not really solidify until after a widespread revolt in 1920 forced the reformulation of the mandate for Mesopotamia into the Kingdom of Iraq, via the 1922 Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, and initiated a partial devolution of power into Iraq hands."[120] These anti-British mid-Euphrates revolts of summer 1920 mobilized cooperation between Shi'i and Sunni groups against the British and are heralded in Iraqi nationalist mythology as a seed of Iraqi nationalism and rejection of foreign rule. The British suppressed these revolts, inflicting a massive number of causalities—6,000 to 8,000 Iraqis and 450 to 500 British and Indian soldiers were killed—and expense—£40 million. As a result, the British hastened to create a new Iraqi constitutional monarchy. This governmental structures' main features emerged from the Cairo Conference of 1921, called by colonial secretary Winston Churchill.[121]

In August 1921, the British installed Hashemite Emir Faisal, son of Hashemite Sharif Husain of Mecca and brother of Abdullah (whom the British installed as Emir of Transjordan), as king of Iraq, head of the newly-created Iraqi monarchy. A partial but essential backdrop to this coronation was the British alliance with the Hashemite dynasty of Mecca and their British-supported campaign against the Ottomans in World War I. In view of the British-Hashemite relationship, the British grant of this position may be understood as a partial consolation prize for Faisal's loss of his brief-lived Arab Kingdom of Syria to the French in 1920; furthermore, the

[119] Dodge 2003, 10-11; Sluglett 2007, 13-18; Tripp 2007, 36; Satia 2015, 286; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 18-19.
[120] Robson 2017b, 40.
[121] Beinin 2001, 92-93; Dodge 2003, 134-36; Bernhardsson 2006, 102-04; Sluglett 2007, 34-35, 40-41; Tripp 2007, 39-44; Roshwald 2013; Provence 2016; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 19-20, 25.

British perceived Faisal as amenable, even manipulatable, to British interests and as an outsider to Iraq, thus lacking problematic specific local constituencies.[122] His appointment was nominally approved by the Sunni Arab-dominated Council of Ministers (the first institution of the new Iraqi government that was formed in 1920 and presided over by the *naqib al-ashraf* of Baghdad Sayyid ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Kailani) and by a fraudulent popular “referendum,” which claimed a 96% approval rate for his ascension to the throne.[123]

Gertrude Bell’s involvement in the establishment of the Iraqi constitutional monarchy was directly consequential for the development of Iraqi antiquities legislation. Bell, by 1920 a veteran British imperial administrator, supported the appointment of Faisal as king. In addition to her personal affection for him, she believed that he was the candidate most likely to bring legitimacy for the British-created government, that he was amenable to British interests, and that he epitomized the British plan for Iraq, as “the embodiment of tribal identity, of Sunni Islam and of Arabness, identity makers which helped define the state the British created.”[124] She also likely interested him in monuments and archaeology; in 1922, he appointed her honorary director of antiquities and asked her to develop antiquities legislation.[125] As Yakoubi recounts, prior to Faisal’s ascension to the throne, Bell took Faisal on a breakfast picnic to Ctesiphon. There, as Bell recorded in a letter to her father, she and Faisal looked at the site, and she recounted the history of Arab conquest to him. Bell writes,

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[122] Simon 1997, 88; Karsh 2002; Dodge 2003, 19-21; Bernhardsson 2006, 106-09; Sluglett 2007, 36-46; Tripp 2007, 33; Provence 2016; Rogan 2016; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 20. For discussion of Faisal’s brief tenure as king of Syria, see Roshwald 2013.
[123] Dodge 2003, 17-18; Sluglett 2007, 35, 44; Tripp 2007, 44, 47.
[124] Bell— archaeology-adjacent and -engaged traveler and writer—was recruited during the war, on account of her extensive knowledge of the Arab and Persian provinces of the Ottoman Empire (like David Hogarth and T.E. Lawrence). She served in the British War Office’s Arab Bureau, shifting over to a role based in Mesopotamia as Oriental Secretary to the Indian Expeditionary Force’s Political Department by June 1916 and eventually was Oriental Secretary to the British Civil Commissioner in Iraq. Bernhardsson 2006, 59-65, 69-71; Tripp 2007, 36-39, 46-48; Duplisea 2016; Collins and Tripp 2017, 9-15; Eskander 2017; Yakoubi 2017.
[125] Bernhardsson 2006, 117-18.

> After we had reconstructed the palace and seen Chosroes sitting in it, I took him into the high mounds to the south, whence we could see the Tigris, and told him the story of the Arab conquest as Tabari records it, the fording of the river and the rest of that magnificent tale. It was the tale of his own people - you can imagine what it was like reciting it to him. I don't know which of us was the more thrilled.[126]

This time, the environs of Seleucia—ancient Ctesiphon and the modern town of Salman Pak—appears to have been more effectual for implementing British interests in the landscape of imperial interventions into the soon-to-be Iraqi state, than it was in the British encounter with Ottoman troops at the site in 1915. Bernhardsson argues that Bell's choice of Ctesiphon reminded Faisal of "Iraq's historic vulnerability"[127]; I would also add to his assessment that Bell's choice framed Faisal as another foreign ruler in a line with the Parthian and Sassanian kings (as well as the Arab conquerors) whose impressive extant architecture at Ctesiphon was seen as particularly expressive in the landscape.[128]

The other two features of the Iraqi state that resulted from the Cairo Conference were a treaty with Britain and a new constitution. The first, a treaty between the British and Iraqi governments, was ratified by the Council of Ministers of October 1922 and was initially intended for a period of twenty years. The treaty essentially replaced the League of Nations Mandate structure, formalizing British advisory control over new Iraq in a form that implied a bilateral agreement between two equal, sovereign nations. It, however, established Britain's indirect rule by requiring that British guidance be followed "on all matters affecting British interests and on

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[126] Bell also records interactions with locals from the opposite side of the Tigris (the Seleucia side): "Fakhri Jamil [who came on this picnic] has a large estate on this bank of the river opposite Ctesiphon and he brought over some of his villagers, with 4 lambs which they sacrificed to Faisal just before breakfast - horrid." Letter from Gertrude Bell to Hugh Bell, August 6, 1921. Bell Archive, Newcastle University. http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=496 (Accessed August 9, 2019); Bernhardsson 2006, 117; Yakoubi 2017, 199.

[127] Bernhardsson 2006, 117.

[128] See discussion below on the interest of British military participants in WWI's Mesopotamian Campaign in the ruins of Ctesiphon.

fiscal policy as long as Iraq was in debt to Britain," while Iraq also paid half the costs of the British presence.[129] It also placed British officials—"advisors" and "inspectors"—throughout Iraqi government departments: these resident advisors were ultimately the mechanisms of British indirect governance.[130] The Royal Air Force (RAF) was tasked with maintaining security in Iraq.[131]

The British High Commissioner represented the British government in Iraq. As Toby Dodge summarizes, "the High Commissioner, through his day-to-day interactions with the king and cabinet, become the only point of official British control over the new Iraqi government. As it turned out, this relationship was not legally codified under the Mandate itself because of the latter's unpopularity among Baghdadis, but it was spelled out by the formal treaty between the Iraqi and British governments."[132] Generally, the High Commissioner was tasked with creating a governing structure in Iraq, implementing British policy (which was often unclear, contradictory, and shifting), and "advising" the Iraqi king and ministers. Thus, the High Commissioner's role was to both guard British interests and foster self-determination in Iraq in order to meet Britain's international obligations. The High Commissioner was initially meant to have final authority over any executive decisions made by the Council of Ministers, but, as these structures of state were further established, the constraints the High Commissioner could exercise over the Iraqi government were limited formally; the High Commissioners' role was further constrained by British budgets and public opinion, increasing Iraqi nationalist demands, and the need to devolve administrative power to Iraqis in order to fulfill Mandatory goals. Moreover, from the initial

[129] Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 21.
[130] Dodge 2003, 18-19; Tripp 2007, 53; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 21. See Dodge 2003 18-19, 27-30 for the changing roles of these advisors
[131] Omissi 1990, 31; Dodge 2003, 150; Satia 2008, 244. For more on the RAF, see the following section.
[132] Dodge 2003, 18.

British point of view, the High Commissioner was intended to exert control in Iraq through the figure of King Faisal; however, this was dependent on an assumption of consensus between these parties that was not consistently borne out in reality. King Faisal sought to establish a support base for himself but was constrained (as was the Iraqi government generally) by structural and financial reliance on the British; the High Commissioners were hamstrung by the contradictory goals of controlling and creating a sovereign state.[133]

Iraqi opposition to the treaty (and to British control) came from many groups, including urban nationalists, Shi'i religious leaders, Arab Sunni nationalists —and, for a time, King Faisal himself (until an absence in 1922 due to appendicitis obviated the need for his approval).[134] Indeed, Peter Sluglett indicates that only a few groups supported the treaty fully, all of whom found relations with the British in their interests: tribal leaders supported by the British in the past; tribal leaders loyal to the British during the 1920 revolt who were targeted by Iraqi government officials; urban elites in Basra, and Christians and Jews.[135] Opposition to the British (and to the treaty) was translated, in the constitutional sphere, into attempts to counterbalance the powers of the cabinet and king in the constitution of the state. King Faisal and the Iraqi government were in an unenviable position throughout this period: as Sluglett states, "they were vitally bound to Britain for their very existence, yet in order to appear credible within Iraq they had to appear to oppose the more demeaning aspects of British control."[136] This dependence on

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[133] Dodge 2003, 16-41, 2004, 150-52, 2006; Sluglett 2007, 32-64; Tripp 2007, 36, 44. This office was filled by, in chronological order, Sirs Percy Cox, Henry Dobbs, Gilbert Clayton, and Francis Humphrys. Prior to the creation of this specific office, Sir Percy Cox served as Civil Commissioner, followed by Arnold Wilson as Acting Civil Commissioner.

[134] Dodge 2004, 151; Sluglett 2007, 49-64; Tripp 2007, 51-57; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 25-26. When Faisal was absent from duties due to appendicitis, High Commissioner Percy Cox suppressed newspapers and political parties, banished nationalist, opposition leaders, and bombed insurgents in the mid-Euphrates region, thus pushing through the treaty which Faisal was forced to sign when he recovered.

[135] Sluglett 2007, 51.

[136] Sluglett 2007, 42.

Britain (practically, on the RAF, as is discussed below) was the consequence of Iraq's limited financial resources, "the very limited basis of the government's support within the country and the general lack of feelings of national identity […] However 'nationalist' and 'independent' the Iraqi government tried to be it was always forced into a position of subjugation to Britain because of its own weaknesses."[137]

Moreover, the Iraqi Council of Ministers also required that the new Constituent Assembly ratify this treaty. This assembly was elected in 1923-1924 in order to create and pass a new constitution (the "Organic Law").[138] Its role in ratifying the treaty "had the effect of linking the treaty with equally controversial debates about the constitutional framework of the new state."[139] Thus, when the British High Commissioner Sir Henry Dobbs issued an ultimatum for ratifying the treaty that would have sunk the constitution's passage, the Constituent Assembly narrowly ratified it. Thus, in summer 1924, both the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922 and the Organic Law (the constitution) were passed.[140] As Tripp describes, "the constitution was the outcome of a compromise between the British desire for effective executive power, exercised by the king, and their recognition for the need to give powerful sections of the emerging Iraqi political society some stake in the new order."[141] The constitution defined the king's and the parliament's respective powers. The former was empowered to prorogue and dissolve parliament, confirm all laws, call for general elections, and select the prime minister; the parliament consisted of a senate appointed by the king and an elected chamber of deputies, to which the cabinet was responsible.[142] Phebe Marr considers the constitution "an instrument well designed to foster

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[137] Sluglett 2007, 63-64.
[138] Sluglett 2007, 58; Tripp 2007, 51.
[139] Tripp 2007, 51.
[140] Sluglett 2007, 61; Tripp 2007, 56.
[141] Tripp 2007, 56.
[142] Tripp 2007, 56-57; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 22-23.

Britain's indirect control" through the figure of the monarch, on whom the British high commissioner could lean.[143] The parliament also empowered, following British habit, tribal leaders.[144]

Notably, after the treaty's ratification by the Iraqi Council of Ministers but before its ratification by the Constituent Assembly, its twenty-year time frame was shorted to four years after the signing of a peace treaty with Turkey with the announcement of a new "protocol" in March 1923. This "protocol" resulted from both negative pressures from increasingly organized Iraqi nationalist opinion and from the British public and press regarding British overseas commitments in the Middle East. The latter was activated particularly by David Lloyd George's coalition government's handling of tensions with Turkey over Greece (the "Chanak Crisis"), which ultimately led to a new Conservative government under new Prime Minister Bonar Law. The shorter timeframe of British formal involvement in Iraq under the 1923 protocol thus limited the British commitment and prioritized the rapid development of an independent Iraqi state, bringing British goals in Iraqi into greater tension: the need to create a compliant but self-reliant nation.[145] The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922 itself was renegotiated several times in the next decade (including in 1925/26 and 1927), including at the behest of a League of Nations commission. This meant that the 1923 four-year timeline was not adhered to; nevertheless, the protocol had shifted the British term of commitment to the short- to medium-term. Each iteration of the treaty contained the space for British consideration of support for Iraqi admission to the League of Nations, which would end the British Mandate.[146] This was finally accomplished with the treaty of 1930, implemented in 1932.

[143] Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 23.
[144] Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 23.
[145] Dodge 2003, 23-30, 2004, 152-55; Sluglett 2007, 54-55.
[146] Tripp 2007, 57-58, 61; Satia 2008, 202.

2.3 Archaeology and Antiquities in Mandate Iraq

British strategy and policy over the course of the British occupation and mandate in Iraq changed from a desire for annexation to a plan to unburden itself of Iraqi commitments rapidly. Throughout, however, the British retained a belief in their "civilizing mission" that had long accompanied their imperial practice; this mission was still seen as compatible with their paternalistic mandatory regime, although now their rule was indirect. The notion of "civilizing" was particularly present in the links between archaeological practice and state-building under the British. As Bernhardsson notes, the fact that the British were working to establish a new state in the "cradle" of "Western civilization" inflected British attention to antiquities, additionally enhanced by most British officials' greater ease with and interest in antiquity than contemporary Middle Eastern cultures and peoples.[147]

As Satia has argued, this civilizing mission was specific and represents a development from earlier Victorian notions of imperialist "uplift": the new mission was to develop Iraq into a specifically modern state, and, until 1920/1922, took the form of investment and infrastructure building, with "modern" technologies and organization, which differentiated this kind of imperial practice of development.[148] With the central role of aircraft in the 1920 rebellion and the formalization of the RAF as the state security apparatus from 1922, the much cheaper air control scheme became the focus of this technological discourse (described at length in a case study, below). As Satia states, "in a country famous for its former glory as the cradle of civilization, and against the backdrop of the technological undoing of civilization on the Western front, [the British project of development] offered proof of the constructive powers of modern

[147] Bernhardsson 2006, 94-96, 104-05.
[148] Satia 2011, 31-36, 44 n.5.

technology."[149] This cultural need to rehabilitate technological potential as positive, combined with specific British imaginings of "Arabia" and the Mesopotamian landscape and antiquity, allowed the British frame their work in Iraq in terms of "restoration," "a refitting of the ancient land with modern technology that would enable it to resume its traditional role in a modern world."[150] The project of developing the state, with modern technologies, was particularly appropriate to the British *because of* Iraq's ancient past: the cradle of civilization, the Biblical resonances, and the "improvements" of past foreign empires all were of interest and a duty in the immediate aftermath of the war. While the British commitment to "restoring" Iraq through financial investment in infrastructural development faded with British public interest in paying for this endeavor, the links between political development and archaeological organization were established.

Bernhardsson draws attention to the direct control the British took of archaeology in Mandate Iraq, a departure from the advisory position of indirect control that they took in other aspects of government. He notes that "Iraqi politicians actually *perceived* archaeology to be a British enterprise," in part because of the engagement in both politics and archaeology by key British officials.[151] In addition to this entanglement of personnel, Bernhardsson suggests that the British "viewed archaeology as their exclusive domain" and, feeling that "archaeology was too important or valuable to allow the Iraqis any role in the decision-making process […] tried to exclude any direct Iraqi involvement."[152]

The 1922 Anglo-Iraqi treaty obligated the king to institute an antiquities law based on the

[149] Satia 2007, 213.
[150] Satia 2011, 33.
[151] Bernhardsson 2006, 95.
[152] Bernhardsson 2006, 111.

parameters of the ultimately unratified Treaty of Sevres.[153] King Faisal tapped Gertrude Bell to develop this policy; she took it on as a personal project along with the task of creating a national museum. Bell clashed, in this process, with the pan-Arab nationalist Sati al-Husri, Faisal's appointee as director general of education (who would soon serve as director of antiquities from 1934-1941, discussed in detail below), and other Iraqis; the antiquities law was not passed until 1924.[154]

Bell's law established the practice of division, also called partage, which allotted shares of excavated finds to both the excavators and the state. In this process, the director of antiquities would select any excavated objects deemed important for the "scientific completeness" of Iraq Museum's collection for retention in Iraq; the director would then give excavators a "representative share" of the remaining objects (Article 22), which the excavators were then allowed to export free of charge (Article 23). The law also gave the director of antiquities the right to send a representative to monitor excavations, at the project's expense (Article 19). It also required that privately-owned antiquities were registered with the government, which could purchase them.[155] In practice, a "representative share" was typically interpreted as half the finds, until 1933.[156]

Bernhardsson characterizes the antiquities law as retaining a nineteenth century flavor rather than adapting to the reality (or expectation) that Iraq was a new sovereign state. In particular, the provisions of Bell's law concerning division of finds was favorable to Western archaeologists, in allowing them to export finds even as some were retained for the national museum. She felt that without this incentive, no foreign archaeologists would work in Iraq. This

[153] Bernhardsson 2006, 116.
[154] Bernhardsson 2006, 117-21.
[155] Bernhardsson 2006, 121-29; Goode 2007, 192-93.
[156] Bernhardsson 2006, 173.

provision had been the point of contention for al-Husri, who argued that the state should retain the finds, and the law should only allow duplicates to be exported by excavators; he cited Crete as a model for national museum receiving all finds.[157] Indeed, Bell's practice as implemented appears to have been even more favorable to foreign excavators than the law required: she seems to have been at pains to please her Western archaeological colleagues as regards to their divided shares, and Bernhardsson highlights the relative satisfaction with the results of division expressed in the private correspondence of archaeologists such as Leonard Wooley.[158]

Largely as a result of this favorable environment, the Mandate period was a busy period for foreign archaeologists in Iraq. More American institutions funded excavations in this period than before the war, sometimes jointly with British institutions; Americans were seen as having deeper pockets than the British. Practice and relationships changed, too: a pre-war treasure-hunting ethos shifted toward more scientific field practice; competition between excavation teams remained but shifted from being nationalistic to more collegial in character; additionally, relationships between archaeologists became more collaborative. That these foreign archaeologists' plans were long-term is apparent from the establishment of several foreign schools/institutes for archaeological research, as existed in other Mediterranean countries. The American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) in Baghdad opened in 1923; the British School of Archaeology in Iraq was opened in 1932.[159] This spirit of cooperation between foreign archaeological teams is additionally discernable in minutes of a "Baghdad Conference of Directors of Excavations" held on January 16, 1930, published in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (BASOR)*, which set out standards of practice for sharing

[157] Bernhardsson 2006, 121-29; Goode 2007, 192-93.
[158] Bernhardsson 2006, 140-45.
[159] Bernhardsson 2006, 130-41, 47-49, 62-63.

information about unpublished pottery and unidentified objects.[160]

The Michigan excavation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris participated in this milieu: the project began in 1927. Its sponsoring institutions—the University of Michigan, the Cleveland Art Museum, and the Toledo Museum of Art—benefited from the law regarding division of finds (see Chapter 3), receiving more than 14,000 archaeological objects between the three institutions. The familiarity and relative collegiality of the foreign archaeological community in Iraq is visible in the archive: in his director's notebooks, Leroy Waterman records visits with other archaeologists at site and in Baghdad, in addition to dinners with the American consul and meetings with the director of antiquities; indeed, the project began as he took his sabbatical as Annual Professor at the ASOR-Baghdad in 1927-1928.

Bernhardsson notes that the archaeological projects of the Mandate period paid attention to later periods, rather than just the earliest period, Sumerian, as had been the pre-war tendency.[161] This trend includes the Michigan project at Seleucia, although it is important to note that the original intention of the project was to excavate the site of Opis, that is, the much older Babylonian city of Upi and Sumerian city of Akshak; the initial goal was not to excavate a Hellenistic or Parthian city.

Bell's project of creating the Iraq Museum occupied her beyond the creation of the antiquities law. The museum was officially opened in June 1926. It was, however, a curiously British institution in this period. Although it was conceived of as a domestic, national museum and a repository for excavated objects, rather than a universal museum, its British-selected emphasis was on the pre-Islamic past, unlike the emphasis on Arab and Islamic history in school curricula under al-Husri that may have shorn up Hashemite legitimacy if echoed in the

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[160] "Baghdad Conference of Directors of Excavations" 1930.
[161] Bernhardsson 2006, 139.

museum.[162] After Bell's suicide in 1926, Richard Cooke served as her successor as director of antiquities until 1928; he was followed by Sidney Smith until 1931, when Julius Jordan, head of the German excavation at Warka, took over the post.[163] Additionally, under Smith, the museum's outreach to Iraqis increased, and Iraqi visitorship increased.[164]

2.4 "Independent" Iraq, 1932-1941

A new 1930 Anglo-Iraqi treaty of alliance was implemented in 1932. This treaty ended the League of Nations Mandate for Iraq, theoretically granting Iraq independence from Britain as the first of the League of Nation Mandates to gain sovereignty and join the League. The British, however, retained much control and influence in Iraq, particularly as regards their military presence and prerogatives. Specifically, Britain leased (i.e., retained) two military (Royal Air Force) bases (at Habbaniyya near Baghdad and Shaiba near Basra), retained a right to Iraqi military facilities, and retained the British "advisors" in the Iraqi government.[165] According to Tripp, Iraq's mandatory phase, while shorter than that of other Mandatory nations,

> had unmistakably made of Iraq a British imperial project, corresponding in shape and in its constitution to ideas current in Great Britain about the proper organization of power and about the specific conditions that would enhance its own interest in the Middle East. This was a troubling legacy which the grant of formal independence did little to remove.[166]

The British presence was still visible in "independent" Iraq, through the British advisors, the RAF, British companies, and British pressure on the Iraqi government. Throughout this first decade of nominal independence, even as the numbers of British advisors decreased, the place of British influence remained a critical issue in Iraqi politics. In the meantime, Iraq experienced

[162] Bernhardsson 2006, 149-56.
[163] Bernhardsson 2006, 158, 62.
[164] Bernhardsson 2006, 155-56.
[165] Silverfarb and Khadduri 1986, 23-32; Tripp 2007, 65, 73; Roshwald 2013; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 27-28.
[166] Tripp 2007, 73-74. See also Satia 2008, 275-285.

both multiple tribal uprisings suppressed by Iraqi military action and coups d'état in its first decade of "independence." From the rise to prominence of the Iraqi army in 1933 to the first military coup in Iraq (and in the modern Arab world) in 1936, military intervention was interjected into politics, setting a pattern of extraconstitutional governmental change.[167] British indirect control came to the fore again with the onset of World War II, when the British called upon Iraq's obligations to the British according to their treaty of 1930. In a context of anti-British sentiment and pressures around Allies versus Axis alliances, British pressures on the Iraqi government to conform to their wishes culminated in an anti-British (pro-Axis) coup in 1941 aimed at removing the pro-British Hashemite regent. The result of this coup was invasion and occupation by the British military. An additional dynamic in this period was the emergence in tensions between different notions of nationalism, i.e., between Pan-Arab and Iraq-specific visions of what Iraqi nationalism should look like. After the 1936 coup, the Pan-Arab version of nationalism was the dominant political and intellectual trend in Iraq until World War II.[168]

A first episode in the army's trajectory into political power, one that attracted international attention, concerns its role in massacring a minority community in northern Iraq in the so-called "Assyrian Affair." Early in this new period of independence, tensions around Assyrians in northern Iraq culminated in a massacre in 1933. During World War I, the Christian Assyrian community had revolted against the Ottomans with the encouragement of the Allies (Russia) and was settled in northern Iraq after the war by the British. Refugees in the new Iraq, they looked to the British for support and protection and sought autonomy from the League of Nations. However, like the Kurds, they found any possibility for their self-determination cut out of the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi treaty; discussions ensued regarding possibilities direct action, either by

[167] Bernhardsson 2006, 164-69; Tripp 2007, 75-77; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 29-30, 32-34.
[168] Davis 2005, 66-68; Tripp 2007, 76.

mass migration out of Iraq or seizure of regions of northern Iraq. Already regarded with suspicion and as an impediment to Iraqi national unity by Arab nationalists—as the Assyrian community had demonstrated little interest in assimilating with the Arabic-speaking majority in Iraq and had continually pressed for autonomy with the British and the League of Nations—their already-poor relations with their new Muslim neighbors were exacerbated by their visible participation in the British-led military apparatus during the Mandate and after independence. The British had recruited them into the "Levies," the British imperial "shock troops" under a British command structure who were used to guard borders and British airfields and to squash Kurdish rebellions.[169]

In summer 1933, a failed attempt to begin an Assyrian mass migration into Syria (where they were turned away by the French) led to violent clashes between the returning advance party of armed Assyrian men and the Iraqi army over attempts to disarm the Assyrians. This initial battle catalyzed existing tensions into sustained violence. Those Assyrian participants in the initial clash who failed to escape into Syria were rounded up and executed by the Iraqi army; Kurdish irregulars killed around 50 Assyrians; Kurds and Arab tribesman looted 64 Assyrian villages unimpeded by Iraqi security forces; and, in the most concentrated act of violence, the Iraqi army, under the commander of army colonel Bakr Sidqi, massacred hundreds of Assyrians, including 315 surrendering men at the village of Sumayyil (Simmel) on August 11th, 1933. The British did not intervene on the Assyrians' behalf in this violence, despite Assyrians' expectations of British protection in view of their service. Bakr Sidqi and the Iraqi army were celebrated by the Iraqi government as protecting Iraqi from a dangerous rebellion. The suppression of the Assyrian community drew negative international attention to Iraqi, while also

[169] Silverfarb and Khadduri 1986, 33-55; Davis 2005, 60-62; Bernhardsson 2006, 167-68; Tripp 2007, 73, 78; Pedersen 2010, 995, 99; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 30-31.

paving the way for further politicization of the army.[170]

King Faisal died unexpectedly in September 1933. His son, Ghazi, succeeded him as king; 21 years old when he ascended to the throne, he is generally regarded as ineffective in comparison to his father, particularly as regards managing different factions in Iraqi society and politics.[171]

Rebellions in 1935 and 1936 by Shi'a tribes in the mid-Euphrates, Kurds and Yazidi in the north over various and often compounding grievances (land, Shi'a political marginalization, conscription) were suppressed by the Iraqi army and air force under Bakr Sidqi's command. Increasingly authoritarian actions by prime minister Yasin al-Hashimi alienated many and led the first coup d'état in Iraq on October 29, 1936, known as the Bakr Sidqi coup. This coup, planned by Hikmat Sulaiman, was aimed at removing Prime Minister al-Hashimi and forcing a change in government; there were no intentions to depose the Hashemite constitutional monarchy. Leaflets were dropped on Baghdad from airplanes demanding al-Hashimi's resignation, and Bakr Sidqi marched on Baghdad. Al-Hashimi to resign in favor of Sulaiman, who then formed a new government. However, social reformers' hopes in this new government were largely unrealized. Sulaiman's actions as prime minister were also authoritarian. The lasting result was the establishment of the military officer corps' increasing empowerment, a more proximate result of this was Bakr Sidqi's assassination and Sulaiman's forced resignation in August 1937.[172] The British have been accused of collusion in (or at least foreknowledge of) this coup.[173]

The 1936 coup was the first of seven coups before the British reoccupation of Iraq in

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[170] Silverfarb and Khadduri 1986, 33-55; Davis 2005, 60-62; Bernhardsson 2006, 167-68; Tripp 2007, 73, 78; Pedersen 2010, 995, 99; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 30-31; Llewellyn-Jones 2019.
[171] Tripp 2007, 78-80; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 31-32.
[172] Khadduri 1948; Davis 2005, 62-68; Tripp 2007, 80-82, 85-91; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 34-39.
[173] Provence 2017, 244-45.

1941. A group of seven senior military officers, the so-called "circle of seven," had been behind Bakr Sidqi's assassination and the collapse of Sulaiman's government, and their influence in government increased over this period. These officers shared a Pan-Arab nationalist ideology and an anti-British perspective. Their informal support became a necessity in government, with additional coups resulting from their desired changes in government.[174]

These specific changes in government (prime minister and cabinet) in the mid-1930s appear to have been minimally disruptive to the foreign archaeological expeditions in Iraq. For example, Clark Hopkins, director of Seleucia's 1936/37 season wrote the following month to his University of Michigan colleague Campbell Bonner that, "[t]here has been a good deal of excitement in Baghdad over the change of government but the district here is entirely quiet."[175] However, broader changes resulting from the dynamics of Pan-Arab nationalist ideology and Iraqi assertion of control in archaeology as a feature of an independent state changed archaeological practice for these Western archaeologists, as is discussed below. Furthermore, engagements between the Michigan archaeologists and the RAF, discussed in a case study below, provide reminders of the British military presence in Iraq throughout this period. The British presence and capacity to impose pressure on the nominally independent Iraqi government became particularly salient in the early 1940s, when World War II made Iraq of particular strategic interest to the British again.

King Ghazi was killed in a car crash in 1939; a regent, Ghazi's brother-in-law and Hashemite Prince 'Abd al-Ilah, was appointed for Ghazi's toddler son, King Faisal II. His pro-British position put him in conflict with the Pan-Arab nationalist military officers, a tension that increased first with the shadow then the outbreak of World War II. In a climate of widespread

[174] Davis 2005, 68; Tripp 2007, 91-94.
[175] Typed Excerpts of Letter, Clark Hopkins to Campbell Bonner, November 24, 1936, Bentley/Kelsey/IAR 6.14.

anti-British feeling (including over the issue of Palestine), British wartime demands that Iraqi support Great Britain (including by allowing troops to pass through Iraq) according to 1930 Anglo-Iraqi treaty obligations led to increased resentment. The international sympathies of the "Golden Square," the most influential four members of the "circle of seven" senior military officers by 1940, were shifting to the Axis powers. Tensions between prime minister Rashid 'Ali al-Kailani's government, backed by the Golden Square, and the British rose to a head over Allied Power-Axis Power alliances. The British sought to pressure a government change, to one that would not include Rashid 'Ali and his shadow government's anti-British, Axis-leaning alignments, given that French Syria was controlled by the Axis Vichy government beginning in May 1940. These tensions led to a stand-off between the regent, 'Abd al-Ilah, who attempted to prompt Rashid Ali's resignation, and Rashid 'Ali, which resulted in Rashid 'Ali's forced resignation. However, with the support of the Golden Square, Rashid 'Ali led a coup aimed at unseating 'Abd al-Ilah on April 1, 1941, on the pretext of guarding the constitution from the regent's overreach, and 'Abd al-Ilah fled to Transjordan. The "Thirty Day's War," the 1941 Anglo-Iraqi War, was initiated by the British over attempts by Rashid 'Ali's government to prevent British troops from moving through Iraq. Within the month of May, the British took Baghdad and reinstated regent 'Abd al-Ilah. Rashid 'Ali's pro-Axis government was dissolved, and the British occupied Iraq through the course of the war.[176]

2.5 Archaeology in Independent Iraq, 1932-1941

The first decade of Iraqi independence saw a shift to Iraqi control over archaeology, a change to which the Western archaeologists working in Iraq were ill-prepared—and largely unwilling—to adjust. As was consistent with the continued British influence in Iraq, the foreign

[176] Davis 2005, 68-70; Tripp 2007, 95-103; Provence 2017, 273; Marr and Al-Marashi 2018, 42-47.

archaeological establishment assumed that little would change in terms of archaeological practice in the nominally independent nation. They thus failed to anticipate any assertions of Iraqi sovereignty in the archaeological sphere or interest in antiquities in the Iraqi civic sphere. However, as Bernhardsson suggests, archaeology was a logical domain in which the Iraqi government could assert the control it was unable to gain in other realms, given that "some aspects of the British-Iraqi economic and political relationship were still 'untouchable," such as oil and military arrangements.[177] Thus, when the specter was raised of greater restrictions on foreign allotment of finds in favor of greater retention by the Iraq Museum, the foreign archaeologists reacted strongly, protesting in the press and through diplomatic channels, as described in greater detail below. These reactions highlight the importance of acquiring objects for archaeological expeditions (and their sponsoring institutions), as well as the foreign archaeologists' perception of themselves, their home institutions, and their audiences in western Europe and the United States as the only relevant stakeholders for Middle Eastern antiquities. Nevertheless, 1934 saw the appointment of the first Iraqi director of antiquities and 1936 saw the passage of a more muscular antiquities law that prioritized Iraq's ownership of all antiquities before any divisions of finds. The first Iraqi archaeologists began their involvement in fieldwork before the end of the decade, while the number of foreign expeditions decreased dramatically from its high Mandate-period levels, likely due to both the change in antiquities laws and the drying up of funding in the global economic depression.

With Iraqi independence in 1932, explicit Iraqi interest in archaeology and antiquities increased. Bernhardsson recounts the beginning of an Iraqi press campaign in 1933 that called for changes in antiquities practice. The upshot of this series of editorials and articles was that

[177] Bernhardsson 2006, 196.

"Iraq had been robbed and plundered by Western archaeologists; the government should take concrete measures to remedy that situation immediately."[178] No changes, however, in antiquities legislation were immediately implemented for 1932/33 field season, the first season under Iraqi independence, until a kerfuffle in July 1933 over the division of finds for British archaeologist Max Mallowan's British Museum-sponsored expedition at Tell Arpachiayah activated foreign archaeologists' concerns about changes to the predictably favorable treatment they had received under the Mandate.

The German archaeologist Julius Jordan, the director of the German excavations at Warka, had become Iraq's director of antiquities in 1931 and was still the director in 1933. The Department of Antiquities had, since 1929, been part of the Ministry of Education. After performing the usual object division for a "representative share" for all projects but Mallowan's, Jordan was instructed in May 1933 by 'Abbas Mahdi, minister of education, to allot excavators only duplicate objects. Jordan effectively ignored Mahdi's directive, viewing it incompatible with the existing antiquities legislation: he followed habitual practice of granting about half the finds to Mallowan. When, however, Madhi checked up on Jordan's implementation of his directive and the progressive nationalist newspaper *al-Ahali* strongly criticized Jordan, Jordan was forced to withhold Mallowan's export permit.[179]

Western archaeologists who worked in Iraq were alarmed at this change in status quo—reliably generous portions of finds and easy export processes—and at the possibility of a new, more restrictive antiquities law to come. Furthermore, the withholding of Mallowan's export permit was indeed a violation of the current Iraqi antiquities law, which provided for excavators' free export of their share of finds. They thus rallied behind a British Museum-led lobbying effort.

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[178] Bernhardsson 2006, 170.
[179] Bernhardsson 2006, 162, 72-76, 81; Goode 2007, 203-06.

Director of the British Museum, Sir George Hill, organized official and unofficial protests through diplomatic channels and the British press, respectively. With the British Foreign Office and the British Embassy in Baghdad involved, Hill also sought to organize the other Western archaeologists to push their own governments to put diplomatic pressure on Iraq and to consider refusing to work in Iraq if laws were changed to prohibit export of antiquities.[180] Among the archaeologists and Assyriologists in touch with Hill was Michigan's Leroy Waterman.[181]As Bernhardsson discusses, the archaeologists under Hill prepared a memorandum for the British ambassador to aid his lobbying of Iraqi politicians, presenting arguments against a more restrictive antiquities law in economic terms.[182] This memo put forth an argument that

> it was not the antiquity, i.e., the object, that brought value or material benefits to the country. Rather, the auxiliary activities surrounding the extraction of antiquities from the ground [excavation expenses, seasonal employment for Iraqis, Western tourism] were more valuable in economic terms for Iraq than the objects that were actually leaving the country.[183]

Bernhardsson reveals how this frame, which excluded the scientific and historic value of archaeological objects and knowledge, was a miscalculation on the part of the Western archaeologists.[184] They underestimated the interest of Iraqi politicians, specifically, and the Iraqi public, generally, in antiquities: they missed completely the charged political aspect of archaeology in a supposedly sovereign nation and that the political mood "demanded unimpeded access to all of the country's resources, both natural and cultural." [185] Additionally, they underestimated the ways in which their own impact went beyond the purely economic: as

[180] Bernhardsson 2006, 174-82; Goode 2007, 204-06. Goode describes how the Oriental Institute's James Breasted refused to join the planned boycott; however, Mallowan's division was released before Breasted was forced to commit.
[181] Bernhardsson 2006, 176, 274 fn. 54.
[182] Bernhardsson 2006, 176-81.
[183] Bernhardsson 2006, 178.
[184] Bernhardsson 2006, 176-81.
[185] Bernhardsson 2006, 178.

Bernhardsson argues, due to the archaeologists' publicity (often picked up by the Iraqi press), their educational programming in the form of public lectures, and the changes to the Iraq Museum in service of accessibility,

> the Western archaeologists had, directly and indirectly, contributed to a growing interest in ancient history and in the ancient artifacts. At the very least, through their extensive presence in Iraq, they, in a sense institutionalized archaeology in the Iraqi cultural scene.[186]

British diplomatic pressure was brought to bear on the issue: Mallowan's share of finds was released in September 1933, thanks in part to British ambassador Sir Frances Humphrys' lobbying of the Iraqi Prime Minister Rashid 'Ali Gaylani. The so-called Assyrian Affair, the massacres in August 1933 discussed above, had opened the Iraqi government to international criticism and this negative international attention likely played a role in the resolution of this smaller archaeological crisis.[187]

Although still no law had changed, the 1933/34 divisions continued to demonstrate that that the easy Mandate status quo had ended. This season saw only three foreign expeditions in the field, down from the eight teams of 1932/33. The reduced number of teams was likely a result of both the instability in Iraqi archaeology of the previous field cycle and the effects of worldwide economic depression on funding. Jordan, as director of antiquities, was stricter in his division of excavated shares than in past practice: he retained more high-value and unique artifacts for the Iraq Museum than ever before. The excavators' export permits were also stalled and required the application of diplomatic pressure for their issue.[188]

In 1934, proposals for new antiquities legislation were made available to the expedition directors. The provisions concerning artifact division were most anticipated and anxiety-

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[186] Bernhardsson 2006, 179.
[187] Bernhardsson 2006, 181-82.
[188] Bernhardsson 2006, 182-83; Goode 2007, 206.

producing for the Western archaeologists. The proposed law assigned all unique objects to the Iraq Museum, and allotted half of the remaining objects to the excavators—that is only half of the "duplicates." Additionally, gold and silver objects were to be retained by the Iraq Museum except by special permit. Division was to be conducted by a three-person committee that included the director of antiquities; in cases of disagreement, the minister of education was given final say.[189] Knowledge of this proposal spurred outcry and lobbying from the foreign archaeologists and sponsoring institutions. Once again, the British Museum's director, Hill, attempted to pressure the British Foreign Office and the British Embassy to intervene. While intended to be implemented in time for the 1934/35 field season, the law's passage was stalled by constant changes in the Iraqi cabinet and suspension of parliament for elections. [190]

Three expeditions (one German and two American) undertook fieldwork in Iraq in the 1934/35 season. None of them were British, as the British archaeologists were apparently boycotting the new dynamics and proposals about division—Bernhardsson notes that the British ambassador to Iraq called this boycott "idiotic"—though, their nonparticipation may also have been due partially to a lack of funding.[191]

In the meantime, Sati' al-Husri was appointed new director of antiquities in October 1934. He succeeded Julius Jordan, whose term ended that year and was now serving as "Technical Adviser to the Department of Antiquities" for a term of three years. Al-Husri was the first non-Westerner—an Iraqi citizen—to serve as director of antiquities.[192] Previously, al-Husri had served as the first director-general of education from 1922 to 1927; in this role, he had

[189] Bernhardsson 2006, 183-85.
[190] Bernhardsson 2006, 185.
[191] Bernhardsson 2006, 186-87.
[192] Bernhardsson 2006, 186. He did not, however, originally hail from the regions that became Iraq. Born in Yemen to a family of Syrian descent, al-Husri was the son of a prominent Ottoman judge. Al-Husri himself was educated in Istanbul and Paris; his primary language was Turkish. In 1919, he joined Faisal's short-lived government in Syria as the minister of education. Bernhardsson 2006, 118-21; Goode 2007, 198-200.

opposed Gertrude Bell's 1924 antiquities law as insufficiently guarding Iraqi interests. A leading proponent and theorist of Pan-Arab nationalism, his goals in the Ministry of Education in creating the Iraqi public school system were to foster an Arab national identity through shared language and history. His interests in history and archaeology were thus pedagogical and aimed at creating social change.[193] As Bernhardsson describes, for al-Husri, "Iraq's history was Arab history, which was not solely confined to Islamic history but was supposed to transcend religious and community-level ties."[194] As such, under the curriculum established under al-Husri,

> [i]nstead of learning about a history that was specifically Iraqi or local, the school curriculum of this period emphasized the commonality of the histories of Iraq and its Arab neighbors. In such a construction, there was little room for various non-Arab, non-Islamic civilizations such as the Babylonian or Sumerian, peoples and histories to which the other Arab countries did not necessarily trace their lineage.[195]

His Arab nationalist goals are discernable in his activities as director of antiquities, first in his assertions of Iraqi control over the foreign projects—particularly through division of finds—and his focus on Islamic archaeology during his tenure as director.

First, al-Husri increased Iraqi oversight of the foreign projects, according to provisions of the 1924 antiquities law. Per Article 19, each project was subject to inspection by a government represented, at the expedition's expense. Al-Husri reminded the excavation directors of this financial responsibility and sent inspectors, much to the directors' annoyance.[196] Then, with the new antiquities law still unsettled, al-Husri undertook his first division of finds as director of antiquities in winter 1935, dividing the finds excavated by Henri Frankfort's Oriental Institute expedition at Tell Asmar and Khafaje. Still operating under the 1924 law, al-Husri applied a

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[193] Bernhardsson 2006, 118-21, 97-202; Goode 2007, 198-200; Tripp 2007, 92-93.
[194] Bernhardsson 2006, 199.
[195] Bernhardsson 2006, 201.
[196] Goode 2007, 208-09.

strict interpretation of that law, rather than the generous reading of the previous, Western directors of antiquities who had automatically granted half the finds to the excavators. Al-Husri excluded seventeen artifacts deemed the most valuable from the division, performing the division on the remaining objects. Frankfort and the Oriental Institute's director, James Breasted, reacted strongly. The former protested in the moment and over the next several weeks; the latter protested through diplomatic channels and threatening to boycott fieldwork in Iraq the following season. The archaeologists' perception was that they were inadequately rewarded as concerned quality of finds: they argued that the division was unfair. Al-Husri asserted throughout that his decision matched the letter of the 1924 antiquities legislation, which provide for Iraq's retention of objects deemed necessary for scientific completion of its collection. After much discussion and diplomatic pressure, the division stood, but al-Husri offered the Oriental Institute a copper bull's head from Leonard Wooley's excavations at Ur in the Iraq Museum collection and promised a favorable division the following year.[197]

In private conversation after-the-fact with the American Resident in Baghdad, Paul Knabenshue, who had been enlisted to apply political pressure on the Oriental Institute's behalf, Frankfort made it clear that he only viewed five of the seventeen objects as exceptional objects and that, in accordance with the law, most of those five objects were indeed rightfully retained by Iraq. Frankfort's disingenuous overreaction and Breasted's protests had, however, worked to a certain degree, given the concessions al-Husri ultimately offered the Oriental Institute. As Bernhardsson suggests,

> if Frankfort's reaction and insincerity were standard they may suggest that the Western archaeologists abused their superior scientific knowledge [given that al-Husri was not an archaeologist] and used political pressure to gain an upper hand in the divisions. The more complaints lodged and the more fuss stirred, the more

[197] Bernhardsson 2006, 190-94; Goode 2007, 209-12.

> likely it was that an archaeologist would receive more than he should have according to the letter of the law.[198]

The new antiquities legislation was finally passed in May 1936. Foremost, the new law established all objects found as property of the Iraqi government. With this principle enshrined, excavators were granted, according to Article 49, in order: the right to make casts of finds, half of the artifacts deemed duplicates, and antiquities already owned by the government considered disposable (due to possession of representative or similar examples). Additionally, a solution favorable to foreign archaeologists for handling unique objects was included in the law. Upon division, the director of antiquities could allot unique objects to a "suspense account," for consideration in the following year. In this way, if similar objects were found in the following season, the objects could be considered duplicates and both parties would get one.[199]

The number of foreign teams remained low through the end of the constitutional monarchy in 1958.[200] While the result of divisions after the implementation of the new law do not appear to have been specifically upsetting to any of the foreign directors and conversation in diplomatic circles indicated that the Iraqis were interested in having more foreign expeditions active, several foreign archaeologists shifted to Mandate Syria in the following years, where they perceived the government's policies as more welcoming. For example, Goode notes that thirteen foreign expeditions worked in Syria in 1936.[201] Three American expeditions worked in Iraq in 1936/37: the Michigan team at Seleucia plus teams from the Oriental Institute and the University of Pennsylvania. As Goode reports, Clark Hopkins (now director at Seleucia) was pleased with the outcome of division and with al-Husri's aid to his project. After that year, foreign teams

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[198] Bernhardsson 2006, 193.
[199] Bernhardsson 2006, 194-97; Goode 2007, 214-15.
[200] Bernhardsson 2006, 197.
[201] Goode 215, 219-220

dwindled, first just the Americans (Penn) at Tepe Gawra and Khafaje and Germans at Warka in the 1937/38 season, and finally only German team remained for the subsequent seasons until its last in 1940/41.[202]

The 1936 antiquity law, however, was not the only factor in the reduced foreign presence. Financial pressures from the global economic depression affected archaeological funding. For example, the Oriental Institute suspended work in Iraq after the 1936/37 season due to lack of funding.[203] This factor may have been exacerbated by the perception of potential museum sponsors that the return on their investment (objects) would not be forthcoming. Additionally, international political instability and coming of World War II dissuaded foreign expeditions (and likely funders), as well as thwarting specific, planned projects (such as a planned expedition of Harvard's Peabody Museum and the Mary-Helen Warden Schmidt Foundation). Soon after, political disruptions in Iraq specifically also halted archaeological work undertaken by Iraqis (on which, see below): the spring 1941 coup of Rashid 'Ali al-Kaliani suspended archaeological work by Iraqis. Fallout after the coup and the restoration of a pro-British government resulted in the removal from office and forced departure from Iraq of the nationalist al-Husri. [204]

Before his exile, however, al-Husri had made substantial changes to the practice of archaeology in Iraq. In addition to the 1936 law, which more robustly guarded archaeological objects as Iraqi property, his tenure as director of antiquities saw the involvement of Iraqi archaeologists and the promotion of Islamic archaeology through the creation of a museum and Iraqi-sponsored fieldwork at Islamic-period sites.

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[202] Bernhardsson 2006, 207; Goode 2007, 215, 19. Goode and Bernhardsson provide different final season dates for the Penn expeditions: Goode indicates that they worked in the 1939/40 season (215); Bernhardsson presents the 1936/37 season as their last (207). The finding aids for the respective excavation archives at the Penn Museum give the 1937/38 season as the final seasons at Tepe Gawra and Khafaje. Moreau 2009 [Updated 2017]; No author 2009 [updated 2017].

[203] Bernhardsson 2006, 197, 207; Goode 2007, 215-16.

[204] Bernhardsson 2006, 197, 207; Goode 2007, 219-20.

The first two Iraqi students to study archaeology abroad, Fuad Safar and Taha Baqir, studied at the University of Chicago in 1934-1938 on funding from the Iraqi government and returned to Iraq with masters' degrees. [205] Goode notes that "[t]hey were the first generation of [foreign-trained] Iraqi experts and would provide continuity into the post-World War II period."[206] Both began work on prehistoric sites, supported by British archaeologist Seton Lloyd (technical advisor to the department of antiquities since 1939 after Julius Jordan was returned to Germany as a result of his active Nazi support). Safar excavated at Tell 'Uqair in 1940/41; Baqir excavated 'Aqar Quf in 1942 through 1945. After World War II, Safar and Baqir, under director of antiquities Dr. Naji al-Asli, reorganized the department of antiquities; the two men then founded the University of Baghdad's Faculty of Archaeology in 1952.[207]

Al-Husri initiated the first excavations sponsored by the Iraqi government (excluding Edward Chiera's minor work near Kirkuk in 1925 at Gertrude Bell's behest, which was technically sponsored by the Iraqi government via the Iraq Museum), focusing on Islamic sites. These first excavations were at Samarra, the Abbasid capital, al-Wasit, a provincial capital during the Ummayyad period that also had been an important Abbasid-era center, and the Great Mosque at Kufa. As both Bernhardssohn and Goode note, these choices well-suited al-Husri's agenda to focus on Islamic sites as part of his pan-Arab nationalist intentions for the role of cultural heritage in Iraq.[208] Additionally, under al-Husri, the Museum of Arab Antiquities opened in the medieval Khan Murjan in Baghdad in 1937. This museum's remit was the Islamic periods in Iraq; consequently, the Iraq Museum's domain was limited the pre-Islamic past.[209]

[205] Bernhardsson 2006, 207, 11-12; Goode 2007, 207, 16-19.
[206] Goode 2007, 219.
[207] Bernhardsson 2006, 207, 11-12; Goode 2007, 207, 16-19.
[208] Bernhardsson 2006, 137, 201-03, 11-12; Goode 2007, 216-18.
[209] Bernhardsson 2006, 202; Goode 2007, 217.

2.6 Case Study: The RAF and the British imperial context of archaeological field work at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris

> The air men who were scheduled to come for breakfast did not arrive on account of the revolution in Baghdad.[210]

Michigan's excavation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris occurred under British indirect control of Iraq, during both the League of Nations Mandate (1920-1932) and the nominal independence of the constitutional monarchy (1932-1958). The aid provided by the British Royal Air Force (RAF) to the Michigan archaeological expedition and others is emblematic of ways that the British colonial context facilitated archaeological inquiry. While aerial photography is now a de facto requirement of archaeological research, whether accomplished by balloons, airplanes, drones, or satellite imagery, it was developed in the Middle East as a wartime technology and was applied to archaeological inquiry by members of the military. Thus, this archaeological technique's development in Iraq was a direct result of the British strategy to maintain control in a non-colony. In the case of Seleucia, aerial photography by the RAF contributed to excavation decision-making and publication.

Waterman details the Seleucia excavation's "Airplane Assistance" in his first *Preliminary Report.*[211] (Indeed, the RAF is thanked first of all in Waterman's preface to that volume.[212]) From the beginning of the project in 1927, the RAF promised to provide aerial images of the mounds. Ominously, delivery of these photographs was delayed by official RAF duties of air control: Waterman reports that "[o]wing to trouble with the desert tribes the photographs were

[210] Hopkins Notebook, October 29, 1936.
[211] Waterman 1931a, 7-8.
[212] "Thanks are due to the Royal Air Force for furnishing invaluable airplane photographs of the concession; to the Department of Irrigation for loaning the bungalow at Baruda as expedition headquarters for the first two seasons, and for the opening of a road to Tel Umar; to the office of Mutaserrif of Baghdad for police protection and local government coöperation; to the Iraq Railways for the loan of instruments; and to the Department of Antiquities for unfailing courtesy and helpful cooperation." (Waterman 1931d, v-vi.)

not available until October, 1929."[213] His throwaway explanation grounds RAF aid to archaeologists within its wider role in policing interwar Iraq.

Aerial surveillance and bombardment (together: "air control") were integral to the British regime of "indirect" rule in Iraq: the RAF was the primary means for maintaining order until Iraqi independence in 1932.[214] But air control fit this indirect character of the British presence in Iraq, for it was "explicitly developed as a technology of control not occupation."[215] Satia argues that "it was in Iraq that the British would rigorously practice, if never perfect, the technology of bombardment as a permanent method of colonial administration and surveillance and there that they would fully theorize the value of airpower as an independent arm of the military."[216]

At the same time as Iraq was the incubator of the RAF, the RAF's air power has been seen as the "'midwife' in the birth of the Iraqi state."[217] The RAF was vital in keeping British control over Iraq and carrying out its "state-building" activities. While the RAF had supported army actions from the air during the 1920 revolt,[218] it "took over formal responsibility for military order in Iraq from the army in October 1922."[219] From this time, the RAF policed the borders and the interiors through bombing actions: the RAF was deployed to bomb frontier incursions by Turks and Najadi as the borders were being set, rebellions by Arabs and Kurds alike, and villages and tribes for noncompliance with the new government, for harboring fugitives, for tax evasion, and for general "recalcitran[ce]."[220]

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[213] Waterman 1931a, 7. "Early in the first season's work an arrangement was made with the Royal Air Force of Baghdad (Hinaidi) to furnish for the expedition an airplane photograph of the mounds. Owing to trouble with the desert tribes the photographs were not available until October, 1929."
[214] Dodge 2003, 149; Satia 2006, 2008, 239-62, 2013, 2014, 2015, 289-94.
[215] Dodge 2003, 145.
[216] Satia 2008, 240.
[217] Dodge 2003, 136.
[218] Omissi 1990, 23; Dodge 2003, 149-50.
[219] Dodge 2003, 150. See also Omissi 1990, 31.
[220] Dodge 2003, 133-34; Satia 2006, 32, 34, 2015, 291.

Dodge states, "[t]he success of the Cairo Conference scheme and the continued British presence in Iraq depended on the ability of the Mandated state to maintain order while simultaneously reducing the cost to the British exchequer."[221] Both aims were achieved through air policing, a consequence of which was the RAF's survival as an independent force: after WWI, the young unit was at risk of being absorbed into the army or the navy, as each military service ministry jostled for access to the shrinking military and governmental budget in the face of high post-war debt and intense pressure to cut public spending. British politicians and administrative units (e.g., the Admiralty and War Office versus the Air Ministry/Staff) debated how to achieve efficient and cheap indirect control of Iraq. Ultimately, arguments prevailed that the RAF cost less to police Iraq than did the maintenance of full army garrisons. The greater expense of the latter option was unpopular with the British public, and the RAF was retained as a separate military branch.[222] The place of the RAF was also at stake in debates (among British officials and among Iraqis, and between those groups) about how an Iraqi army should be constituted.[223]

The RAF's lower cost was not the only reason it was ultimately deemed appropriate to British control of Iraq. Satia identifies a British attitude toward Iraq that saw it as "particularly suited to aerial surveillance,"[224] unlike more urban (and Western) locales such as Britain, Ireland, and Palestine that were seen at this time as inappropriate for aerial policing.[225] The origins of this attitude toward Iraq pre-dated WWI. Edwardian-era British Arabists (scholars, travelers, and amateurs turned government intelligence agents and administrators) had attributed

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[221] Dodge 2003, 136.
[222] Omissi 1990, 18-38.
[223] Dodge 2003, 136-45.
[224] Satia 2008, 240.
[225] Satia 2006, 29.

to “Arabia” (vaguely defined, it usually included the three Ottoman Mesopotamian provinces that became Iraq) a certain inscrutability. They viewed it and its Desert Sublime as a spaces of intuition beyond empiricism and closer to a longed-for preindustrial past where they could escape Enlightenment rationality.[226] In Satia’s analysis, this framing empowered a certain set of British agents who claimed a monopoly on Western intelligence about Arabia through their deep immersion in the perceived institutive epistemology of the region of secrecy and espionage. These agents, through their familiarity with the region, claimed an “intuitive genius” about Arabia that translated into official policy and, ultimately, official positions in World War I.[227] During and after the war, as the technological offerings of military flight developed, the Arabist intelligence agents’ support for the air control strategy[228] fit energetically, if sometimes ambivalently, into this British perception of the region.

The British proponents of the air control scheme drew parallels between the “desert warriors”—as romanticized by the British—and aircraft (and their pilots and bombers). They were seen to suit each other: individual pilots and romanticized Arab warriors were both seen as irregular, guerilla fighters in a difficult-to-perceive landscape (the desert, the sky).[229] The British imagined a widespread Arab/Bedouin warrior ethos and attributed to the region an innate and perennial war: this conception made the strategy of aerial bombardment appropriate and even chivalrous in British eyes. From their point of view, this air strategy honored local warrior dignity by engaging them in a harsh yet individualistic mode of combat: individual romantic pilots versus individual romantic warriors, both of whom could handle severe violence. Satia summarizes the official line: “it would almost be a cultural offense not to bombard them with all

[226] Satia 2008. See Satia’s work for a detailed account of this mindset and its consequences for British imperialism.
[227] Satia 2008, 100.
[228] Satia 2006, 26.
[229] Satia 2006, 37, 2008, 242.

the might of the empire."[230] Additionally, in the British assessment, a supposed fatalistic cultural expectation of constant violence and Biblical catastrophe from above among Iraqis would make air control particularly logical and comprehensible to local populations as a form of divine retribution. [231]

In addition to seeing the population as particularly responsive to the strategy of air control, the same champions of the RAF in Iraq saw the Iraqi landscape itself as a match.[232] The British Arabists had only thought intuitive genius (of a local or an immersed Westerner) could make the landscape comprehensible and mirage-free, but during the war, a view from above filled the gap in reliable geographic knowledge with aerial photography and maps. Aerial surveillance and survey were seen a cure for the unmappable qualities of the desert. Furthermore, the argument went, the flat topography of the desert made landing sites plentiful; when the varied terrain (mountains, marshes, topography beyond desert) in different regions of Iraq were brought into the conversation, they were reframed as "ideal training ground" for the RAF, granting the pilots different landscapes in which to practice.

Satia argues that, for British airmen, administrators, and intelligence agents in Mesopotamia-turned-Iraq, flight "not only annihilated the distances of the desert sublime; it transformed the desert into a series of 'sites'—places made calculable at least for mapping and thus stripped of their particular aura and history."[233] However, after the war, the frequent inaccuracies of the aerial strategy—including pilot disorientation and the problem of bombing the wrong places—were attributed to that deceptive character of the landscape: Satia demonstrates how "the RAF was safe from criticism of its inaccuracy, protected by the notorious

[230] Satia 2006, 37.
[231] Satia 2006, 40.
[232] Satia 2013, 227-29, 31, 2015, 290.
[233] Satia 2015, 289.

fallibility of all news emerging from 'Arabia'"[234] and "by the British imaginary of a place so otherworldly that it was beyond empirical verification."[235] This ambivalent match—that the landscape *should* be ascertainable by air, yet a pilot was still subject to the strong, dizzying influence of the land—saved a role for agents on the ground: they used the same intuitive and local knowledge so prized in pre-air control days to gather intelligence that facilitated air policing, all the while protected by the same air regime strategy.[236]

Inaccurate bombing buttressed the coercive aspect of the British air control strategy and demonstrated the ability of the state to intervene in daily lives. Given that the desired "moral effect" of air policing was to frighten and punish Iraqis into compliance through the constant threat of bombardment—i.e. discipline and adherence to the new nation's laws through terror—, a little inaccuracy and destruction, whether unleased on human lives or livestock or property, helped showcase the potential of violence and power delivered from the potentially ever-present planes.[237] To British officials, there was no distinction between civilian and combatant in this region, and the deaths of women and children were viewed by the British as being of no consequence to Arabs and, thus, of no particular worry to the British.[238] As Satia reports, the "the proponents of air control frankly admitted that terror was the scheme's underlying principle": British officials acknowledged that "demonstrations of exemplary violence […] could hardly be accomplished without loss of life."[239] The alleged "humanity" of this system is clearly undermined by the violence of the practice but was explicitly theorized by the scheme's official supporters, who argued that the moral effect—terror and the threat of violence—would

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[234] Satia 2013, 231.
[235] Satia 2015, 292.
[236] Satia 2006, 46, 2008, 254-56.
[237] Dodge 2003, 146; Satia 2006, 33-35.
[238] Satia 2006, 38-40.
[239] Satia 2006, 34, 2013, 235-37.

ultimately save British and Iraqi lives (this rhetoric holds steady in 21st century conflicts). In this theory of "humane" air policing, both British soldiers, whose presence was obviated by the RAF, and Iraqis, who would be awed into compliance and into proper citizenship, were saved from violence by this terror.[240] Dodge characterizes air power in Mandate Iraq as ultimately "despotic," rather than "authoritative," as it did not facilitate the penetration of state institutions into society. Rather, aerial policing was a "one-dimensional" method of mediating state-society relations:[241] it "could not explain, it could not negotiate, and it could not distribute largess."[242] In Dodge's analysis, violence inflicted by the RAF was, instead, from 1923, "the state's main weapon of coercion."[243]

As Dodge explains, as is consistent with the concepts underlying the Mandate system, British officials saw this this regime as appropriate to this "semi-civilized" population (labeled as such by the League of Nations), who "were involved in a process of evolution [… and in need of] the distant discipline of the airplane," against which they could not retaliate.[244] This "moral" lesson by the British was also about applying technology and "modernity" to Iraq, even though the technology of aircraft was not for Iraqis to *have*, but rather only for them to *experience*. As Satia notes, "aircraft themselves, as a sophisticated technology, exercised a more traditional 'civilizing effect,' not least by demonstrating the advanced state of British civilization […] The air also afforded a lofty view from which to observe the effects of the new, loftier imperialism […] It also fittingly revealed the otherwise invisible traces left by their ancient imperial forbears," i.e., archaeological remains visible from above.[245]

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[240] Satia 2006, 2013, 34-37. See also Dodge 2003, 146-47.
[241] Dodge 2003, 145.
[242] Dodge 2003, 156.
[243] Dodge 2003, 156.
[244] Dodge 2003, 146.
[245] Satia 2008, 244-45.

Aerial identification of sites may have stripped the landscape of the quasi-mystical, unempirical medieval-biblical aura favored by British Arabist officials, but contemporary application of aerial photography to archaeological inquiry attributed back to sites their "particular […] history." [246] Satia notes historical (and specifically ancient) interest in the region was implicitly and explicitly related to the British actors' sense of their own imperial presence.[247] Aerial views allowed the British to reflect on the relationship between their empire of modernity and the premodern empires of the region, no surprise, given the place of a classical education for Britain's elite and the usual classical rhetoric with which the British approached their empire.[248] Indeed, the British descriptor of the 1915 battle as the battle of Ctesiphon, after the Parthian and Sasanian capital, rather than as the battle of Salman Pak, the name of modern town at the same location, prizes the deep imperial past rather than the present. This interest is also palpable in British officers' published memoirs of the Mesopotamian campaign. They (and, presumably, their readership) were interested in the historical—and, especially, ancient imperial—dimensions of these places now under British control. I offer in further detail the example of Ctesiphon, the sister site and success of Seleucia, as an example. I further suggest that Ctesiphon's the proximity to Seleucia (whose location was not securely determined until the Michigan excavation) may have attracted aerial visual interest and support of the work from the RAF.

In Lieutenant-Colonel John Edward Tennant's account of his time in the Royal Flying

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[246] Satia 2015, 289.
[247] Satia 2008, 80, 2016b, 86-87. For Gertrude Bell, see (inter alia) Bernhardsson 2006, 59-65. For an case study of aerial photography of archaeological remains linked to French Mandatory rule of Syria and Lebanon, see Helbig 2016.
[248] Satia 2008, 80, 2016b, 86-87. For discussion of the classical education of Britain's elite and officer class and imperial practice, see Hagerman 2013. Hagerman (2013, 36) describes the result of elite classical education in the long 19th century as having made "classics part of the mental furniture of a significant portion of Britain's educated elites." For Lawrence, Hogarth, and Wooley, see Bernhardsson 2006, 69-71.

Corps during the Mesopotamia campaign, Tennant describes Ctesiphon as an imperial landmark in an otherwise featureless landscape and as a locus for trials of imperial conquest:

> We were close to the ruins of Ctesiphon. This gigantic work of ancient man was the only landmark in the flat treeless waste. From within its arch the Parthian Kings had ruled over their dominions two thousand years ago. Since then, Romans, Arabs, Turks, and British had fought and fallen outside its walls over man's everlasting lust for sovereignty.[249]

This theme of conquerors constantly seeking control over Ctesiphon is echoed by others. Following a description of the Turkish position at Ctesiphon in his campaign memoir, Vice-Admiral Wilfrid Nunn digresses from the modern war to describe the ancient city, its environs, and its history, concluding "Ctesiphon is thus a neighborhood where armies have fought since the dawn of history, and it is interesting to consider what great historic figures had passed this way before the coming of the men in khaki, with their aeroplanes and wireless."[250] The British are framed as the latest of these "great historic figures," conquerors.

In his own campaign memoir, Major General Charles Townshend, the British commander at Ctesiphon, follows the pattern of highlighting the Arch of Ctesiphon as a landmark. More than fixating on that imperial architecture, he draws implicit and explicit comparisons between his campaign and *Roman* troops and military actions at ancient Ctesiphon and elsewhere. For example, Townshend relates his troop's position at Ctesiphon spatially to the remains of walls that are not only "exactly like the remains of Roman camps in England and France" but are also "said to be the remains of the citadel of the Roman fortified town of Ctesiphon." Furthermore, he connects the modern battle ("fought on the actual site of the walled city of Ctesiphon") to the Roman campaign "to recover Mesopotamia from the Persians," highlighting Ctesiphon as the

[249] Tennant 1920, 96.
[250] Nunn 1932, 167-68., cited in Satia 2015, 279.

southmost point reached by "the famous Belisarius, the last of the brilliant soldiers of the Roman empire" in that ancient endeavor.[251] Townshend also, departing from the geographically-appropriate reference, describes the Sixth Division's performance at the Battle of Ctesiphon as superlative with reference to that British schoolboy favorite Roman general, Julius Caesar:[252] their "offensive spirit had been proved in two battles already, in a manner, I venture to say, hitherto unsurpassed in the annals of the British army, and was still further to be proved at the battle of Ctesiphon in an inspired ardour which even Caesar's famous Tenth Legion might have envied."[253]

Given this tendency to contextualize the modern British military actions in Mesopotamia using ancient imperial campaigns and locales, it is unsurprising that archaeologically-minded British agents[254] were among those who pioneered wartime applications of aerial photography by the then-Royal Flying Corps (RFC). As a result of their activities, wartime Mesopotamia was promoted as the place of the most advanced aerial photography and mapping. During the war, T.E. Lawrence and Stewart Newcombe experimented with aerial photography techniques when based in Cairo[255]; Gertrude Bell, having seen the practice in Cairo, encouraged investment in the technique by the General Staff Intelligence in Basra; Lawrence, then, advised the Basra office on the use of aerial photography when in Mesopotamia in 1916 when deployed to ransom the British force under siege at Kut.[256] In this milieu of British elite classical educations and perceived lineage from ancient—especially classical—empires,[257] it is of no surprise that the

[251] Townshend 1920, 294-95.
[252] Again, for the place of Classical history in British elite education and imperial practice, see Hagerman 2013.
[253] Townshend 1920, 241.
[254] Regarding civilian archeologists enlisted in informal intelligence gathering prior to World War I, see Satia 2008, 34-38. For their transition to official intelligence duties, see Satia 2008, 39-40.
[255] Newcombe was not an archaeologist but, prior to the war, had networked with archaeologists such as Lawrence and Leonard Wooley and enlisted them in various intelligence-gathering activities (Satia 2008, 35-36).
[256] Satia 2008, 159, 2013, 228.
[257] Hagerman 2013.

RAF personnel aided archaeologists by supplying them with aerial photographs and taking them on plane rides.[258] In the case of Seleucia, we see an RAF pilot, a certain Wing-Commander Insall, engaging in archaeological inquiry from the air without archaeologists.

O.G.S. Crawford, founder-editor of the journal *Antiquity* and promoter of aerial survey for archaeological work, reported to the two archaeological expeditions working in the environs of Seleucia, that, prior to their work, this Wing-Commander Insall had already seen from the air a street grid by Tel Umar and identified it as Seleucia. With this identification, Insall placed the city at a slight distance from the Tigris, i.e., away from the traditionally-suggested location of Seleucia.[259] In 1928-29, a German team, led by Oscar Reuther and sponsored by the German Oriental Society, excavated at Ctesiphon, on the east bank of the Tigris across from Seleucia. In discussing his project's topographical inquiries, Reuther reports this identification of Insall via Crawford and notes that "[w]e were flown over the site of Seleucia by Wing-Commander Insall on 17 October 1928."[260] Crawford told Leroy Waterman the same in 1930: Insall had seen the city's grid pattern during a flight in 1927 and told "an official in Baghdad," although the RAF members with whom Waterman interacted had no memory of Insall's claim (and Insall was no longer at the same post).[261] The RAF men's shared interest in ancient topography benefited the archaeologists.

Identification of the ancient topography was an explicit goal stated of both the German expedition at Ctesiphon and the Michigan project at Seleucia (Tel Umar). Waterman sought to locate the much-older city of Opis (Babylonian *Upi*, Sumerian *Akshak*); the Germans were

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[258] The Michigan team was not unique among foreign archaeological projects in engaging with the RAF and using aerial photography for archaeological purposes. This was a broader trend, in which the Michigan team participated.
[259] Reuther 1929, 439. This Insall must be Gilbert Stuart Martin Insall (a holder of the Victoria Cross and Military Cross), a British military pilot (RFC to RAF) who also photographed and identified the site of Woodhenge in England in 1925 (Observer 1929; Kennedy 2012, 486-87.).
[260] Reuther 1929, 439.
[261] Waterman 1931a, 7.

interested in confirming the locations of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.[262] In the sites' publications, we can see the traditional means of topographical inquiry prior to fieldwork—review of textual references, consideration of current topographical indicators—quickly supplemented with aerial knowledge or, rather, aerial confirmation. Reuther and Waterman both describe the information gained from aerial views and information gained from excavation and land survey as independent sources of evidence. Waterman, in particular, notes his appreciation of the aerial contribution but, defensively, asserts (without detail) that his project's secure identification of Seleucia's location next to Tel Umar through work on the ground was independent of Insall's suggestions. He writes,

> Insall's ability to see the street patterns from the air where nothing of the sort could be distinguished on the ground was a significant and solid contribution of the airplane to archaeological science. His reported conclusion therefrom did not contribute directly to the actual locating and verification of the site. This was done by our expedition quite independently.[263]

Waterman likewise employs the aerial views for illustrative, supportive evidentiary purposes for the results of excavation: Plate I of the first *Preliminary Report* features an aerial photograph of the site's "[m]ain excavation, 1929-30, seen from the air" "[b]y courtesy of the British Royal Air Force," and the "airplane photograph" is directly called out as substantiation in Samuel Yeivin's chapter on the architecture and general plan in the same publication.[264] Furthermore, Neilson Debevoise, in publishing the Parthian pottery in 1934, writes that "[a]n airplane photograph made through the courtesy of the Royal Air Force, lead to a decision [in 1929] to concentrate efforts upon the most promising of the blocks so clearly visible on the

[262] Reuther 1929, 440. Reuther expresses disappointment that Seleucia's location was confirmed to be away from the river, and thus not in the German concession area
[263] Waterman 1931a, 7.
[264] Yeivin 1931, 18-19.

mosaic map of the complex."[265] This statement echoes Waterman's made in an October 1929 letter to Toledo Museum of Art director Blake-More Godwin, in which he describes their use of an air photo mosaic in determining where to lay out excavation trenches.[266] Despite Waterman's emphasis on his project's independent work, it is clear that the archaeologists used the aerial photography (and the extant structures revealed from the air) to determine where to dig and on what structures to focus on.

Additionally, the project's use of aerial photography was presented publicly as innovative and novel. Two copies of an undated official statement— "For Immediate Release —University Archaeological Expedition Uses Airplane for Study" by Wilfred B. Shaw—from the University of Michigan News Dissemination Service are extant in Waterman's papers. An article published in the *Detroit Free Press* and Associated Press items published in the *Daily Boston Globe*, the *Muncie Morning Star*, the *State Journal* (of Lansing, MI), the *Battle Creek Enquirer and Evening News* in spring 1932 point to the Seleucia archaeologists' use of aerial photographs to identify places to dig; these articles likely reflect this or other university publicity pushes.[267]

After the British Mandate ended in 1932, the RAF stayed in newly "independent" Iraq. For the first five years of Iraq's nominal independence, the British held four air bases.[268] As discussed above, the British retained two air bases as a condition of their support for Iraq's

[265] Debevoise 1934, 7. This is Block B, also known as residential block G6.
[266] "We got our air photo mosaic on Wednesday as I hoped and we are now working on it to locate a whole series of city squares that are visible in the air photo but not from the ground. There are very remarkable and are laid out with such complete regularity that they seem necessarily Greek They measure up in blocks 250 x 400 feet and cover a broad strip in some places three and four blocks deep right across the complete (middle portion) from east to west. At present we have located, we believe, the blocks on the ground and we are beginning trenches to line out the streets Some of the blocks seem to point to very complex and interesting architecture. It looks as if this operation may constitute our major effort of the season" (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, October 11, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian).
[267] The press release refers to parchments found at the site in January 1930 (Season C, 1929/30), so postdate that find (Bentley/Waterman, Box 4, "Newspaper clippings re archeological expeditions" Folders 2 and 3). Observer 1929; Associated Press 1932g, 1932h, 1932f; Battle Creek Enquirer 1932a; Detroit Free Press 1932b.
[268] Silverfarb and Khadduri 1986, 23-32, esp. 30-31.

application to the League of Nations and, thus, sovereignty, in the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. They kept the base at Shaiba near Basra and replaced the base at Hinaidi, about five miles from Baghdad, with a newly-built base at Habbaniyya, about fifty miles west of the capital. The 1930 treaty gave the British five years from the treaty's activation to accomplish their withdrawal: they left the air bases at Mosul and Hinaidi in 1936 and 1937.[269] While the RAF's official role maintaining internal security ended in 1932, Omissi suggests that "its continued presence, ostensibly for imperial purposes, was undoubtably a powerful deterrent to rebellion."[270] For the British Air Ministry, Iraqi independence was nominal: an Air Ministry memo regarding air policy stated that changes with the end of the Mandate were to be "more apparent than real."[271] The British needed a place in the particularly-suited Middle East to nurture the RAF, in order to maintain an air route to India and the South Pacific,[272] and to "creat[e] a space in the air for empire at a time when imperialism was no longer at home in the world."[273] Indeed, as noted above, the British reoccupied Iraq in World War II; the RAF finally left in 1958.[274]

The RAF's presence in independent Iraq continued to facilitate archaeological aerial photography. For the Michigan project at Seleucia specifically, the RAF continued to supply aerial photographs to the excavators, who now saw the information gained from aerial photography as essential, as "imperative," to their archaeological inquiries. Seleucia director Clark Hopkins' journal of 1936 is filled with meetings and tea with the RAF pilots and notes about the RAF planes buzzing around the site.[275] Beyond this interaction, Hopkins describes the

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[269] Silverfarb and Khadduri 1986, 23-32, esp. 30-31.
[270] Omissi 1990, 37.
[271] Air Policy with Regard to Iraq, n.d. [October–November 1929], AIR [Air Ministry Records] 2/830, PRO [Public Record Office = The National Archives, Kew], quoted in Satia 2008, 261.
[272] Satia 2008, 259-61, 2015, 293-94.
[273] Satia 2008, 262.
[274] Satia 2015, 294.
[275] Hopkins Notebook.

critical role aerial views played in making excavation decisions. In an article tellingly entitled "A Bird's-eye View of Opis and Seleucia," he writes:

> When in the 1936-37 season new areas for excavation were to be determined upon, a review of the topography of the site in the light of the first excavations became imperative. For this new task air views were of supreme importance. We were fortunate indeed in obtaining through the kind offices of Major MacDonald, who held a command in Bagdad, splendid air-views of the site from the collection of the Royal Air Force. Photographs taken shortly after rains, before the earth was completely dry, revealed more sharply than before the outline of blocks, and views taken with the sunlight slanting across the mound brought into sharper relief ridges and depressions within the city.[276]

In this same article "air-photographs" become a primary source, queried visually as Hopkins investigates his question and posits how additional aerial photography may clarify topographical questions.[277] Hopkins' appreciation of the RAF contribution is evident: he rather gushes in his acknowledgment of their aid.[278]

The closeness between the British governing apparatus and foreign archaeological endeavors is particularly clear in the close cooperation between archaeological teams such as the Michigan expedition and the RAF.[279] Archaeological fieldwork in Mandate-period Iraq was controlled by the British, to the exclusion of Iraqis. The increasing use of the technology of aerial photography for archaeological fieldwork and publication was dependent on the British scheme of air control and took place in a wider milieu of British indirect control and influence in Iraq. The Bakr Sidqi Coup that disrupted Hopkins' breakfast plans with RAF airmen on October 29,

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[276] Hopkins 1939, 442.
[277] Hopkins 1939, 445, 48.
[278] Hopkins 1939, 448. "Meanwhile we can only recognise the tremendous assistance air-views have rendered our work in the past and look forward confidently to our campaigns in the future […] I am happy indeed to have this opportunity of acknowledging our great debt to the Royal Air Force in Bagdad and of expressing our appreciation for the very cordial co-operation which all the members of that organization have unfailingly accorded our expeditions."
[279] The RAF is just one example. This close relationship is also clear in other domains, such as the relationship between the Michigan expedition and the Department of Irrigation, which lent a bungalow as a dig house for two seasons and facilitated a workforce in the first season.

1936, was the first of seven military coups between 1936 and 1941 and evinced the instability of the state and constitutional system built by the British.

Chapter 3 : Objects at the Michigan Excavation

In Chapter 1, I called attention to the need to characterize legacy and archival archaeological data, i.e., to query the parameters, meanings, and implicit assumptions embedded in the data as a result of the excavators' rationales and choices in data collection and interpretation. In lieu of explicitly published methodologies, the documentary archive—the directors' notebooks, the object registers, and letters and memos internal to the University of Michigan—provides the basis for data characterization of the Seleucia data, as does the historical frame of broader interwar trends. The notion of the "object habit" is useful in interrogating the dynamics at play in the Michigan excavators' conceptions of their work and the consequent choices they made. Object habits determine what counts as an object, what is considered meaningful, important, or valuable; these attitudes are mutually entangled with wider social, political, and economic forces in the field, museum, and wider society.[280]

Object habits at Michigan's Seleucia excavation crystalize in an attitude toward excavated things as objects, rather than as contextualized artifacts whose meaning is intimately tied to findspot and excavated assemblage. This attitude emerges in part from excavation director Leroy Waterman's initial research goals, which were oriented toward Biblically-tinged pre-Classical periods, and his philological interests: both required textual (including epigraphic) substantiation and focused the director's attention on inscribed, pre-Hellenistic-period finds. At a more general level, the project's operating view of fieldwork as object-recovery was supported by its museum sponsorships and Mandate-period antiquities legislation that facilitated export of

[280] Stevenson, Libonati, and Baines 2017, 115-16.

antiquities to European and North American nations.

Leroy Waterman, the first director of the University of Michigan expedition to Seleucia, was searching by the Tigris River for the city of Opis, i.e., the Babylonian city of Upi and the earlier Sumerian city of Akshak.[281] Professor of Semitics at the University of Michigan and later the Chair of the Departmental of Oriental Languages and Literatures, Waterman's specialties were Biblical, particularly the Old Testament and its reception in the New Testament; a philologist, he also published extensively on Babylonian and Assyrian texts.[282] Waterman's goal in excavating at Tel Umar, Iraq, was to locate and excavate this city associated with Nebuchadnezzar II, the sixth century BCE Neo-Babylonian ruler who appears prominently in the Old Testament. Opis was thought, from Babylonian and Assyrian texts and from the Greek writer Strabo, to be in the area of Tel Umar. With his Biblical background and interest in related historical periods, Waterman fits well into the wider trends in American study of the ancient Near East in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.[283] Additionally, although archaeological research in Iraq was expanding beyond the earliest periods (i.e., Sumerian periods) during the interwar period, these early civilizations still held primary interest.[284] While Waterman's work at Seleucia contributed to this broadening of periods under investigation, it was not an initial goal.

Moreover, Waterman's interest in pre-Classical periods and expertise as a Semitic-language philologist is discernable in the activities recorded in his first director's notebook. His interest is clearly captured most by the non-Greek-inscribed objects found, such as inscribed

[281] For discussion of the textual evidence in relation to topography for Opis, see Waterman 1931a; Hopkins 1939.
[282] "Biography" in Finding Aid prepared by Robert Donia, Leroy Waterman Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. See also his biography in the Appendix (and further citations therein).
[283] Kuklick 1996.
[284] Bernhardsson 2006, 50-51, 130-31; Goode 2007, 8-10, 185-201.

bricks of “Neb.” (entry Jan 12) and “Neb II,” (Jan 18), i.e., Nebuchadnezzar II. He also records spending a considerable time working on an inscribed door socket at the dig house, rather than on the archaeological site, through late January and all of February 1928.[285] He preliminarily published this door socket and two other inscriptions in “early Sumerian” as supporting evidence for the presence of the earlier Sumerian city of Ashak at the site.[286] Furthermore, he interprets a stamped brick of “Mardukbalatsuiqbi of Karduniash,” a 9th century BCE king of Babylon, as a evidence of Babylonian occupation of the site and evidence for Opis’ religious center in proximity.[287]

Through the excavation, he longed for cuneiform texts. As he wrote to his wife Mabelle toward the end of the first season (A):

> Our catalog of objects has now passed the 700 mark but of course very many of such things are broken or in some way incomplete and on the other hand there are many things we bring in and [keep?] [then?] we don’t catalog. We got a fine jar this week nearly as high as a table and several nice smaller jars, one like those we got from the well and at about the same depth (20 ft). Beads of all sorts come up every day and faience ring sets together with occasional fine ring stones.
>
> These things are all very good and there are really more than I supposed we could get but I do want to get some real tablets and shall not be content until we have some if that be possible. The inscribed stones I have are of course of the same order and if they were only more legible I could ask for nothing better. They are however [found?] to be somewhat uncertain because their defaced condition.[288]

The first find of a cuneiform tablet came during Season D, in December 1930. He wrote with excitement to Mabelle:

> We also got our first cuneiform tablet last Thursday It is dated in the reign of Mithridates probably II and if so belongs [5112??] B.C. It is very small but has

[285] Waterman Notebook 1, January 12 and January 18, 1928.
[286] Barton 1928a, 7; Waterman 1929b, 27, 1931a, 6.
[287] Waterman 1933b, 78.
[288] Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, February 28, 1928, Bentley/Waterman, Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928 Folder.

> fourteen lines of text, three of which are badly damaged and these prevent a full grasp of its contents.
>
> But one rose does not make a summer and this one tablet only just whets my appetite and makes one realize how hungry I am for them.[289]

Unfortunately for Waterman, the tablet turned out to be fairly illegible,[290] and few cuneiform tablets were ultimately found in the Michigan excavations.

In addition to his enthusiasm for Sumerian and Neo-Babylonian finds in his personal writing, his hope for reaching earlier phases is clear in his missives to the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (BASOR). Indeed, in describing finds from the 1928/29 season in a letter-cum-report published in BASOR, he notes that most were Hellenistic "but with an increasing number of indications of things Babylonian or earlier" and he takes issue with another scholar's suggestion that Seleucia was only producing Greek (i.e., Hellenistic) material.[291] Waterman's writings indicate that the Parthian- and Hellenistic-period objects were of less interest to the project than Babylonian and earlier material.

The Michigan project excavated part of Tel Umar, the large artificial mound in the northern part of the site,[292] between December 1931 and January 1932. They cut a large trench from the south-southwest exterior of the mound to the center, revealing a massive mudbrick structure. With his belief that Opis lay beneath Seleucia, Waterman tentatively interpreted the tell, with its mudbrick interior, as a ziggurat in his *Second Report*, having called it ziggurat more

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[289] Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 22, 1930, Bentley/Waterman, Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930 Folder.
[290] Field number D06400, KMA 1985.12.1, cuneiform tablet. Neo-Babylonian (end of 7th to second half of 6th century BCE). Excavated December 18, 1930, in south mudbrick wall, Room 50, Level II (Parthian), housing block G6. CDLI number P235306 (Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative entry: https://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P235306). Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 22, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian. Published, inter alia, Messina 2007, 222 no. 197.
[291] Waterman 1929b, 26-27.
[292] This toponym, Tell Umar (Tel Umar or Tel/Tell Omar), is applied more widely to the site and fuller mound complex, particularly prior to the secure identification of the site as Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.

confidently in his 1929 BASOR field report.[293] Indeed, his optimistic certainty about identifying Tel Umar with a temple ziggurat at Opis predated his systematic exploration of the site. He visited the site on Thanksgiving Day, 1927, a month before beginning his excavation. He wrote an account of his visit to Mabelle, his wife:

> Thursday Thanksgiving day I was up at 5 am and off with the car to Tell Omar which I think is Opis. I spend nearly the whole day tramping over the site. It is a large place with many mounds and one very high one which I think is the temple Ziggurat. I picked a pocket full of copper coins which shows that the last occupation was probably GrecoRoman & hence the site of Seleucia. I also found several varieties of GraecoRoman lamps. I was especially looking for inscribed bricks written in Babylonian and I was fortunate to be able to find scattered about nearly a dozen of them, some of them very large. They were of course covered with dirt & I did not try to read them on the spot. I felt especially good over these finds for they assured me that at least it was a genuine old Babylonian site. So I loaded them into the car & got home to the YMCA at Baghdad. I have spent all day today clearing & reading the inscriptions. […] So that evidence is all straight and while it is all indirect it is strongly confirmatory that I have the right location and I am sure an early Babylonian city even before taking soundings by digging a trial trench, which will be the next step.[294]

Hopkins, publishing the site's topography in 1972, noted that

> the claim of Tell Umar to be a ziggurat rests primarily upon its monumental size [but that] [i]dentification depends, of course on the definition of ziggurat. Almost certainly the building, whether ziggurat or not, would correspond to the *High Place* raised toward the heavens for religious ceremonies or observations.[295]

Unwilling to completely dispel the identification of the structure as a ziggurat (or, perhaps, criticize Waterman's interpretation), Hopkins dated it more correctly in the Hellenistic and Parthian periods, rather than the undefined but pre-Hellenistic eras of Waterman's interpretation. When Tel Umar was excavated by the Italian Mission from the University of Turin beginning in 1964, it was revealed to be a theater built in the Seleucid period and with continuing use in the

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[293] Waterman 1929b, 26, 1933b; Hopkins 1972, 8-12.
[294] Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 25, 1927, Bentley/Waterman, Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927 Folder.
[295] Hopkins 1972, 11.

Parthian period.[296] Despite the occasional pre-Hellenistic period finds, no sustained phases of occupation pre-dating the Seleucid period have been excavated at the site; the city of Opis remains unlocated.

In addition to a preference for earlier phases determining priorities in the field, the kinds of attention given to objects betray a somewhat decontextualized approach to objects. The Michigan archaeologists did not closely link them with their findspots, even as they recorded locations. This attitude is connected to the project's goal of recovering objects. For institutions—universities and especially museums—that sponsored archaeological excavations, the expected return for their investment was objects for their collections. As discussed in Chapter 2, in interwar Iraq, the practices of object division enshrined in the Mandate-period antiquities law meant that foreign teams enjoyed a favorable environment for their research and were able to bring many high-quality objects home. Foreign archaeologists' outcry about changes in division practices in the mid-1930s demonstrated the great extent to which the foreign teams viewed object acquisition as part of their raison d'etre. Further, the correspondence of the Oriental Institute's James Henry Breasted, as highlighted by Bernhardsson, draws attention to the connections between object acquisition and funding. When British archaeological expeditions boycotted fieldwork in Iraq in the 1934/45 season over proposed changes to the antiquities law, Breasted viewed an opening. Characterizing the Oriental Institute-sponsored projects as different from others because they did not depend on acquisition of objects for museum collections in order to obtain funding, Breasted thought the Oriental Institute was in a better position than other sponsoring institutions to continue fieldwork and gain the foothold previously held by the British expeditions. Breasted's perception of the Oriental Institute as the exception to museum funding

[296] Messina 2010.

pressures proves the rule. Tellingly, once an Oriental Institute-sponsored project received a slightly unfavorable division share in 1935, as discussed in Chapter 2, Breasted himself was outraged and threatened to withdraw projects from Iraq altogether: the institutional interest in acquiring spectacular finds was too great.[297] The sponsorship of the University of Michigan, and two art museums, the Toledo Museum of Art and the Cleveland Museum of Art, meant that bringing objects home for the institutions' collections was a major excavation goal at Seleucia. While this approach is by no means unique to the Michigan project at Seleucia, it helps explain the contours of the Seleucia collection and the difficulty contextualizing many of the artifacts at finer-grained levels of analysis.

The Michigan Seleucia publications lack much in the way of thorough statements of methodology. This makes it difficult to assess how the excavators dug as well as what the excavators considered worth saving or worth recording, and thus, the representability of the corpus. Debevoise, in his publication of Seleucia's Parthian pottery excavated in 1930-1932, gives the closest look. He describes an object's "path from the 'find spot' to the storage shelves":

> The majority of objects were reported to a staff member before removal from the ground. Exceptions were made in the case of pot covers and lamps which, owing to their extraordinary numbers, were at once removed and stacked on walls near by. The date, level, find spot, and other pertinent information were written on a piece of paper by the staff member and placed with the object, and at the same time a slip of paper was also given to the workman, with a notation of the amount of baksheesh he was to receive. No reward was given for objects broken by the workmen.

He describes processing the objects (cleaning, labeling, and drawing of the pots, as well as their

[297] Bernhardsson 2006, 187, 91. It is also notable, as described in the preceding chapter, that the notions of context and excavated assemblage were not stake in the acquisition of artifacts. The dispute over al-Husri's division of the Oriental Institute expedition directed by Frankfort was over the *high value* objects, i.e., over the 17 objects removed from the pool for division, and the Oriental Institute was given a valuable bull's head from Leonard Wooley's expedition to Ur—i.e., from a different project and site—to make up from the bull's head that the Iraq Museum retained from Khafaje (190-193).

organization scheme on the shelves) but gives no scheme for what "counted" as an object worth the project's attention—how small a sherd, what kinds of materials were of interest.[298] Nevertheless, we can extract a few elements. For example, the practice of denying tips for objects broken in excavation indicates that complete ceramic vessels were valued, not sherd material. Furthermore, the project paid for surface finds from the environs. In an unpublished manuscript of the small finds from Season F (1936-27) by Samuel Yeivin, Yeivin explains:

> The expedition considered it right to buy from workmen any small finds they may have gathered on the surface of the mounds of Seleucia itself or any neighbouring mounds, so as to prevent leakage of the stuff to Baghdad dealers, and also to acquire some sort of an idea of what kinds of finds come from various parts of the mounds. The purchased antiquities have been responsible for a large increase in the number of jewellery and amulets, but they seem to be on the whole homogenous with the finds made in the excavated area.[299]

Such a practice means that the artifactual corpus skewed toward higher value items. While perhaps of the same kinds as those excavated, according to Yeivin, their quantities were not representative.

As Debevoise stated, the date, level, and findspot (building; room; grid designation) were recorded, but the character of the fill or more specific locations were scarcely included. The following example of sequential entries from the finds register is instructive:

Table 1 Example sequence of Seleucia finds register entries

Field #	Date	Findspot	Description
D03824	09-25-1930	G6 I R. 247, 60 cm. deep	Lamp, small, glazed, crude, clay.
D03825	09-25-1930	G6 I R. 62, 5 ft. deep	Lamp, small, glazed, crude, clay.
D03826	09-25-1930	G6 I, R. 245, 1 m. deep	Lamp, small, glazed, crude, clay.

[298] Debevoise 1934, 10-11. This outline of practice is accompanied by a particularly racist explanation of the payment of the workmen for objects: "This baksheesh was paid not only to prevent leakage of material to neighboring antiquity markets in Baghdad, but also to keep the men in good spirits, for the Arab, who is an inveterate gambler, loves anything in the nature of a lottery" (10).
[299] S. Yeivin, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris Season 1936/37: Report on the Small Finds," KMA/Seleucia 5.12. See further discussion in Chapters 4-6.

These three lamps registered with sequential identifying field numbers (e.g., “D03824”), all from different rooms (“R. [#]”) in Level I (the uppermost phase of occupation) of housing block G6, have depths recorded in three different units: 60 cm deep, 5 ft deep, 1 m deep—and there is no record of from what this depth is counted. Presumably, it is depth from the surface, but without a sense of the surface elevation across the excavated area, these depth recordings pose a challenge, as these finds are from different locations (different rooms) so their respective pre-excavation surface elevations may differ. For the same reason, objects whose entries include depths “b.s.”—presumably meaning “below surface”—also are difficult to place in space. Furthermore, no information was recorded (or is extant among the archives) as to the character of the fill in which these three lamps were found. It is thus not possible to ascertain what kind of assemblage each lamp belongs to—a primary deposit, a fill—and thus whether the objects can be used to interpret activities in the space (e.g., room) in which they were found. Occasionally, the register includes information that an object was “on floor,” “in mudbrick,” or “on burned brick,” but this is occasional rather than the rule.

Waterman’s notebooks, indeed, are filled with lists of objects, often with findspot recorded as noted above, interspersed with his administrative notes (shopping lists, financial accounts), notes of letters written and appointments made. The following is a typical day’s entry, from Wednesday, March 14, 1928:

> Sp. went out first I staid & worked awhile. M worked in all day drawing pots
> I went out & got examples of Neb. Bricks and took a stroll over mounds N & W of Tel Omar
> Had lunch & sent Sp. in & had [charge?] in P.M.
> At close brought in bricks & door socket (stone). Boxes from Cooke arrived & we had boys bring them [illegible words]
> 12 boxes. Paid backsheesh.
> Got today:
> Terra cotta cock 2C 20 ft
> Child at mother’s knee “ figurine 2C 21 ft

Figurine head 2 C, 20 ft
Centaur torso " " "
Figurine head & bust surface
" " 2 C 20 ft
Plaque showing hand and drapery 2C 20 ft
Bead agate (?) amber? 2C 20 ft
Black & white striped stone bead surface
Figurine head 2 C 20 ft
Jar minus top surface
Stone weight (?) with cuneiform signs 2C 20 ft
Heavy [mark?] around door socket inscribed on both sides in fairly clear lines 2C 12 ft
Figurine head 2 C 20 ft
" " & bust 2C 20 ft
Wrote to Prof Barton[300]

No notes consider the objects in terms of their contexts or in relation to each other. While this is by no means unexpected for archaeology of this era, we can consider these recording schemes and the director's notebook lists more specifically as indicative of conception of objects as objects, rather than as artifacts, presented merely as individual things extracted from the ground or surface.

The sense that the work was to retrieve objects is even more pronounced when it comes to coins. Waterman hired "coin boys" to collect coins from the site's surface. He mentions them frequently in his notebooks (see Chapter 6 for further discussion of the "coin boys").[301] Team members also scoured the site's surface for coins. Waterman's description in his notebook of a team member's coin-gathering activities is typical in emphasizing the quantity as well as the act of "searching": "Sproule spent AM searching for Gr Roman coins & got a bucketful."[302] He further describes the quantity of coins in more specific volumes than "bucketfuls" in BASOR letter-reports. Waterman writes in his BASOR report of 1928 that "We are also making a coin

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[300] Waterman Notebook 2, March 14, 1928.
[301] Waterman Notebook 1, February 6, 1928.
[302] Waterman Notebook 1, January 11, 1928. Sproule was a staff member for Season A; see Appendix.

collection from the surface of the mounds and these now number several quarts and I have an Arab boy who picks coins for me every day."[303] The following year, he reports they recovered "about a peck, mostly from the surface, but a considerable number from within the excavation. About a quart of these show good prospect of cleaning."[304] These descriptions—far from constituting a systematic surface survey—indicates a perception of objects as not particularly related to contexts. Although Debevoise used excavated coins to date and create his pottery typology,[305] coins elsewhere are objects on their own. Decontextualized surface finds were specifically sought; the greater the quantity gathered, the better.

Published notes and correspondence between Waterman and his university's supervising unit, the Institute of Archaeological Research (IAR), also show that it was necessary to report quantity to academic colleagues and to the sponsoring institutions. In 1929, Waterman reports to BASOR readers that "Our registry of objects ran considerably over 1800 for the season, while the previous year it stood at about 1100."[306] He conveys a sense that the project is gaining steam in terms of the metric of success: recovery of more objects.

This emphasis on quantity of objects was clearly of issue to the university committee overseeing the project. In a letter to Frank Robbins, secretary of the IAR, Waterman reports that "[f]inds are good if not unique or spectacular. The register of objects is at present over three thousand. Last year it was about three thousand five hundred.[307] The quantity of objects recovered is literally foregrounded in the foreword of the *Second Report*, in which Waterman notes that "the main excavation […] resulted in the recovery and registry of over 3,500 objects of

[303] Barton 1928a, 7.
[304] Waterman 1929b, 27.
[305] Debevoise 1934, 8-10.
[306] Waterman 1929b, 27.
[307] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank Robbins, January 12, 1932, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2.

great variety and value" in the 1930/31 season and that the 1931/32 "season's work resulted in reclaiming over 4,000 registered objects."[308] There is an accumulating character in the project's approach to fieldwork, particularly as this highlighting of quantity of objects is not matched by the amount of object analysis in the report.[309] Indeed, despite all this interest in objects, the interest in those specific artifacts by the original Seleucia team—as measured by analysis and publication of those many, many objects—never matched the interest in the objects in aggregate.

Recovery—and acquisition—of objects was part of the project's goal and process, more than analysis of artifacts. Not only was quantity a concern, but also "quality." "Quality" is largely bound up in the institutional funding of the project, which required that museum-quality art objects be brought back to its sponsoring museums to justify the museums' investment. Furthermore, the interest in fabulous finds was consequential for professional reputations—and, thus, for funding. Bernhardsson draws attention to the competitive yet collegial spirit among interwar foreign archaeologists in Iraq. This competition, implicating institutional reputations and archaeologists' egos, involved finds and thus made the questions of finds division in Iraqi antiquities legislation (discussed above) of such concern. Archaeologists' reputations (and that of their home institutions) were bolstered by spectacular discoveries, and sponsoring museums expected a cut.[310] This situation explains in part the interest in quantity and quality of finds (over an interest in the finds themselves). That personal and institutional reputations were at stake in a project's finds is also visible in the archival correspondence. A 1935 letter from Professor A. T. Olmstead of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute encouraged Waterman not to give up

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[308] Waterman 1933c, v-vi.

[309] E.g., in the *Second Report*, only a selection of the Parthian jewelry is highlighted and there is some listing of finds (debris from ancient robbers) in tombs. But the attention is to architecture and topography, not to finds, nor the relation of finds to architecture and topography (i,.e., to context). Waterman 1933c.

[310] Bernhardsson 2006, 130-31, 40-42.

the Seleucia project in part because "[i]f you abandon Seleucia, you may rest assured that some other organization will take up the work and make the finds which, personally, I hope will be reserved for Michigan."[311]

Pressure on the Michigan Seleucia project to produce objects came from its two museum sponsors, the Toledo Museum of Art (TMA) and the Cleveland Museum of Art (CMA). Their contributions, along with that of the IAR over the first five seasons were as follows:[312]

Table 2 Financial contributions from sponsoring institutions, Seasons A to E

Season	Year	Contribution
A	1927-28	$1500 from TMA $350 from individual donors
B	1928-29	$7500 from the TMA
C	1929-30	$10,000 from the TMA $5,000 from the CMA $1,200 from the IAR
D	1930-31	$9,170 from the TMA $10,000 from the CMA $1,000 from the IAR
E	1931-32	$10,000 from the CMA $600 from the IAR

That recovery of objects was tied to funding comes through in the correspondence. As Waterman's son, Donald Waterman, wrote from the field to his sister Dorothea during Season D, "Dad says that we have found enough already this year to pay for the whole expedition this season."[313]

Indeed, there is rather an anxiety about quality of objects in the notebooks and memos in the Michigan archives. For example, a 1931 report-cum-letter from Waterman to Professor Frank E. Robbins, secretary of Michigan's Institute for Archaeological Research, records their work "clearing" rooms in the so-called "palace," but notes that "[n]aturally, such cleaning up and

[311] Letter, A.T. Olmstead to Leroy Waterman, August 21, 1935, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2.
[312] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank Robbins, October 30, 1933, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2.
[313] Letter, Donald and Leroy Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, October 20, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930 Folder.

clearing away has not yielded a large number of objects" but that "the graves have furnished a steady stream of small objects of interest."[314] The implication is that the "objects of interest" ought to make up for the lower recovery numbers. This interest in spectacular objects persisted into the final season of the project. Clark Hopkins, the second director of the Michigan excavation and the former field director of the Yale excavations at Dura-Europos in Syria, also suggests the project's need for "quality" objects in his directors' notebook.[315] A typical entry for Hopkins is as follows: "Debevoise started work on the new area today. There were no special finds. I wandered around the dig & picked up a plaque of stag & man & a Parthian lamp."[316] "No special finds" is a frequently repeated refrain in his notebook, as is his habit of picking up random objects.

The need to bring back great finds was not hypothetical. The CMA explicitly published that its goal in sponsoring fieldwork at Seleucia goal was to acquire "art works of beauty and importance" in a 1930 *Bulletin.*[317] Furthermore, in Waterman's correspondence from the field to Blake-More Godwin, director of the TMA, he constantly updates him on finds, both quantity and quality, sometimes sending photographs of objects from the field.[318] For example, he assured Godwin of the quantity and quality of finds during Season D, first writing in October that "We have on our storeroom shelves at this date at least two thirds as much stuff as we got all of last season, and without question it is of very [much] better quality as well as of more varied

[314] Letter from Leroy Waterman to Frank Robbins, October 20, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1.
[315] Quality of recording at Dura-Europos apparently improved under the field directorship of Hopkins, apparently a result of the experience he and his wife, Susan Hopkins, gained at the American excavations at Olynthos in Greece, under David Moore Robinson (Baird 2014, 16-19.). For an account through letters written by Susan Hopkins while at Olynthos and Dura-Europos, see Goldman and Goldman 2011.
[316] Hopkins Notebook, October 27, 1936.
[317] Howard 1930, 135.
[318] E.g., a letter containing a list of "outstanding things among out finds all this past week" (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 17, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian).

interest,"[319] and reiterating in January that "our register of finds has now passed the total of the combined numbers of the past two seasons, and on the whole it is of a far better character."[320] At other times, he explicitly reassured Godwin of the "museum quality" of some finds, such as in a letter written during Season D: "We have really good pottery this year, much of it complete and a good deal of beautiful glazed pieces fit for Museum use."[321]

Waterman's letters furthermore evince attention to the practicalities of museum acquisition of finds, both responding to requests for certain types of finds and assuring Godwin of the museum quality of the objects. He reassured Godwin of the results of the Season A division, writing that Godwin would "be glad to know that the Iraq Museum was very generous in the division of finds and really took very little."[322] At other times, he writes bluntly about dividing objects between institutional sponsors. In one Season C letter, he indicates requests could be made: "We now have, by the way enough big wine jars so that all the donors could have one if they wish. Orders are now receivable. First come first served."[323] In a Season D letter, Waterman reminded Godwin of the division legalities, but indicated he was guarding the TMA's interest in acquiring bricks.

> I am glad to learn that you got the cable about the coins. I wish I could send you some of them before the division, but it is contrary to all of the rules and I should not want to be responsible for offering the suggestion at this […] We have gotten several Nebuchadnezzar bricks this season and will be on the watch for more. I think we can meet your order. Today we brought up from the dig a real baby storage jar. It took four men to carry it. Never mind we do not pay for freight.[324]

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[319] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, October 12, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[320] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, January 6, 1931, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[321] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, November 11, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[322] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, April 21, 1928, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[323] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, October 20, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[324] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 2, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian.

Indeed, a trace of the 1933 dispute between foreign archaeologists and the Iraqi government is visible in the CMA archive in the context of institutional sponsorship. Leroy Waterman wrote to Cleveland Museum of Art director William Millikin in December 1933, reassuring him that antiquities acquisition was still permitted:

> it has been feared the Iraq government intended to pass legislation that would seriously cripple if not prevent future excavation. A united protest was made by all expeditions at present in Iraq and the outcome is very gratifying. The government has changed its attitude and has given assurances of its continued cooperation and good will.[325]

This statement was a preamble to inquiring into the possibility of CMA funding for a desired next season.

Some of Waterman's reassurances and information about exceptional finds were clearly to be shared with individual donors. This awareness, of the dynamics of museum funding requiring both institutional support and support of individual supporters of the museum, heightened this interest in great objects. A letter from Howard Coonley Hollis, curator of Oriental art at the Cleveland Museum of Art, wrote approvingly in 1935 of Waterman's hope to resume work at the site, and added, "If you could only find something made of gold and weighing about fifty pounds, I think the raising of funds in the future would become much easier."[326] This comment, clearly in partial jest, is suggestive of the awareness of the need for spectacular finds for sponsorship—and to attract individual donors—especially in financially stressed times.

Even considering the excavators' fairly decontextualized view of their artifacts, the archival sources capture a disjunction between fieldwork goals and the art museums' goals of

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[325] Letter, Leroy Waterman to William Millikin, December 11, 1933, CMA/Milliken.
[326] Copy of letter, Howard Coonley Hollis to Leroy Waterman, December 14, 1935, CMA/Milliken.

acquiring art objects. The same CMA *Bulletin* statement prioritizes acquiring "excellent works of art" over "information of value to historians" and "increase of human knowledge." [327] A memo reporting the sponsoring institutions' financial contributions cites the "business depression" (i.e., the Great Depression) as casting doubt on future sponsorship; more importantly here, the memo writer views the museums' expectation of finds at odds with the necessary artifactual study:

> it should be noted that the policy of cooperation among three institutions—the university and two museums—of which only one is an organization for research, is not without disadvantages. The museums naturally expect some share in the finds; and the distribution of them has obvious inconveniences from the point of view of scientific study.[328]

Indeed, in this statement of clashing of goals, we finally see the archaeologists consider the artifacts as a corpus, whose meaning is tied to the relations between excavated objects.

The expectations of financial sponsors were at play in the excavators' approach to collecting objects at Seleucia. The excavators' fairly decontextualized approach to objects was not disrupted by their need to acquire antiquities for their museum funders; the project was able to fulfill its obligations to the TMA and CMA due to the structures sent in place by British "advisors" to the Iraqi government under the League of Nations Mandate, first with the aid of the RAF in determining where to dig and with the implementation of the antiquities law allowing generous export of finds. The changed Iraqi antiquities laws in 1936, described in the previous chapter, made all excavated artifacts property of the Iraqi state and granted excavators half of *duplicate* antiquities, a much-reduced share from the "representative share" of Bell's Mandate-period law. This affected the likelihood of sponsorship of fieldwork by museums such as the TMA and CMA. As the effects of the Great Depression intensified, the favorable frameworks

[327] "Increase of human knowledge is bound to come from these excavations, indeed already has come, but from the point of view of a museum of art there is the further hope that art works of beauty and importance may be brought home for the museum." (Howard 1930, 135.)
[328] Undated memo, "Seleucia On The Tigris," "Seleucia Report," Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.15.

established during the British Mandate ended. So, too, did the Michigan excavations at Seleucia, while this legacy of the accumulative approach to objects is the Kelsey's Seleucia collection and its slightly difficult state of documentation.

Chapter 4 : "Invisible Technicians" and Archaeological Labor in the Middle East and Africa

As I discussed in Chapter 1, work on legacy data requires consideration of the contexts of data production—data collection procedures, training, rationales behind collection and interpretation—as well as broader consideration of the political and conceptual frameworks that shaped research programs. Archaeological labor is often elided in these discussions; the result is a gap in understanding of how artifacts and data were collected and processed as well as a narrowed, incomplete picture of historical stakeholders for archaeological heritage that, for archaeological research in the broader Mediterranean and Middle East, disproportionately excludes non-European and American participants in archaeological research.

The work of historian and sociologist of science Steven Shapin on the constitution of scientific authority offers a model for investigating these elisions.[329] Shapin's oft-cited case-study, "The Invisible Technician," of seventeenth-century English chemist and natural philosopher Robert Boyle's support personnel focuses on those paid technicians and assistants who carried out Boyle's experiments, made his observations, and, in some cases, wrote his texts. These men are rarely named in Boyle's writings, but their work underpinned the output attributed to Boyle. These technicians largely appear in scientific writings when experiments failed: their roles are most visible when the system functioned imperfectly. As Shapin details:

> "Technicians' work was transparent when the apparatus was working as it should and the results were as they ought to be. In contrast, the role of technicians was continually pointed to when matters did not proceed as expected. In such circumstances, technicians' labor (or, rather, the incompetence of their labor) became highly visible. Their doings then became an important source of

[329] Shapin 1989. Additionally, for a very useful review of broader science and technology studies (STS) literature regarding expertise, labor, credit, and authority in scientific laboratory work, see Mickel 2021, 32-35.

> opaqueness between the master's eye and natural reality. Importantly, technicians' capacity to subvert—that is, to make mistakes and trouble—came to constitute an understood moral resource for explaining and excusing experimental failure." [330]

Shapin points to an "impoverished understanding of the nature of scientific practice"[331] that results from their exclusion from historical accounts. He also draws attention to the moral economy operative in effacing these participants from the narratives of scientific knowledge production—and that is still discernable when these support personnel are named. As Shapin notes, in one report, Boyle discusses one paid assistant, Denis Papin. Boyle reports that, in addition to designing and undertaking the experiments, Papin both wrote the reports and undertook some amount of the interpretation. For Shapin, the fact that authorship is still attributed to Boyle despite Papin's contributions reveals the bases on which Boyle's authority was constituted, *i.e.*, on his control of "the scientific workplace" and position to define the work.[332]

Shapin contextualizes this withholding of authority within contemporary broader political currents. The wage relationship was charged morally and politically in seventeenth-century England: wage-earners, configured as servants, surrendered a degree of autonomy to those who employed them. According to contemporary political debates regarding enfranchisement, these "servants" were "'included in' [their masters'] voice."[333] Extending beyond political practice, in this attitude, "[s]ervitude compromised technicians' political integrity in the community of

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[330] Shapin 1989, 558.
[331] Shapin 1989, 562.
[332] Shapin 1989, 559-60. As Shapin writes, "Boyle was the *author* because Boyle possessed *authority*. It was he who presided over the scientific workplace—indeed, it was his house; it was he who possessed the acknowledged right to set the agenda of work, who could effectively command the skilled labor of others, who could define the boundaries between skill and knowledge. It was he who was responsible for the work and who could say yes or no to its content and to the form of its appearance, whether or not he exercised that right. Finally, he enjoyed authority over those whose labor he engaged. It was for Boyle to hire and to fire, to place or to withhold trust in his servants' work. These are the senses in which the work done in Boyle's premises was considered to be legitimately his" (560).
[333] Shapin 1989, 561.

science and affected their credibility. Who could rely upon the testimony of people who were constrained? Servants might make machines work, but they might not make knowledge."[334] Such attitudes bolstered divisions between manual work and gentlemanly "thought-work," which are still present in "our tendency to see science predominantly as thought rather than as work" and to understand knowledge as produced by solitary individuals struck with insight, rather than by collective enterprise.[335]

Shapin demonstrates that incorporating the "invisible technicians" of seventeenth-century science fleshes out a more robust, accurate, and contextualized understanding of the history of science and scientific knowledge. His model indicates a gap in attention to labor as part of knowledge production in traditional historiography of archaeology: in this chapter I review the small but growing body of scholarship on this topic. Shapin's discussion of the division between "mere" manual labor and individual thought-work certainly applies to archaeological knowledge production. At the very least, a fuller picture of archaeological history is available with the incorporation of contributors beyond those who authored excavation publications. Beyond the very least, understanding the organization of work more specifically gives us another edge with which to grasp the archaeological data production process. Furthermore, Shapin's work offers a model for asking a different question when the specific documentary evidence for labor is thin: *why* are the records thin on this count? What practices, disciplinary attitudes, and wider socio-political dynamics structure whose work is invisible or visible in archaeological knowledge production? Rather than compound the elision, Shapin shows us that it is valuable to look at and into the gap explicitly.

An obvious aspect of the erasure of local labor in most historical accounts of archaeology

[334] Shapin 1989, 562.
[335] Shapin 1989, 561.

in the Middle East is the colonial and/or imperial context of the endeavor: individual European, British, and American archaeologists—typically male and middle- to upper-class—often receive sole credit for archaeological undertakings of the late 19th and first half of the 20th century and are presented in a rather heroizing modes. The creation of archaeological knowledge is not, however, an individual undertaking. Such heroizing frames consume all the narrative oxygen and buttress problematic narratives that make Middle Eastern archaeological content the object of exclusively Western recovery and claims. Paying attention to the contributions of local laborers is a tiny move to identify the specific operations of the extractive mode of Western archaeology at play. The awareness gained may open the way for more properly decolonizing moves in the discipline. Including these "invisible technicians" of archaeology recognizes a broader range of historical and contemporary contributors to and, indeed, stakeholders in archaeological knowledge.

The literature on late 19th to mid-20th century archaeological labor in the Middle East and Africa[336] is marked by two trends that resonate with Shapin's stated gains of turning attention to "invisible technicians"; these two threads are intertwined. One tendency is to reveal and/or foreground elided non-European/American participants in archaeological endeavors and their contributions to archaeological knowledge production, in service of developing a fuller and more equitable narrative.[337] In this way, such focus on local and regional participants and their contributions can be placed alongside archaeological historiography that focuses on the work of female archaeologists and on the sexist currents that have elided or downplayed their contributions. Examples of the latter are Geztel Cohen and Martha Joukowsky's edited volume,

[336] For an anthropological discussion of an archaeological workforce on a North American excavation in Bolivia, see Leighton 2016.
[337] E.g., Shepherd 2003; Baird 2011; Irving 2017. On which, see discussion below.

Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists and Alan Kaiser's *Archaeology, Sexism, and Scandal*.[338] And, indeed, J.A. Baird juxtaposes discussion of the unpaid and mostly unrecognized labor of women such as Susan Hopkins and Margaret Crosby at the Yale Excavations at Dura-Europos with the paid but relatively invisible manual labor of Syrian men and boys at that site.[339]

The other primary tendency is to pan out and frame such investigations in terms of political economies of archaeological practice, engaged in larger-scale political and economic systems: this situates these individual or project-specific stories of labor and knowledge in a more systemic framework. For example, in the case of Egypt, such scholarship focused on the 19th century offers the broader context of the earlier incorporation of Egypt into the modern world economy and the ripples of capitalist expansion and diversification of labor to rural contexts like archaeological labor.[340] Pollock makes this call for the discipline in the present-day, arguing that any decolonizing efforts in Middle East archaeology require much more attention to the political economy of US-sponsored archaeological practice.[341] Allison Mickel's work draws attention to continuities in archaeological labor management systems from historical archaeological projects[342] to the present day, the latter with her ethnographic study of site workers at Petra (Jordan) and Çatalhöyük (Turkey).[343] In so doing, she applies a lens of Marxist alienation to investigate the particular mechanisms that deny local site workers on Middle

[338] Cohen and Joukowsky 2004; Kaiser 2015. See also work on "marginal figures" in related discipline, such as Ruth Horry's account of William St. Chad Boscawen, a late 19th/early 20th century British Assyriologist with an unsuccessful and troubled career. Horry applies an analytical frame derived from sociological "communities of practice" theory in order to understand Boscawen's abortive career, arguing that "contributions to knowledge-making by low-status, marginalised actors can be recovered, and how studying such people gives a richer, more nuanced picture of past Assyriological practices and research communities" (Horry 2015, 123.).
[339] Baird 2018, 41-44.
[340] Quirke 2010; Doyon 2015, 2018.
[341] Pollock 2010.
[342] Mickel 2019.
[343] Mickel 2021.

Eastern archaeological projects expertise—and make it lucrative for them to disavow expertise. I discuss her work in greater detail, below.

Underlying both trends when applied to historical excavations are textual and photographic sources in archaeological excavation archives.[344] While Shapin notices in his own study that scientific technicians are most visible in accounts of failed experiments, a common locus in excavation documentation for individual non-European/American archaeological workers are accounting records. As I will summarize in greater detail in regard to Stephen Quirke's work on W.M. Flinders Petrie's excavation archives, below, references to workers and other local participants are typically minimal; where they do occur, they are references to "workers" *en masse* in publications and archival records of excavations, except where accounting needs necessitated their differentiation as individuals in order to facilitate payment.

Most of the extant excavation archives drawn on in writing accounts of archaeological labor were written by (and thus from the perspective of) the primarily European and American archaeologists and staff; this is true for the Seleucia excavation. As I discussed in Chapter 2, Iraqi control of archaeological endeavors in Iraq was a long time coming: the first director of antiquities who was an Iraqi citizen, Sati al-Husri, was appointed in 1934; the first Iraqis with academic training (in the U.S.) in archaeology began their involvement in fieldwork by the end of that decade. I discuss the make-up of the Seleucia excavation staff at the end of this chapter, as well as in the Appendix.

The situation is slightly different in Egypt, where some Egyptian-written, Arabic-language excavation archive corpora were produced and are beginning to be incorporated into such narratives. As Wendy Doyon has discussed, Arabic field records generated by the Harvard

[344] Mickel's (2021) work expands such sources through the addition of oral history and ethnographic research.

University-Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Egyptian Expedition (now held at the MFA-Boston) under director George Reisner are prominent among the corpora of Arabic-language field archives generated in an abortive period of bilingual recording in Western-led archaeological fieldwork in Egypt.[345]Additionally, as Quirke notes, the intermediate and lower levels of the Egyptian Antiquities Department were staffed by Egyptians.[346] The current Abydos Temple Paper Archive Project promises to contribute those perspectives to Egyptian archaeological historiography.[347] This ongoing project focuses on a recently discovered documentary archive of the Egyptian Antiquities' Service pertaining to management of the site of Abydos and its environs. Most of the documents are in Arabic and span the mid-19th century to the mid-20th century. This archive holds great potential to offer a contrapunctual history[348]—both official and Egyptian—to usual narratives derived from European and American archaeologists' archives.

Photographs of workers in excavations' photographic archives constitute another source for histories of archaeological labor. This source type attests to the presence of workforces beyond those archaeologists credited with publications, to the organization and scale of labor, and, especially, to the conceptual constructions propagated by the mostly European and American staff members who took the photographs.[349] The scholarship of J.A. Baird and Christina Riggs is particularly pertinent for the latter point.[350] I will further discuss this topic

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[345] Doyon 2018.
[346] Quirke 2010, 96.
[347] For the Abydos Temple Paper Archive Project, see their website: https://abydosarchive.org/
[348] Said 1994, 51, passim.
[349] A recent MFA-Boston publication of excavation photographs taken by Egyptian (Qufti) photographers (Bedawi Ahmed Abu Bukr, Mahmud Shadduf, Mohammedani Ibrahim Ibrahim, and Mustapha Abu el-Hamd, individually credited per photograph) for the Harvard-MFA Expedition's Nubian Campaign directed by Reisner. While this corpus represents the work of trained and skilled Egyptian participants, it is important to note that the photographs were taken by Egyptians of a certain professional class (see discussion below) and do not represent the perspective of the hired local workers in northern Sudan who appear in the photographs. Some captions preserve names of individual workers (Berman 2018.)
[350] Baird 2011, 430-80; Riggs 2016; Baird 2017, 176-80; Riggs 2017b, 2019a, 2019b, 2020.

when discussing the Seleucia excavation photographs in Chapter 7. Here, I merely recognize a common method, in this body of scholarship, of seeking to identify individual workers in field photographs. This search for individuals is largely undertaken, first, by correlating personal names in captions with photographic subjects and searching for identifiable individuals who reoccur across photographs and documents; secondly, by reflecting on the dearth of identifiable individuals in photographic archives and on what representations such images construct.

Nick Shepherd's work of this type offers a powerful segue into the existing body of archaeological labor literature. He investigates photographic traces of "'native' labor" in the archive of white South African archaeologist of sub-Saharan Africa, John Goodwin.[351] Shepherd's move is to reframe unidentified, black individuals visible in Goodwin's archaeological photographs, who are excluded from the official narratives of whose labor mattered and who constructed knowledge, as "co-workers." Noticing black individuals—one man in particular—appearing across the corpus of site and excavation photographs but absent from the later-added captions, Shepherd was unsuccessful in his attempts to connect these men to names. He writes:

> Working from a list of published site reports, field notebooks and personal and professional correspondence, it proved impossible to identify with any certainty even a single black co-worker in these images. In fact, what becomes remarkable is the near-total absence of reference to black excavators, assistants and camp followers. When the hand that holds the trowel is black, it is as though holes dig themselves and artefacts are removed, labelled and transported without human agency.[352]

While the photographs attest to the presence and labor—essential to the archaeological enterprise—of these men, their individual identities are excluded the documentation.

In contrast to the excavation archive's sparse testimony, a few black excavators are

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[351] Shepherd 2003.
[352] Shepherd 2003, 340.

named in some of Goodwin's personal correspondence. In his letters to his wife from mid-1950s fieldwork in Nigeria, Goodwin offers gossipy, paternalistically racist discussion of his black co-workers on this project, including a reference to one Justus Akeredólu as a European-trained museum assistant and wood-carver. His example, according to Shepherd, "speaks powerfully of the partial and limited nature of the archive," for Justus Akeredólu's life and career is attested elsewhere, as a sculptor and originator of the miniature thorn-carving medium and curator at the Owo Museum, Nigeria.[353] Akeredólu's traceability beyond Goodwin's letter is the exception that proves the rule, suggestive of the rich networks and individual biographies that facilitated archaeological knowledge production but are absent from accounts of the endeavor.

Shepherd frames this occlusion partially in the broader elision of labor in the discipline[354] and especially in the specific colonial context of South Africa, which was concerned to make African labor an invisible but essential underpinning of a white settler society. He notes that, "[i]ndeed, there is a consummate irony here, that archaeology, a discipline whose methodologies involve maximum physical exertion, hours spent in the pit or at the sieve, so routinely should lose sight of its own conditions of material production."[355] Shepherd thus reminds us that the ways that archaeological practice—in terms of both practical organization and knowledge production—are deeply embedded in and constitutive of their contemporary contexts. This perspective echoed by many including Wendy Doyon, whose work (discussed further, below) brackets the formation of an intermediary class of Egyptian foreman in the later 19th century in broader Egyptian economic developments and draws attention to the reinforcing resonance between the organization of Egyptological labor (European/American archaeologists,

[353] Shepherd 2003, 341-46.
[354] "What else is a site report but the presentation of a fait accompli, an exercise in the removal of agency." (Shepherd 2003, 346.)
[355] Shepherd 2003, 349.

intermediary tier of Egyptian foremen, and mass of local Egyptian labor) and traditional Egyptological foci on the royal and monumental (divine royals, supported by elite social tier and a mass of undifferentiated labor). Doyon suggests that the modern labor structure in Egyptian archaeology has reinforced specific interpretations of Egyptian socio-political organization, involving the biases and interests of both the European/American archaeologists and the supporting foremen class.[356] Paying attention to the organization of archaeological labor thus helps anchor the disciplinary practice in its historical socio-political-economic moment *and* is productive for assessing archaeological knowledge and assumptions.

Stephen Quirke's monograph, *Hidden Hands: Egyptian workforces in Petrie excavation archives 1880-1924*, models a "stratigraphic" approach to investigating the presence of Egyptians in excavation documentation and in the archaeological process.[357] Mining the extensive textual and photographical output of British archaeologist W. M. Flinders Petrie's work in Egypt (and Palestine), Quirke works systematically through different kinds of textual records[358] and photographs[359] with an eye on Egyptian participants. He progresses from more public-facing texts[360] to the more documentary and fine-grained records that underpinned the publications, in search of Egyptian personal names as an index. This process allows him to chart changes in roles and representation of Egyptians over the course of Petrie's long career in Egypt

[356] Doyon 2015, 153, 2018, 191-92. At the same time, Doyon does not fully account for the relative elision of these intermediaries from broader narratives about whose work "counts" in Egyptology, which favors the singular individual European/American archaeologists as heroes.
[357] Quirke 2010.
[358] These include publications, "Journals" (i.e., letters-cum-progress reports and semi-official circulars), "Notebooks" written by Petrie, Hilda Petrie, and occasionally other site supervisors, and "tomb cards" (i.e., standardized recording cards for tomb excavations).
[359] Quirke 2010, 271-93.
[360] Quirke 2010, 50. The "Journals" are a heterogenous set of correspondence that functioned as reports on excavation progress and that "Petrie expressly considered […] a form of entry into a public sphere." Quirke lists all Egyptian names that appear the Journals according to Petrie's career phase, alongside the shorter lists of Egyptian names in the corresponding publications. A few Egyptian men key to the excavations emerge from this set of texts: Ali Jabri, Muhammad abu Daud, and Ali Suefi of al-Lahun.

and as represented to different audiences. Quirke thus identifies individual Egyptians who appear in each type of written production, listing these named individuals and discussing the issues (attitudes; social networks and interactions; and labor organization) that emerge from these references.[361] Rather than discuss each publication type, as does Quirke in his valuable textual stratigraphy model, I will focus here on a few key take-aways of Quirke's project that are relevant to other investigations into late 19th and early 20th century archaeological labor in the broader Middle East.

Quirke's work on the Petrie excavation archives is worth discussing at length for several reasons. *Hidden Hands* is the first and currently only book-length study of archaeological labor in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) based on archival evidence.[362] Additionally, Petrie looms large in histories of archaeological practice, as a promoter of attention to "portable antiquities" and pottery seriation,[363] as well as a problematic figure who actively supported inquiries in eugenics.[364] In addition to authoring an influential 1904 handbook, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, Petrie's impact on field practice can also be found in in his training and employment of Egyptian archaeological specialists from the village of Qift, a community that should be considered a major disseminator of archaeological methods in Egyptian and broader Middle Eastern archaeology (on which, more below). Thus, the labor practices and attitudes captured in Petrie's archives are useful as both an example of archaeological labor practice and as key for understanding broader practice as influenced by his projects.[365] Finally, the robust

[361] Quirke 2010, 36.
[362] I discuss Mickel's recent (2020) ethnographic study—the first monograph, to my knowledge, about 21st century site workers in MENA zones—below.
[363] E.g., Stevenson 2012. For an assessment of his methodological legacy with regard to his own work in British Mandate Palestine, see Sparks 2013.
[364] E.g., Sheppard 2010; Challis 2013.
[365] Indeed, the UM Seleucia Expedition had its own Petrie-trained archaeologist, in the person of Palestinian/Israeli archaeologist Samuel Yeivin. Yeivin was trained at the B.S.A.E. excavation at Qua/Etmanieh and Badari in

archival paper trail and long duration of Petrie's projects make for a rich body of evidence, prompting for further exploration many critical issues regarding archaeological labor practices and representations. These issues include the textual construction of workers in terms of financial accounting, the exclusion of much of the workforce from these archival records, and the relationships between such exclusion and construction of archaeological authority.

In the Petrie archives, the excavation notebooks contain the most robust record of Egyptian workers.[366] These notebooks contain, amid other excavation data, lists of recruits and payments to workers: these lists are the major and most full source for individual workers on Petrie's projects.[367] Such lists of employees on a given project and of payments should be understood primarily as financial accounting records, but are notably a place where individuals, indexed through personal names, register in the archaeological recording process. Quirke cautions that these records are "a strongly mediated record [that…] ought not be read too innocently as a direct account of populations": these lists represent functional records for facilitating payment, not accurate census records (which, of course, are themselves not neutral), and capture an English employer's worldview and pragmatic needs.[368] Additionally, their completeness decreases over time.[369]

1923/1924; his training there under Petrie was explicitly flagged by Leroy Waterman in announcing his team for the third (1929-1930) season in BASOR (Samuel Yeivin, C.V. [undated], KMA/Seleucia 5.8; Waterman 1929b, 27.).

[366] The corpus of Petrie excavation notebooks is comprised of 194 pocket notebooks in which Petrie (and eventually his wife Hilda and a few site supervisors) recorded survey and excavation data and notes, as well as practical notes (e.g., expenditures) (Quirke 2010, 110).

[367] Quirke 2010, 200-70.

[368] Quirke 2010, 200. These reasons include, inter alia: Petrie's transliterations of Arabic names may not accurately capture the names or be recognizable according to modern standards; it is probable that not all names offered were accurate, for various reasons; they are clearly not consistently full lists of workers; and organization, recording, and payment practices changed over the course of Petrie's career.

[369] The lists tend to get shorter over time, though not evenly so: the 1880s lists imply that they are complete but this is more variable in later seasons "as the emphasis falls on the core force from Qift" and "locals" fall out of the picture—even the Qiftis are scarce in these records. As Quirke writes, "This decrease may be accidental and innocent, but it is not entirely an isolated phenomenon" (Quirke 2010, 270); he also notes a similar pattern in the photography.

Nevertheless, these lists offer valuable information. First of all, although most of the recorded personal names cannot be connected with any other biographical information, these lists are witness to the many, many individuals involved in the archaeological process, individuals who are largely unnamed and invisible in more public (published) documents and public imaginings of the archaeological process. Additionally, these lists provide some personal information about the individuals who composed Petrie's Egyptian workforce, albeit strongly filtered through Petrie's managerial needs and perspective as a foreign employer. They offer evidence regarding Petrie's organization of archaeological labor in practice and his way of understanding workers as workers and as individuals (which he further spells out in his handbook, *Method and Aims in Archaeology)*: some lists preserve Petrie's assessments of individuals as workers (e.g., "good"; "bad"; "sharp"; "stupid"). Sometimes these individual annotations include visual (e.g., beards, complexions, physical features, size, age, etc.) or personality identifiers (e.g., "pleasant"; "cross"; "disconsolate"), apparently recorded to help Petrie keep track of different individuals.[370] While the information is also patchy, some information regarding familial relationships between workers, place or village of origin, gender, and age is present in these lists.[371]

After these lists, records associating individuals with object finds are the second most robust source for individual workers; again, these records show that Egyptian workers are primarily connected to financial accounting in Petrie's textual production. For these object records, individuals' names are largely recorded within records of finds embedded within the

[370] Or, perhaps resonant with his interest in eugenicist phrenology. Perry and Challis 2013.
[371] Quirke 2010, 134-40, 200-70. For example, some name entries are marked with "w" for *walad* ("boy") or "b" for *bint* ("girl"). As Quirke notes, names in the same lists not inflected with such annotations presumably belong to adult men (Quirke 2010, 226.).

excavation notebooks and "tomb cards"[372]: personal names are associated with individual finds (objects), individual archaeological features, as well as with "find-groups."[373] Both frames for the appearance of workers' names are connected to financial accounting, rather than "credit" or intellectual attribution of finds or features to a discoverer.

Taking Quirke's discussion one step further, we can see that, in Petrie's excavation recording, individual workers are often associated with various payable work-products—excavated object(s),[374] uncovered features,[375] quantity of removed sand[376]—and that it was Petrie's preference for certain payment systems that necessitated that associations between workers and finds be recorded. As Quirke describes and Petrie himself sets out in his *Methods & Aims in Archaeology*, Petrie preferred to pay workers for quantity of work (the "piecework," "piece-rate" or "metre-work" system) rather than by hours or days of work; he also employed a "*bakhshish*" ("tips" or "bonus") system of paying workers for finds recovered.[377] Sometimes the accounting reason for inclusion of a personal name is explicit in the artifactual or context recording: as Quirke notes, the tomb cards from the sites of Sidmant and Araba al-Madunfa record payments in piastres made to a given finder (whose name is recorded).[378] Even when specific payment sums are not recorded, the inclusion of names in association with finds or

[372] "Tomb cards" are printed index cards used to record cemetery finds in terms of standardized fields. First introduced by English dig directors working for the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1908, they were adopted the following year by the British School of Archaeology in 1909, under whose auspices Petrie worked at that time. Many of these preserve the name of the worker who uncovered a given card's finds, likely in order, as Quirke suggests, "to ensure accuracy in the [payment] accounts." (Quirke 2010, 186-187). Individual Egyptians additionally appear incidentally in the Petrie excavation notebooks, in various jottings or accounts of interactions, meetings, disputes, purchases, etc. (Quirke 2010, 110-47.)

[373] "Find group" refers to groups of artifacts excavated together from the same context; these contexts are typically a single burial or tomb in the Petrie archives. See Quirke (2010, 169 ff.) on new significance of the "find-group" in late 19th century archaeological practice.

[374] Quirke 2010, 157-58, chapter 7.

[375] Quirke 2010, 160-61, 63.

[376] Quirke 2010, 164.

[377] Petrie 1904, 28-37; Quirke 2010, 31, 34, 46-8, 97-100, 43-55, 64, 218. See also, on Petrie's application of his payment systems in British Mandate Palestine, Sparks 2013, esp. 147-51.

[378] Quirke 2010, 187.

tombs (on the tomb cards) facilitated these two payment systems, tracking excavated units or finds with individuals or work groups for proper compensation. It is important to note that the objects or excavated features are the center of this recording system, not the workers. Thus, Quirke, working from the tomb cards, collates all the tomb numbers (and thus the artifactual assemblages from those contexts) at each site attributed to each Egyptian worker as finder, and reorganizes by finder: he, therefore, shifts the records' focus on the archaeological content (object, feature) to the individual finders, and he marks the association of Egyptian "finders" with excavated objects in relation to the concept of the object biography.[379]

However tantalizing these finds records are in fleshing out individual-object encounters, Quirke's attention demonstrates that they—and the narratives they can support—are not complete. This reminder from Quirke is an important, second take-away: even these individual archival presences are partial. For these finds-finder records, it is frequently unclear from the records whether these named individuals represent a single person uncovering a given object or feature or the name of foreman or leader of a group of excavators. Even as Petrie's organization of labor shifted over time and according to site, Quirke cautions that these references to individuals cannot be understood as representing a full list of the whole excavating force.[380] For example, a few lists recorded in the excavation notebooks from the excavation at Maydum in 1909-1910 are the exceptions that prove the rule: excavated features are recorded in association with the name of a single Egyptian excavator *and* the total number of excavators comprising the work group.[381] Quirke's caution additionally applies to names associated with recorded object find-groups as well as to the corpus of recruitment and pay lists.[382] Similarly, Quirke's review of

[379] Quirke 2010, 155-56, 70.
[380] Quirke 2010, 156-57.
[381] Quirke 2010, 163-64.
[382] Quirke 2010, 169, 71, 96, 200.

the photographs (and their captions) in the Petrie archives demonstrates that the number of Egyptian individuals named and identified in photographs is very low compared to the size of the total workforce. [383]

A third point that emerges from Quirke's study of the Petrie archives concerns the effect of the relative invisibility of Egyptian workers in relation to Petrie's construction of his archaeological authority. Petrie explicitly distinguished the roles of the "excavator" (the European archaeologist) and worker, by theorizing the constitution of an ideal excavator and in practice in his field methods handbook, separate from his recommendations regarding "The Labourers."[384] However, Quirke notes that the qualities of the ideal excavator described by Petrie in *Methods and Aims* hinge largely on trainable experience: these are essentially general skill, "discrimination" —a quasi-mystical frame for the ability to identify and classify archaeological features and materials—and, for a director, an exceptional visual memory.[385] Furthermore, Petrie had his experienced Egyptian workers train both new Egyptian workers and inexperienced European archaeologists. While he often registered his appreciation of Egyptian workers' archaeological training and abilities—as his own system of training and re-hiring Egyptian workmen attests—Petrie still excluded them from those who could hold archaeological authority. As Quirke points out, Petrie classed "his own work as 'skilled labour' and 'skilled record,' more or less as antonym of 'native labour' […] the specific lines of his great divide can be identified as an assumed illiteracy."[386] Thus, in practice, the division between [European] "excavators" and [Egyptian] "labourers" was partially regulated according to who was permitted

[383] Quirke 2010, 282-83. Photographs—and accompanying captions—taken by colleague Margaret Murray in 1899-1901 do often identify the subjects as Egyptian individuals known from other textual references plus some family members (wives and sisters) (Quirke 2010, 283-288).
[384] Quirke 2010, 28-34, 42, 45-46, 96-97, 153, 303.
[385] Quirke 2010, 28-29.
[386] Quirke 2010, 46.

to do the archaeological recording and labeling, i.e. who practices literacy for the archaeological project: European supervisors.[387] While not all rural Egyptians who worked on Petrie's excavations were literate, references within the Petrie archives themselves show that some were; however, Petrie justified this division of labor by racist distrust in Egyptians' capacity for accuracy.[388] Significantly, Mickel, in her ethnographic research at Petra and Çatalhöyük, finds the exclusion of local site workers from documentation (as a place where intellectual contributions are registered and preserved) to be a key site of alienation, one that might be ameliorated with inclusive recording practices such as photography.[389]

Petrie's habits of attribution and textual attention to Egyptian workers can be understood against this backdrop of how he guards this line of authority. In Quirke's analysis, Petrie's public-facing (published) attribution of labor contributions to Egyptian individuals fluctuates with his degree of security and control over a given undertaking. Quirke finds that Petrie's references to individual Egyptian workers by name in the 44 publications of Petrie's projects waxes and wanes according to the place in Petrie's work process: that is, for each of the five phases of Petrie's long career (divided into phases according to his institutional affiliation and/or source of his project funding),

> Petrie identified Egyptians by name [in publications] when he was embarking on a new phase; the only time he names an Egyptian in an excavation report during his final, most established phase of work, it is to acknowledge a local landowner rather than anyone in the workforce […] The space for the name seems provided by the insecurity of the 'master' on the new terrain.[390]

Similarly, Quirke charts, over Petrie's career, a decrease in archival evidence for the Egyptian workforce, both in terms of recruitment and payment lists included in the excavation

[387] Quirke 2010, 45-46, 303.
[388] Quirke 2010, 17, 45, 96-97, 153.
[389] Mickel 2021, 131-53.
[390] Quirke 2010, 38.

notebooks and in photography. When Petrie's career was firmly established (as a professor of archaeology at University College London and with a steady workforce from Qift, on which, see below), the lists of workers are less complete (for both the Quftis and local workers) and those who appear in photographs are anonymous. For the photography, this can also be understand within a shift in Petrie's photography practices: whereas Petrie's photographic habits earlier in his career included landscapes and individuals, sometimes accompanied by captions naming Egyptian colleagues, his later-career photography was solely focused on archaeological evidence, captured for publication purposes.[391] Nevertheless, this elision speaks to the exclusion of Egyptian individuals in the archaeological workforce from the record of archaeological knowledge production as Petrie's career was increasingly well-established and secure. Additionally, Quirke observes that personal names recorded in captions were often excluded from published versions of the same photos, such as a photograph no. 106 from the "Tanis series" (from work in the Delta, 1883-1886), whose young male subjects are recorded as "Muhd es Said, Muhd Jafur, and Muhd Timsas" but are merely described as "workers at Tanis" in Petrie's *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*.[392] The anonymity of these boys in official communication to an English-language disciplinary audience strips them of individual identity and agency; furthermore, such deindividualization and "erosion of identity"[393] of Egyptian contributors makes the local workforce into a mass against which an individual director is given, in narrative terms, full autonomy in the archaeological process.

Eleanor Robson highlights difficulty the discipline has in shaking off "old habits" of archaeological narrative that focuses on heroic individual archaeologists. Highlighting the

[391] Quirke 2010, 270, 81-83.
[392] Quirke 2010, 278, 81.
[393] Quirke 2010, 281.

outsized and problematic roles given to Austen Henry Layard, Max Mallowan, and Agatha Christie in narratives about the archaeological site of Nimrud (ancient Kalhu), she developed strategies with Ruth Horry (inspired by methods derived from history and sociology of science) for avoiding the same backsliding in writing new histories of archaeology. These strategies include acknowledging these individual project leaders' active roles in creating and promoting these heroic narratives; accounting for the impact of their worldview and context on their interpretations; and broadening the narrative scope to include the "invisible technicians."[394] The increasing exclusion of Egyptian workers in Petrie's textual publications is one way that a "heroic narrative" was maintained. However, as Mickel argues, merely to replace narratives of "heroic" individual archaeologists with narratives of imperialist "villains" who exploited local laborers would retain these exclusively European/American individual excavation directors as the foci of narratives: "In either telling, it is the archaeologist who is at the center, and the same power dynamics and politics of representation are recreated, the same people are effaced."[395] Such a shift creates no narrative space for agency and effects of locally-hired laborers' decisions.

Mickel highlights workers' disparate responses to exploitative archaeological labor systems in case studies of 19th century archaeological labor under Giovanni Battista Belzoni in Egypt and Henry Austen Layard at Nimrud. She writes, "[o]perating under extremely similar circumstances, the groups of workers […] made very divergent decisions about how best to respond to an exploitative labor system, whether to rise up demonstratively against it or to resist

[394] Robson 2017a, 221-22. The first is to explicitly pay attention to these "old habits," to explore and reveal the origins of these heroic narratives by investigating how these project directors and prominent figures communicated and shaped such images. The second strategy involved considering the impact of these archaeologists' worldviews and broader socio-political contexts on their choices and interpretations. The final strategy involved distinguishing between different generations' conceptions of the ancient Kalhu, "to avoid the teleological fallacy by which later knowledge, and ways of knowing—including the formation of object habits—are anachronistically attributed to past actors" (Robson 2017a, 222.)

[395] Mickel 2019, 197.

the devaluation of their work by establishing themselves as essential to the production of artifacts and historical knowledge."[396] For the former, she reinterprets Belzoni's narrative of challenges posed by his local workforce in terms of their resistance to his exploitation. Quirke similarly reframes Petrie's presentation of local "resistance to work, which is called, as is usual in hegemonic comments, laziness and stupidity" explicitly in terms of James C. Scott's "Weapons of the Weak."[397] Regarding the Layard excavation at Nimrud, Mickel argues that the local workforce, subject to similar exploitation, made themselves integral to Layard's endeavor. Critical to her argument is that both responses should be seen as active choices.

While the low resolution for individuals of her 19th century historical source material (i.e., Belzoni's and Layard's accounts) means that Mickel cannot avoid treating local labor in as a monolithic block either case study, several other historical archaeological labor studies add social differentiation to narratives concerned with the agency of members of the Middle Eastern archaeological workforces. In particular, attention to mediating figures—both individuals and communities of Middle Eastern origin who became professional archaeological workers and foremen in the late 19th and early 20th century—allows for greater analytical purchase on individual agency than is permitted by the extant evidence for workers less empowered by the organization of archaeological labor. Attention to intermediary and go-between figures also recognizes the dynamic complexity and mutually constitutive character of relations between Western archaeological employers and Middle Eastern archaeological workers.[398]

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[396] Mickel 2019, 195.

[397] Scott 1985; Quirke 2010, 29; see also pp. 47, 100-05, 96, 200.

[398] Perhaps useful here is David Mattingly's expansion of Edward Said's notion of "discrepant experience" and contrapunctual readings (Said 1994, 32-33, 51.) to capture heterogenous responses to empire (Mattingly 2011, 29, 213, 216). Irving applies the notion of "relational history," calling attention to the mutually constitutive relationship between the colonizer and the colonized: while recognizing power imbalance, this frame acknowledges agency, however circumscribed, of all actors, as well as multidirectional rather than unidirectional influence (Irving 2017, 224.) See also, Lockman 1993.

Sarah Irving recounts the careers of Yusif "Abu Selim" Khazin and Yusif Khattar Kannan, two Lebanese men who were critical to the archaeological fieldwork operations directed by Frederick Jones Bliss, R.A. Stewart Macalister, and Duncan Mackenzie under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) between 1890 and WWI.[399] Their integrality to this archaeological work took multiple forms, as their roles were expansive: Khazin was an assistant to Bliss, foreman and on-site overseer with financial and administrative responsibilities, and intellectual colleague, though rarely credited, in interpretation and excavation organization decision-making.[400] Kanaan undertook similar roles to Khazin (working, indeed, as Khazin's successor after his death), with the addition at various times of roles of cook and researcher/collector of folklore for PEF research projects. Both were also fixers, amid their formal roles as foreman, serving to guide, translate ("linguistically, culturally, and diplomatically"), negotiate, and facilitate social and financial interactions between the PEF personnel and other Levantine Arabs (both laborers and landowners).[401]

In addition to drawing attention to the biographies and archaeological contributions of Khazin and Kanaan, which flesh out and complicate the history of Levantine archaeology with the presence of individuals, Irving's account offers a few broader conceptual notes. She draws attention to the problem of knowing these men through texts generated by Euro-American male authors: even though these men are not classically "subaltern," the textual evidence for their lives is mediated by the worldviews, judgements, and narrative needs of the British archaeologists, and accordingly our view into their careers and choices is at best partial. However, Irving, implicitly as Shapin suggests, argues that her endeavor can help us "[change]

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[399] Irving 2017.
[400] Irving 2017, 226-28.
[401] Irving 2017, 228-34. See also, for example, Heffron 2020.

who we think of as ‘doing’ archaeology in Palestine, and how they were ‘doing’ it, and contributing to a ‘thicker description’ of Holy Land archaeology which sees it in terms of a diverse and interconnected intellectual environment, rather than as the work of a few ‘great’ (white) men.”[402]

Irving also suggests that Khazin and Kannan’s careers attest to “a continuity of personnel and networks of professionalised and semi-professionalised workers on archaeological sites from the 1890s” in the Levant, as is well-known in Egypt.[403] This broader community of archaeological workers includes manual laborers and craftsmen as well as intermediary figures like Khazin and Kanaan. This suggests to Irving the need to explore the broader social and economic significance of archaeological work in the region, as well as the intersections of archaeological labor with the wider economic conditions of the colonial and imperial contexts.

Attention to individuals such as these two men adds a degree of diversity to narratives regarding regional archaeological labor forces, which too often take the form of a flat depiction of an undifferentiated, nameless mass of local, rural Arab laborers.[404] Indeed, Khazin and Kanaan were both rather “comparatively middle-class […] semi-educated professionals,” Khazin was a Protestant convert, and, as both were originally from Lebanon rather than Palestine, were not strictly local to the environs of the archaeological sites at which they worked.[405] While their relative class status and management positions did not insulate them from economic pressures that circumscribed their career decisions and necessitated some of their international and intraregional employment, their individual trajectories provide richness and greater complexity

[402] Irving 2017, 226.
[403] Irving 2017, 234.
[404] This problem is typified by the conflation of these “two Yusifs” in some discussions, despite the availability of their surnames in the PEF reports (Irving 2017, 225.). See also Quirke (2010, 37-38 ff.) on this anonymity and the use of generic names for workmen in Petrie’s publications and accounts.
[405] Irving 2017, 224-26. Kanaan does seem to have worked as a supervisor at Baalbek in Lebanon, which is still a distance from his hometown of ’Abeih on Mount Lebanon (Irving 2017, 229.)

to these narratives—and to our understanding of historical archaeological practice. Of course, it is problematic that, for the most part, only higher-class actors are able to be discerned as individuals in the archival evidence.

As noted above, attention to the development of a specialized archaeological workforce from the village of Qift, Egypt, and that community's near-monopoly on the position of archaeological foremen in Egyptian archaeology has added complexity to presentations of archaeological labor. Petrie's projects offer an entry point into this narrative, but the broader discussion of the specialized position of archaeological foreman (the *rais* or *reis*), the subject of research by Wendy Doyon, is deeply enmeshed in the broader Egyptian political-economic currents of the late 19th century, its integration into the modern world economy and the replacement of corvée labor with wage labor shifts as part of its shift to industrialized capitalism.[406] Doyon has contextualized the development of the specialized archaeological foremen within analysis of other "labor brokers and go-betweens [who] represent[ed] traditional communities [and] often built new partnerships with foreign capitalists" and represent a sphere of interaction additional to centralized state economies.[407]

Petrie's practice of deliberately recruiting workers from communities not immediately next to a given archaeological site and of separating the locally-hired workforce from their homes by having them live in camps near the site dovetailed with his habit of recruiting experienced excavators from previous seasons of work to be brought to new sites of work, training and overseeing unexperienced local workers. In addition to alienating the most proximate local stakeholders from archaeological heritage (and sometimes potential economic benefit), this mixing of workers of geographical origins and creation of a hierarchy of workers

[406] This frame forms the backdrop of Quirke's account and is foregrounded and explored by Doyon (2015, 2018).
[407] Doyon 2015, 145.

based on experience contributed to Petrie's management strategies of increasing control and reducing resistance (although he understood it as increasing productivity).[408] Another outcome was the development of communities of skilled and specialized, intraregional—and sometimes transregional—archaeological workers, particularly the new class of foremen from Qift.

Petrie, for example, brought a core team of foremen from the Fayuum when he shifted his work south to Amarna in Middle Egypt in 1891; this group included including Ali Suefi of al-Lahun, who became a primary senior foreman on Petrie's and other British excavations for the next thirty years.[409] The community of specialized archaeological workers who came to dominate the industry, however, were from the village of Qift (ancient *Koptos*) in Upper Egypt, with initial members trained in Petrie's excavations there beginning in 1893.[410] The "Quftis" formed a core workforce for the remainder of Petrie's career, while they were also prominently employed on other British and American projects, as Wendy Doyon recounts; this community of specialist foremen from Qift still exists today (some of whom claim descent from those employed by Petrie).[411] Quirke and Doyon have speculated about the role of household connections in Qift in sparking the sudden Qufti monopoly on skilled archaeological labor; this possibility offers a reminder of internal community social dynamics, such as extended family ties or community standing, that were and remain factors in recruitment and employment in archaeological labor in any given community.[412]

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[408] Quirke 2010, 41-42, 90, 92-93, 196-97.
[409] Quirke 2010, 71, 75 ff., 135, 301-02; Doyon 2015, 148.
[410] Quirke 2010, 136-38, 234-52, 58, 70, 303; Sparks 2013, 146-47; Doyon 2015, 2018.
[411] *E.g.,* Rowland 2014. Other communities of archaeological specialists also emerged in other locations. For example, the Sherqati—workers from the village of Sherqat (Assur)—were trained by German archaeologists (e.g., Walter Andrae, Robery Koldeway) at Assur and Babylon and became a community of archaeological workers throughout Iraqi, as well as outside, hired, for example, by Ernst Herzfeld and Enrich Schmidt at Persepolis to train the Zarḥ, a similar "cadre" of Iranian archaeological specialists (Lloyd 1963, 24; Abdi 2011, 139, n. 5.). Golani Druze, such as archaeological workers from the village of Bu'qata, in the Occupied Golan Heights may occupy a similar position in northern Israel; I am not aware of any published literature regarding their specialization.
[412] Pollock 2010, 204-05; Quirke 2010, 235, 301; Doyon 2015, 145, 2018, 180.

As Doyon argues, the Quftis' specialized expertise and careful excavation methods facilitated the shift toward more systematic recording of find contexts in the late 19th century.[413] She draws attention to recording practices on George Reisner's Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Egyptian Expedition projects, which used a bilingual record-keeping system and prompted a broader shift toward archaeological documentation and notetaking as permanent archival resource (rather than aide-mémoire for publication). While the bilingual aspect of this system did not last, as Doyon suggests, likely as part of gatekeeping against broader Egyptian encroachment on archaeological authority between the wars,[414] the role of Quftis was integral in the dissemination of this shift in documentation.

Moreover, their circulation of specialized skills was not confined by Egypt's borders. Petrie, Reisner, Clarence Stanley Fisher,[415] and other European and American archaeologists hired Quftis for work outside of Egypt, in the Levant (Palestine and Syria) and to the south in Sudan. For example, Rachael Sparks outlines Petrie's engagement of Quftis for work in British Mandate Palestine beginning in 1926: seven Quftis came to Palestine that year to undertake skilled work and train local workers for Petrie's excavation at Tell Jemmeh.[416] While his reliance on Quftis in Palestine decreased over the years both as his local Bedouin workforce was trained (and themselves became highly-sought-after excavators) and the services some of the Qufti foremen he employed were poached by other projects, such as at Lachish: both trends attest to the Quftis' roles in spreading archaeological methods through practice and training outside Egypt.

The Quftis on these late 19th and early 20th century excavations occupied a liminal

[413] Doyon 2015, 149, 2018, 182-83.
[414] Doyon 2018, 188.
[415] N.B. Fisher was a member of the Seleucia expedition staff in Fall 1928, Season B. See Appendix.
[416] Sparks 2013, 146-47, 53.

position: as Doyon writes, "[t]hrough their alliances with foreign archaeologists, they fashioned themselves into a class of rural elites with a hybrid identity, which conferred certain rights and privileges that were otherwise unattainable to most rural Egyptians."[417] Boundaries between these groups were guarded: Euro-American archaeologists on a given project typically lived in separate quarters from the Egyptians; within the Egyptian workforce, the Quftis differentiated themselves and were differentiated by the Euro-American employers from low-status, local workers in terms of dress, work conditions, wages, and privileges.[418] Of the already large proportions of field project budgets spent on labor, the Quftis received a far larger portion than other workers.[419]

Like other communities of go-betweens, generally, and archaeological foremen, specifically, the Quftis made themselves critical not only to the act of archaeological labor, but also to the broader operation of archaeological work in the social, political, and economic world of Egypt. In addition to their specialist archaeological knowledge, Doyon identifies the Quftis' "soft skills" as negotiators and brokers as a significant part of their professional impact and status: for example, she writes,

> [t]he special status of the Quftis, relative to peasant wage laborers, was reproduced by foreign investments in the celebrations, travel, and hospitality expenses associated with their work as power brokers because the Quftis' role in negotiations between agricultural and archaeological land use (such as access to *sabakh*, or fertilizer), for example, was key to the legitimacy of archaeological land claims at the time.[420]

Just as Irving suggests for Yusef Khazin and Yusef Kanaan on PEF projects, the Quftis' integrality to the archaeological enterprise was not only located in their specifically

[417] Doyon 2018, 184.
[418] Doyon 2018, 185.
[419] Doyon 2018, 182.
[420] Doyon 2015, 151.

archaeological labor, but also their incorporation of such mediating roles into their work as foremen and archaeological specialists.

Maximillian Georg, in the course of ongoing research on the Egyptian workforce of German excavations in Egypt, 1898-1914, has articulated various practical and ideological reasons that "Egyptology disregard[s] archaeological workers": the perceived and real difficulty of archival evidence for workers; Egyptology's exclusive focus on ancient Egypt, to the exclusion of modern Egypt; Western Egyptologists' low-level Arabic skills; rhetoric that presents modern Egyptians as "unworthy" successors to ancient Egypt and as "destroyers" of antiquity; and long-term structural exclusion of Egyptians from European-based Egyptology.[421] While his research is specific to Egyptian archaeology, these reasons also apply outside of Egypt in a general sense. However, Shapin's call to look more deeply into narrative gap when the technicians are invisible suggests that our investigation of these reasons can be pushed further. As this small body of literature suggests, there is something at stake in recognizing a broader spectrum of participants: authority.

As Quirke observes, Petrie's impetus to include his non-European colleagues in both documentation and publications decreased as his career was increasingly secured. Thus, ironically, as he was increasingly able to depend on his Egyptian workforce due to their specialization and the establishment of his work logistics, his dependence on them decreased textually. This guarded Petrie's authority as the individual archaeologist solely responsible for results. With the recognition that the choices made in fieldwork, "at the trowel's edge,"[422] are acts of interpretation, the decisions of skilled and low-skilled participants in an excavation matter, from interpretation of a feature to recognition and selection of finds offered for

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[421] Georg 2018.
[422] E.g., Hodder 1997; Berggren and Hodder 2003.

bakhshish. All these decisions shape the documentation, the corpora of artifacts, the excavated site, and the interpretations of all three, that are the result of both manual and intellectual labor by multiple parties rather than only individual thought-work. This is not to claim that all contributions and participations in archaeological knowledge production are of the same kind, that they all carry the same weight in shaping data or results.[423] It is not necessary that all contributions are equivalent in kind or scale for them to matter for a variety of issues, including the archaeological knowledge production process and efforts to decolonize disciplinary practice.

Acknowledging a wider degree of interpretive contributors certainly complicates the archaeological data but is necessary. Particularly for historical excavations undertaken less systematically than most fieldwork practices today, without consistent sieving or collection strategies but with the incentives of *bakhshish* skewing collected assemblages toward objects of greater market value and away from context, understanding the lines on which archaeological labor was organized and whose decisions were the originating acts of their artifacts' modern biographies is necessary to understanding what the data mean. Moreover, calls for decolonizing archaeological practice in terms of community-engaged archaeology, community archaeology, and public archaeology ultimately involve calls for co-creation of research programs with stakeholder communities for more ethical archaeological practice. The literature on historical archaeological labor, which acknowledges that the work and decisions of a broader set of archaeological workers matters for the knowledge created, reveals a degree of unequal co-creation in past archaeological practice.

Moreover, the longtime lack of recognition of this co-creation and the persistence of

[423] Indeed, it may be an imposition to assume an interest on the part of some locally-hired workers in being burdened with greater authority or responsibility for further participation in archaeological interpretation, especially without being able to shape research questions and methods. (My thanks to Vishal Khandelwal for the suggestion of the word "imposition.") See, for example, Leighton 2016; Mickel 2021, 36, 124.

archaeological labor practices that alienate and keep invisible local archaeological workers impoverishes archaeological knowledge. Allison Mickel, in her 2020 ethnography of local site workers, *Why Those Who Shovel Are Silent*, shows how the exclusion of local archaeological workers from documentation and from presence in archaeological archives constitutes a massive loss of archaeological knowledge and insight.[424] Mickel conducted ethnographic interviews with locally-hired site workers who participated in excavations (1963-2005) of the Temple of the Winged Lions, Petra, directed by Philip Hammond and at the Çatalhöyük Research Project (1993-2018) directed by an Hodder. Comparing these oral histories to the extensive excavation archives of each respective project through network analysis, she investigates differences and overlaps between site worker and archaeologist knowledge of multiple bodies of knowledge: knowledge about archaeological finds; methodological knowledge; and archaeological interpretations. For the first two categories, knowledge about finds and methodology, she finds that

> the more inclusive organization of labor at Çatalhöyük engendered two very similar bodies of information about the site between the written archive and the site workers' oral history, while the hierarchical system used on the Temple of the Winged Lions project resulted in distinct, complementary sets of knowledge between site workers and the archaeological team.[425]

These analyses indicate that site workers (a) have bodies of archaeological knowledge—expertise—in terms of both content and practice, and (b) for the latter case, the site workers' complementary bodies of knowledge were missing from the archaeological archive.

The data and results regarding archaeological interpretation were more complex. At Çatalhöyük, Mickel found that site workers' interpretations were made from an

[424] Mickel 2021.
[425] Mickel 2021, 76-77.

ethnoarchaeological perspective, stemming from the fact that locally hired workers there are encouraged and financially rewarded (compensated, hired for documentaries) to self-identify as ethnoarchaeological subjects. Her local interlocutors, did, however, engage interpretive processes that

> resemble the practices of knowledge construction used by research team members but that are, importantly, separate and their own. These dialogues and internal thought processes, as well as the hypotheses they produce, represent an archaeological hermeneutic that brings together the specific local knowledge and scientific expertise site workers develop under highly particular labor conditions.[426]

Additionally, Mickel found that, despite inclusive strategies and involvement of local stakeholders in the project, multiple barriers (language; access to laboratory spaces; etc.) persisted to keep site workers out of both conversations and processes of analysis and interpretation outside of the trench. As such, network visualization that linked excavation team members and site workers who discussed the same research questions positioned the site workers at the edge of the networks. At Petra, Mickel found that that site workers' analytical processes, language, and interpretations resembled that of published archaeologists. This did not result, in Mickel's analysis, from the Temple of the Winged Lions project specifically but, rather, stemmed from the total character of Petra's archaeological industry, where year-round and precarious but available employment on excavations meant that workers developed "multi-sited, comprehensive archaeological experience."[427]

At both sites, Mickel encountered disavowal of archaeological expertise among the locally-hired site workers. She labels this "lucrative non-knowledge" and "the economics of simplicity." As noted above, at Çatalhöyük, she writes,

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[426] Mickel 2021, 82.
[427] Mickel 2021, 86.

> [t]he archaeologists themselves, then, by the opportunities they have created for site workers and other local community members, have constructed a site-level economic system that rewards the overt performance of traditionalism. For members of the local community, establishing themselves as ideal ethnoarchaeological subjects has consistently proven an effective means of securing employment and involvement in the project.[428]

At Petra, the highly specialized division of labor, the precarious and often hostile employment conditions that mean showing professionalism—even in the form of certifications of expertise provided by foreign archaeologists—is disadvantageous: in local workers' views, suggesting interpretations, methods, or—more generally—claims to expertise and thus authority were, given labor conditions, a certain route to job insecurity.[429] As Mickel writes, there is a "collective understanding that one should pretend to be less adept, less knowledgeable than he or she really is in order to secure employment" in both the excavation and tourist industry.[430]

Mickel draws strong lines of continuity between archaeological labor management practices of the 19th century and those still implemented today, even on more inclusive projects like at Çatalhöyük. The foundations in colonial practices are reproduced in archaeologist-worker relations even in projects that are decidedly "friendlier" than those a century or more ago and are buttressed in archaeological work by the broader context and ripples of colonial and Orientalist inheritance that works to alienate local Middle Easterners from archaeological knowledge and cultural heritage. Indeed, Mickel finds here the culminating, third stage of Karl Marx's alienation, the alienation from self:

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[428] Mickel 2021, 103.
[429] "Archaeological labor management—the way local community members are hired, fired, paid, and placed on the archaeological site—is one dimension of these colonial effects. In reinforcing either their lack of expertise or their simple, traditional lifestyle, the site workers in both settings make clear that they are aware of how archaeological labor relations are structured, as well as how they can best take advantage of those relations. The most desirable site workers, they have found, are not the ones who declare their profound scientific knowledge or notable skills. It is, in fact, quite the opposite. In disavowing their expertise, locally hired laborers exploit this structure to serve their own interests, even if it means they play into the global hierarchies of value that continue to structure labor management practices in archaeology" (Mickel 2021, 110-11.).
[430] Mickel 2021, 108.

> Site workers in both Petra and Çatalhöyük derive minimal recognition or direct benefit from their intellectual contributions to the scientific enterprise of archaeology. They experience and express a lack of connection not only to the outcomes of that intellectual work—published data sets and analyses—and to the particular activities categorized as scholarly—laboratory work and technical recording—but also to their own identities as contributors to the production of archaeological knowledge. They lay claim instead to only partial aspects of who they are and what they bring to the archaeological research process. They represent themselves as emblems of the past or as passive laborers, not as vital and experienced excavators with privileged insight into artifact assemblages and archaeological methodologies. The labor conditions underpinning the production of archaeological knowledge in the field prevent such a full, holistic articulation of their identities—at least in their interactions with archaeologists.[431]

In the remaining chapters of this dissertation, I turn attention to two groups of largely unacknowledged co-creators of knowledge about ancient Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: first, in Chapters 5 to 7, the Iraqis employed for archaeological labor on the field project and, in Chapter 8, Works Progress Administration employees in Detroit, Michigan (USA), hired to process and prepare the excavated corpus for publication. Given the preceding discussion, I assert that it is ethically and historiographically necessary to spend narrative time and space on these workforces. This task entails a degree of "extraction" *from* the excavation archives as well as observation *about* the archives—about their production, their archiving, their quality of evidence.

I take cues from Quirke's "stratigraphic approach" to the Petrie archives by likewise working through different corpora of published and archival material in order to consider the different intentions, deployments, audiences, and productions of these corpora. In Chapter 5, I address publications: archaeological publications first, then the popular press. In the following two chapters, I turn to archival evidence: archival texts in Chapter 6 and archival photographs in Chapter 7.

My goal cannot be primarily a project of recovery, given the voices and perspectives

[431] Mickel 2021, 109-10.

preserved—or rather, not preserved—in the extant textual and visual sources. It is not possible to counter the "alienation from self" described above by Mickel by turning to the archive. But one can observe the biased scraps of information *and* the processes that left information about the workforce as scraps. At the same time, it is important to recognize individuals wherever possible, even when this attempt makes visible the difficulty of recovery. Thus, Chapter 6 largely consists of a discussion of information pertaining to different individuals who are identifiable in the Seleucia archives.

Finally, before turning toward attention to the locally-hired workforce, however, it is worth clarifying their position in comparison to that of the "staff." I refer to the nonlocal (non-Iraqi) members of the project in official positions on the project as "staff." An Appendix collates lists of the staff members present at each season, supplemented with fuller biographical and professional details as available; a few comments, however, about the staff are worth drawing out here.

While most of the staff members across the six seasons of work were American academics or students, a few longtime staff members' ethnic and citizenship backgrounds are slightly more complicated, characteristic of the complex ethnic landscape of recently Ottoman lands, making it somewhat inaccurate to characterize the project staff as "American" or "European" as I did in the background discussion above. For example, Nicola (Nicholas) Elia Manasseh (Manassa), "a young Syrian Christian,"[432] was a member of the staff for the first five seasons. Born in Acre, Palestine, he was a graduate in engineering from the American University of Beirut and came to the UM expedition from the surveying team at the University of Pennsylvania's excavation at Beisan (Beit She'an).[433] Staff archaeologist Samuel (Shmuel)

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[432] Michigan Alumnus 1928a.
[433] See Appendix for more details and references.

Yeivin, was born in Odessa, then part of the Russian Empire; he became a citizen of Ottoman Palestine upon emigration there as a child. At the time of the Seleucia excavation, he was thus an Eastern European Jewish citizen of Palestine (then under British Mandate); following the creation of the State of Israel, Yeivin served as the first director, from 1948–1961, of its Department of Antiquities (the predecessor of the Israel Antiquities Authority).[434] Olga R. McDowell, the wife of Robert McDowell, worked on the project in various capacities (including as "house manager" and "assistant in photography").[435] She does not appear to have been an American citizen in 1930 or 1940; she was born in Egypt (at Zagazig in Lower Egypt), her parents were born in Czechoslovakia, she grew up in Turkey, and she spoke Arabic, among many other languages.[436] Another significant demographic among the staff were Americans born as expatriates in the Middle East: Robert Harbold McDowell (husband of Olga) was born in Ottoman Syria (Alexandria) to American missionary parents and grew up in Van, Turkey; in the

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[434] Samuel Yeivin, C.V. [undated], KMA/Seleucia 5.8. See also Appendix and references therein.

[435] Waterman 1933a. Copy of letter, Frank E. Robbins to Saty Bey, August 15, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14.

[436] When Waterman, Manasseh, and the McDowells travelled to the US in 1930, the McDowells were "held up" upon entry into the U.S., as Olga McDowell had to go through Ellis Island (Waterman Notebook 7, February 23, 1930). Olga McDowell appears (as does Nicola Manasseh (spelled "Nicolas Manassa") and Robert H. McDowell) in the S.S. Laurentic's 1930 manifest ("List or Manifest of Alien Passengers for the United States Immigration Officer at Port of Arrival"). There, her nationality is given as Czecho-Slovakian, her "Race or people" as "Bohemian," and her place of birth is Zagazig, Egypt; Manasseh's entry nationality of "Gt. Britain" and Palestine, his "Race or people" is listed as Syrian, and his last permanent address is recorded as Damascus. These records (digitized) are available online on the website of The Statue of Liberty—Ellis Island Foundation (https://www.statueofliberty.org/discover/passenger-ship-search/; S.S. Laurentic 1930, ship manifest, frame 793, Lines 1 and 3.) Similar immigration/manifest entries pertaining to her entry to the U.S. in 1931 on the S.S. Nieuw Amsterdam (ship manifest frame 586, line 4—where her nationality is listed as "without") and 1936 on the S.S. Excambion (ship manifest from 48, line 5) are also available on that site. 1930 United States Federal Census: Olga R Mc Dowell in household of Marion Dilliard, Year: 1930; State: Ohio; County: Wayne; Township: Wooster; NARA Publication: T626; NARA Roll: 1888; Enum. District: 35; Sheet: 34-A; Page: 506; Line: 36, accessed through https://records.myheritagelibraryedition.com/research/record-10134-235430752/olga-r-mc-dowell-in-1930-united-states-federal-census ; 1940 United States Federal Census: Olga McDowell in household of Robert H McDowell, Year: 1940; State: Michigan; County: Washtenaw; Township: Ann Arbor; NARA Publication: T0627; NARA Roll: 1823; Enum. District: 81-18; Frame: 581; Page: 7A; Line: 13, accessed through https://records.myheritagelibraryedition.com/research/record-10053-755217489/olga-mcdowell-in-1940-united-states-federal-census. Regarding Olga McDowell as a speaker of Arabic (and additional languages): Anonymous Notebook, Season B, April 20, 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, February 1, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1930; Smeaton 1933, 478, n.3. See additional details (and references therein) about Olga McDowell in the Appendix.

program for his college graduation with an A.B. from the College of Wooster (Ohio) in 1915, his hometown is recorded as "Urumia, Persia."[437] Harry G. Dorman, Jr., who participated briefly in the 1928/29 season and again in the 1930/31 season, was born in Beirut to a fourth generation Protestant missionary family.[438]

Despite the staff's complex cultural backgrounds, the division between staff and local workforce was conceived on lines that were not just professional but were also racial. Yeivin's report following the 1929-1930 season concludes with several recommendations for future seasons: acquisition of numismatic reference volumes for use in the field, chemical cleaning of coins in the field, and that, "if possible, the white staff should be enlarged so that ample provision could be made for office work, recording, and planning of tombs."[439] Iraqi workers (apparently all or mostly Arabs) were distinguished from academic-credentialed staff, who were racialized as "white"; Yeivin, himself Jewish and Odessa-born, included himself and Manasseh, despite the latter's Levantine origin, as part of the "white staff." Was this whiteness rooted in their college education, and class, in their religion (Jewish and Christian, respectively)? In their non-local origin? Such racial categorization matches contemporary racial logic argued in U.S. legal spheres. Though not the last legal case and certainly not consistently reflective of lived experience, Syrians in the U.S. were legally classified as "white persons" eligible for naturalization since the decision of *Dow v. United States* in 1915; significant if unsuccessful arguments at earlier stages of the case had premised Syrians' whiteness on their status as Semites, thus Caucasians, and thus white—like Jews, who were able to be naturalized—as well

[437] College of Wooster 1915.
[438] Personal communication, Peter Dorman; Carrington and Ludvigsen 2011, 10-11.
[439] Samuel Yeivin, "Some Notes on the Work of the Michigan Expedition to Iraq: Season 1929-1930," May 20, 1930, page 30, KMA/Seleucia 3.8.

as their Christianity (dominant in the American Syrian diaspora community).[440] But it is not possible to assume that these particular racial lines were the most pertinent among this group non-Americans and Americans in Iraq.

As discussed above, Petrie maintained divisions between "excavators" (European, skilled) from "laborers" ("native," unskilled) around permissions to record; Yeivin, who trained under Petrie at the excavations of Qau and Badari in Egypt, implies similar practice at Seleucia.[441] This division at Seleucia rested not solely on permissions, but also on actual literacy. As will be discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to a weekly boys' school offered during Seasons D and E, Waterman noted the widespread illiteracy among excavation's neighbors and workforce and registered a desire to increase local literacy to, in part, have "native assistants" who, presumably would be able—and allowed—to record.[442]

But if lines drawn around literacy kept local workers at Seleucia from recording authority, the linguistic skills including and beyond English of *staff* members born in the Middle East meant that their roles as archaeologists were expanded: they additionally acted as translators and fixers. Manasseh and Yeivin were both called on to translate. It is clear from Waterman's director's notebooks (discussed in Chapter 7), that Manasseh in particular undertook much translation "go-between" work, helping to manage relationships with local notable landowners, for example.[443] Olga and Robert McDowell's command of Arabic and other languages also

[440] Gualtieri 2001, 2009, 67 ff. Indeed, a "MENA" (Middle East and North African) racial category was blocked from inclusion in the 2020 U.S. Census by the Trump administration, and, thus, the U.S. Census thus continues to class respondents of MENA origin or descent as "white."
[441] Waterman 1929b, 27. Samuel Yeivin, C.V. [undated], KMA/Seleucia 5.8.
[442] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, November 25, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[443] E.g., "M wrote note & receipt to Mudir in Arabic" (Waterman Notebook 1, March 7, 1928). Another example: Manasseh was summoned by local notable Fakri Jamil regarding cultivation/land use in the mound complex during Season C and subsequently translated a letter back to Fakri Jamil on the issue (Waterman Notebook 5, November 6-7, 1929). Additionally, Waterman records reading Arabic with Manasseh as he practices his Arabic skills: for example, the men read John (New Testament) together during Season A (Waterman Notebook 1, January 24, 1928).

meant that their roles moved beyond the strictly archaeological.

With these details about the division between “staff” and workforce in view, I turn next to the Iraqi excavation workforce as they appeared in print.

Chapter 5 : Working on Seleucia in Iraq: The Published Workforce

5.1 The Workforce in Archaeological Publications

As discussed in Chapter 3, the formal academic publications of the UM expedition to Seleucia make little mention of how or by whom the excavation work was undertaken. The prefaces to the two *Preliminary Report* volumes list the project staff for each of the first five seasons (Seasons A to E), while a short report published in the *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review* offers the same for the final, sixth season of 1936-1937 (Season F).[444] The staff listing in the first *Preliminary Report* includes each staff member's academic credentials, mirroring the inclusion of this information in staff lists submitted to the Iraqi government for Season F (copies of which are archived in the Bentley).[445] None of these staff lists include Iraqi or otherwise locally-hired personnel on the project, save Season F's official representative from the Iraqi Department of Antiquities, Javad Saffar (with the honorific Effendi).

Only a single mention is made in the first *Preliminary Report* of the broader excavation workforce, with no comment with regard to workforce size. This single reference to workmen comes in a description by Robert McDowell regarding the provenance of most of the excavation's coins. He writes:

> Some [coins], perhaps one per cent of the total, have been found in the areas actually under excavation. The rest have been picked up on the surface of the mounds by the Arab workmen as they come and go. It is well to state in this connection that, since the mounds cover an area of several square miles, traversed in all directions by public trails, it is therefore impracticable to attempt to forbid the collection of these surface coins by the Arabs. By accepting them and rewarding the finders the Expedition secures the objects that would otherwise find

[444] Waterman 1931c, v, 1933a, v-vi; Hopkins 1937, 28. See Appendix.
[445] Waterman 1931c, v. Copy of letter, Frank E. Robbins to Saty Bey, August 15, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14.

their way into the hands of dealers.[446]

McDowell thus qualifies most coins as surface finds rather than with excavated archaeological provenience, brought to the project by the local workmen. The project's system of accepting such surface finds into its corpus (and compensating for the finds through the *bakhshish* system) is presented as a way to slow the sale of antiquities. Notably, no mention is made here of Waterman's explicit hiring of local adolescents specifically to collect coins (noted in Chapter 3 and discussed further below). Rather, the acquisition of unexcavated coins is presented as the project's *solution* to purported local habits of collection, not as a deliberate project collection initiative. Only one worker turns up among the few photographs in the volume: unnoted in the caption (merely "Vaulted Tomb"), a boy stands, looking at the camera, offering a physical human scale next to a vaulted tomb in Plate XIII (Figure 5-1).[447]

[446] McDowell 1931, 43.
[447] This photograph is archived in the KMA as C070.

Figure 5-1 Print of photograph C070, KMA

The broader workforce is only mentioned in the foreword of *Second Preliminary Report*: Waterman offers the size of the "field force" in the 1930-1931 season as ranging from "three to four hundred workmen" and in the 1931-1932 season as "var[ying] from 150 to 250."[448] Following similar practice, Clark Hopkins, director of the final 1936-1937 season, notes in his 1937 report that "a force of some two hundred workmen, most of whom had served in previous campaigns was employed."[449] None of these preliminary site publications offer details of the organization of the work (an absence consistent with the general lack of excavation methodology

[448] Waterman 1933a, v-vi.
[449] Hopkins 1937, 29. In *Topography and Architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris*, Hopkins (1972, 119) reports "a force of from 105 to 115 Arab workmen" working at the areas of Temples A and B in 1936-1937, but does not offer comparable numbers for other areas excavated that season. Hopkins 1972.

explanation in these publications, discussed in Chapter 3) or about individual members of the workforce.

Seven photographs published in the *Second Preliminary Report* do, however, depict members of the locally-hired workforce, though the captions acknowledge none of them; no photographs include the "official" staff members.[450]

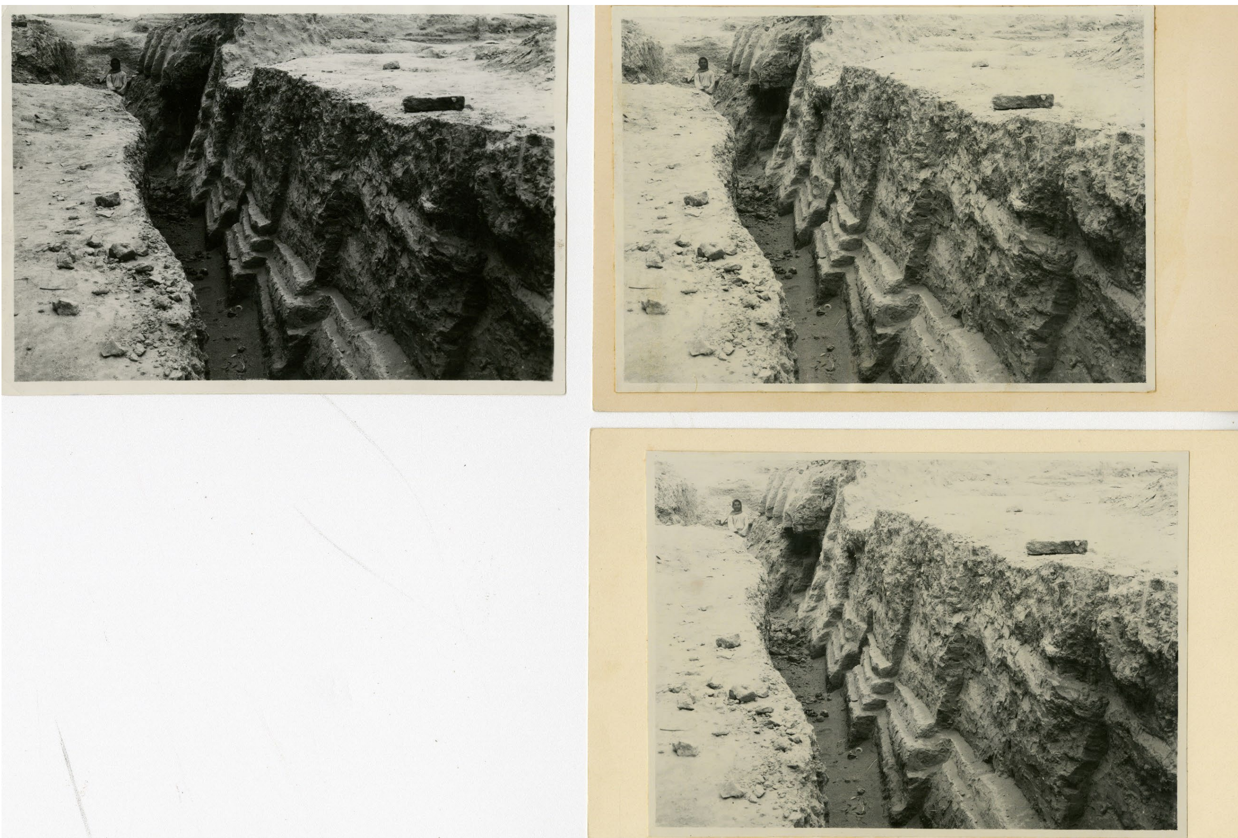

Figure 5-2 Scan of three prints of photograph E028, KMA

A boy stands, hands clasped in front of his body, head covered, at the upper left corner of Plate II, figure 2, far back in a narrow trench that exposes "[t]oothed projections in street walls of Levels II and III" on Street 10, the street that runs along the northeast side of housing block B (G6).[451] The boy is dwarfed by the wall and made tiny by his distance from the camera: his place

[450] Waterman 1933c.
[451] Waterman 1933c, Pl. II, fig. 2 .

in the composition thus suggests an ancient massiveness which overwhelms the modern boy. This photograph is archived in the KMA as E028 (Figure 5-2); the archived captions indicate that the view looks east. The photograph is printed in the published report in high contrast, blotting the boy's face into a dark spot. This contrast is maintained in one print in the KMA archive; the other two archived copies are printed at a lower contrast and, more than the published version, reveal the boy's face looking at the camera, with an expression somewhere between neutral and smiling (Figure 5-3). The variety of contrast levels on offer in the archive are point to a choice made to select a photograph that obscures the boy's face, even though the walls of interest are fairly visible in each level.

Figure 5-3 Cropped detail (upper right) of print (Figure 5-2) of photograph E028, KMA

Figure 5-4 Print of photograph E076, KMA

A man stands between two large brick foundations of a portico in Block B (G6)'s Level III Court 27 (in the "northeastern suite") in the photograph published as Plate IV, figure 2. Facing the camera, arms by his side, the man's eyes are slightly downcast. This photograph, archived as E076, looks north (Figure 5-4). Unmentioned by the caption ("Foundations of portico in Court 27, Level III, looking north") the photograph offers him as a human scale, aiding a viewer's apprehension of the large size of the brick structures next to him.

Figure 5-5 Print of photograph E035, KMA

In the publication's Plate VII, figure 2, a different, young-looking man stands, similarly, at the edge of a courtyard (Court 102 in Block B/G6's "eastern middle suite," in Manasseh's description, in level III) facing the camera, hands by his side, his gaze slightly downcast.[452] He stands next to a pedestaled column, itself encased in a "square shell."[453] Archived in the KMA as E035 (Figure 5-5), this photograph looks south. Just as in the previous photograph, the architectural feature towers over him: the man's human size is used in this photograph to convey the scale of the pedestal and column.

The two photographs on Plate XII capture workers at the margins of both the photographed feature and the photographic image. In figure one, captioned "Court 205, Level II,

[452] Hopkins calls this suite "Section B" (Hopkins 1972, 38-41.)
[453] Manasseh 1933, 13-15.

looking north," the visual frame is mostly filled by the slightly sunken burned brick pavement of Court 205. This figure corresponds to photograph C158 in the KMA archive (Figure 5-6). However, at the upper margin of the image, blurred, almost ghostly workers (perhaps thirteen individuals) can be seen excavating in the next room (presumably corridor 213), some crouched low, some walking.

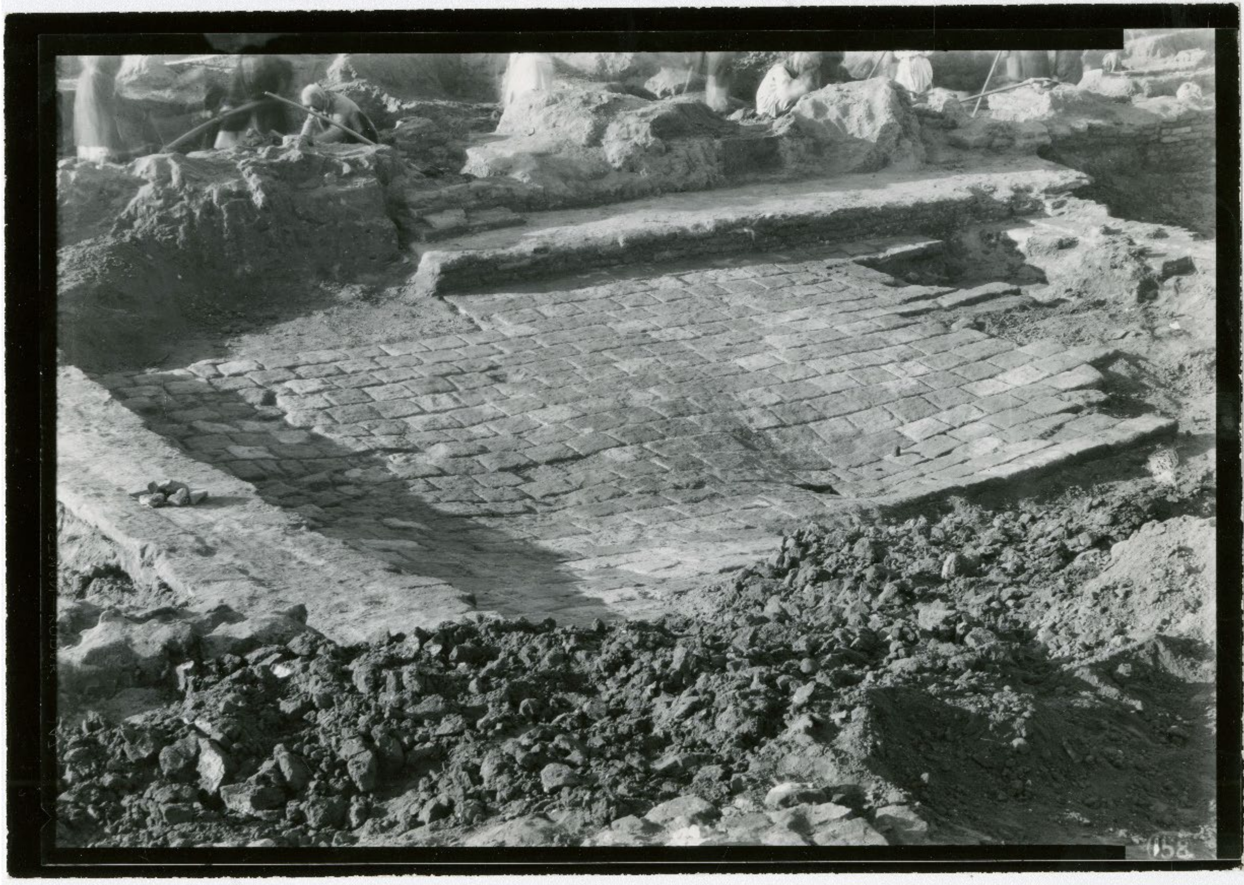

Figure 5-6 Print of photograph C158, KMA.

Blurred workers also appear in the background of figure 2, present in the photograph's upper right corner. This photograph is archived as C162 (Figure 5-7). The caption puts a viewer's attention on the archaeological feature at the center of the photo, a "fire altar in Room 208, Level III, looking south," essentially north of the plate's figure 1. Half of the workers—perhaps three men and two boys—in the photograph's corner are at work, back or side to the

camera. Closer to the camera, three men stand on the baulk or wall between Room 208 and Court 205, oriented toward Room 208, altar, and the camera: one man's torso and head are out of the frame, fragmented by the photograph's edge; one looks at the camera, the lower half of his face covered by his headscarf, a shovel in hand. They give the impression of waiting, of having [been] cleared out of the photographed area for the photograph to be taken.

Figure 5-7 Print of photograph C162, KMA

Similarly, about four men and three boys stand and sit in the upper right corner of figure 2 on Plate XV. Like the first discussed photograph in the *Second Preliminary Report*, the high contrast level reproduced in the publication makes it extremely difficult to make out details of the workers: the workers stand in a sunlit spot, while shadow covers the photographed archaeological feature, bricks of Grave 26 (Room 10, Level I), in the foreground. The high contrast makes the workers fade into the light, while the dark grave is more visible. Between the

four prints, each with varying levels of contrast, archived as photograph C147 in the Kelsey (Figure 5-8; the published Plate XV, figure 2, falls between the contrast level of the lower two prints) however, the workers become visible: one man sits, wrapped entirely in a large light-colored cloak—the photograph was taken in winter, December 19, 1929, according to the photo catalog—staring at the camera; three boys also crouch, eyes on camera. One figure appears to sit in the background, head cut off by the photograph's upper margin; three men stand, one holding a shovel, again, as if waiting.

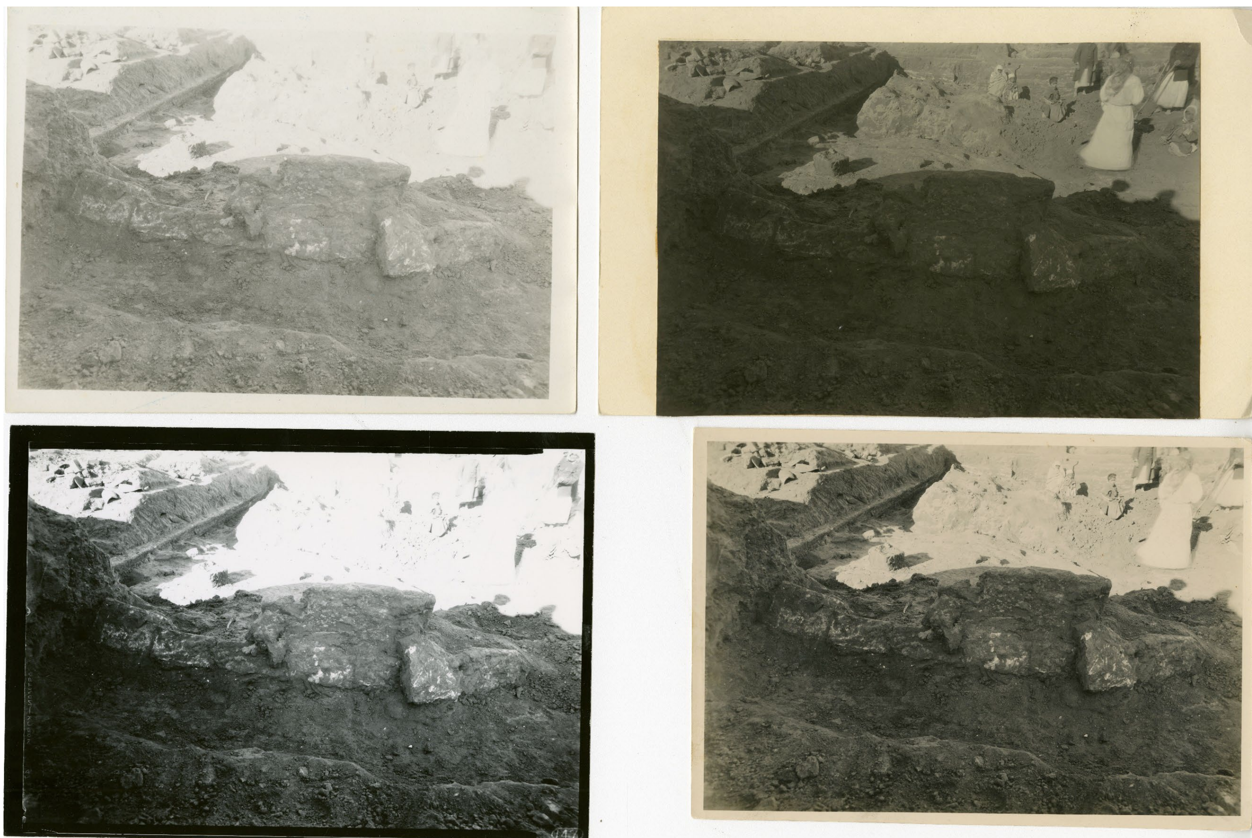

Figure 5-8 Four prints of photograph C147, KMA

The final photograph depicting any members of the excavation force in the *Second Preliminary Report* appears on Plate XX as figure 2. Archived as photograph E014 (Figure 5-9), it shows a young man or boy leaning over a low wall separating cubicle 2 from cubicle 6 in a

tomb, Vault 159 (level II).[454] He holds a brush in his left hand; he looks down across the space of the tomb, not at the camera.

Figure 5-9 Print of photograph E014, KMA

These seven photographs are demonstrative of main tendencies in the Seleucia excavation photography, in which workers are posed as human scales for architectural or archaeological features, appear working in the background of the photographed archaeological feature, or stand to the side of the photograph's focus, as if waiting to resume work after the act of photograph is completed. This topic will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Hopkins' 1972 synthetic volume follows along similar lines when it comes to workers. References to the workforce are rare and, where present, pertain either to workforce size at a given excavation area or to work at that area: both reference types primarily communicate the

[454] Yeivin 1933, 51-53.

fact of "excavation undertaken." Hopkins notes that he largely repeats Waterman's 1933 preliminary report on Tel Umar, recording merely that "work was begun on the tell with a small force" in 1931/32.[455] This thus indicates it was a small operation. Similarly, in comments on the structure Hopkins calls a "theater" on the south side of the city (sometimes also referred to "the Gate" or the "South Gate"), he reports that, in January 1929, "once the identity of the theater had been ascertained, the workmen were transferred to new trial trenches [...] in the hope of locating the position of Babylonian Opis."[456] Thus, the (re)deployment of workmen is used as a shorthand, to indicate the scarcity of resources (workers, time) and the opportunity costs attendant to excavation decision-making. In introducing the residential block called "G6" (after its grid designation), Hopkins again refers to workmen in order to communicate the shifting scale of the block's excavation over four seasons (Season C to F), writing that "the number of workmen employed on the block differed at various times, however, depending on the total size of the labor force and the number and importance of other concurrent excavations."[457] Finally, Hopkins offers numbers of workers—"with a force of from 105 to 115 Arab workman" —employed for the excavations of so-called Temples A and B during the season (F) that he directed, communicating, again, scale of work.[458]

Hopkins' volume is light on photographs: it includes only ten photographs of the site or objects, with an additional reproduction of the RAF aerial photographic mosaic of the site (Plate II) and a photograph of the relief showing Seleucia and Ctesiphon on the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome (Plate IV). Two published photographs capture fleeting presences of local

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[455] Hopkins 1972, 8.
[456] Hopkins 1972, 27.
[457] Hopkins 1972, 28.
[458] Hopkins 1972, 119. Hopkins also describes the post-antique the extraction and reuse of the site's bricks, in specific reference to the structures at so-called Temples A and B, in harsh descriptions of Arabs, referring not to robbing *activities*—a usual archaeological description—but to robbing as an *identity* ("the depredations of the Arabs who robbed the ancient buildings" (120); "The Arabs were thorough robbers" (121)).

workers, both unremarked upon. Hopkins' Figure 10, captioned "Basalt block, pierced," reproduces KMA Seleucia Archive photograph A036, taken February 25, 1928 (Figure 5-10).[459] At the center of the image is a square paving stone with a rectangular hole cut in its center; it is surrounded by a brick pavement. The edge of the excavated area fills the upper third of the image, with piles of loose earth, a baulk, two bundles and some tools at left center—and the blurred lower two-thirds of a local worker in light colored clothing, moving out of the frame at upper right.

Figure 5-10 Print and card of photograph A036, KMA

A second photograph reproduced in the publications offers a slightly cropped version of one discussed above (Figure 5-7) with reference to its inclusion in the *Second Preliminary*

[459] Hopkins 1972, 17, fig. 10. The caption on the archived photograph's accompanying index card reads: "Architecture in situ. Cistern at 2C showing surrounding rounding pavement and stone cover. Stone cover serial No. 668."

Report as Plate XII, figure 2. Appearing as Plate VIII, no. 2 in Hopkins' volume and captioned "Altar with irregular sides," this is archival photograph C162, taken December 26, 1929.[460] Once again, the central irregular brick feature is the subject of the image, but a group of workers are visible in the extreme upper right—at least eight in the uncropped, archived image; around four visible in the small, published image.

Only one of the four 1930s specialist publications of object/material corpora excavated at Seleucia—Parthian ceramics, coins, sealings, and figurines—mentions the excavation workforce, again in reference to the objects published therein.[461] Like McDowell (above), and as noted in Chapter 3, Neilson Debevoise refers in his volume on the site's Parthian pottery to the *bakhshish* system employed to compensate workmen for finds. He writes:

> The majority of objects were reported to a staff member before removal from the ground. Exceptions were made in the case of pot covers and lamps which, owing to their extraordinary numbers, were at once removed and stacked on walls near by. The date, level, find spot, and other pertinent information were written on a piece of paper by the staff member and placed with the object, and at the same time a slip of paper was also given to the workman, with a notation of the amount of baksheesh he was to receive. No reward was given for objects broken by the workmen. This baksheesh was paid not only to prevent leakage of material to neighboring antiquity markets in Baghdad, but also to keep the men in good spirits, for the Arab, who is an inveterate gambler, loves anything in the nature of a lottery.[462]

This description, obviously, communicates a racist caricature of Arabs as justification for this incentivization scheme, one that activates Orientalist tropes rather than imagine that the workmen could be incentivized in terms similar to those as the archaeologists on staff, by an interest in recovery objects (rather than luck or money) or by archaeological knowledge. As

[460] Hopkins 1972, 117, Plate VIII no. 2. The archival caption in the KMA reads "Brick altar fireplace R. 208" though one of the four prints of the photograph in the archive reads "24. Fire altar in Room III 208, looking south"—this caption matches that published with the photograph in the *Second Preliminary Report* (Waterman 1933c, Pl. XII, fig. 2.) Hopkins (1972, 88-91) discusses this feature (and Nicola Manasseh's interpretation in the *Second Preliminary Report)*.
[461] Debevoise 1934; McDowell 1935a, 1935b; van Ingen 1939.
[462] Debevoise 1934, 10-11.

noted in the first part of this chapter, the *bakhshish* system was commonly on Middle Eastern archaeological projects; Petrie, for example, advised implementing such a system in order to encourage "honesty" and careful observation and digging to avoid breaking portable antiquities ("when giving *bakhshish* on a broken thing, it is well to say how much more would have been given had it been perfect").[463]

Additionally, and as noted with regard to this passage in Chapter 3, Debevoise's description also sheds light on the value placed on *whole* objects. In the context of this discussion of archaeological labor, we can specifically see that workers were incentivized, financially, to recover whole objects and by extension, to devalue broken objects. Debevoise does not clarify whether objects with ancient, rather than fresh, breaks were compensated. The fact that this system apparently worked allows us to understand that the workmen, too, accurately understood what the project wanted of them. As Mickel writes with reference to her interlocutors at Çatalhöyük and Petra, "site workers […] make clear that they are aware of how archaeological labor relations are structured, as well as how they can best take advantage of those relations."[464] Finally, we can also see in Debevoise's description persistence of the strong demarcation, noted in Chapter 4, between literacy-employing staff member and non-recording worker.

In addition to this racist caricature, a single individual worker, unnamed and nearly unremarked upon, appears in this volume, in one of two in situ field photographs included as figures (the other figures and plates illustrate objects through line drawings or typical object photography, with pots isolated against a neutral ground). Debevoise' Figure 8, placed within the pottery catalogue itself, just below an entry for an unglazed pilgrim flask found in proximity to the captioned subject, is a cropped detail of a photograph taken in February 1932 (Figure

[463] Petrie 1904, 33-35.
[464] Mickel 2021, 110.

5-11)[465]; the published caption reads merely "Pottery kiln."[466]

Figure 5-11 Print of photograph E106, KMA

[465] KMA, Seleucia E106. The caption for the archived photograph reads, "III R. 34. Looking S.E. showing pottery kiln."

[466] Debevoise 1934, 104, fig. 8. This kiln is discussed elsewhere in the volume (Debevoise 1934, 14) and by Hopkins (1972, 37-38): the kiln itself, an "elongated horseshoe" shape with high clay sides, was cleaned out but in the same room were found 25 kiln spurs (spacers) and six unglazed pilgrim flasks.

Indeed, an excavated pottery kiln is visible at the center of the photograph; the photograph is taken from above, with the camera looking down into the excavated room. While the photograph's stated subject is the kiln, just to the left of the kiln sits a young man, oriented toward the camera, face slightly downcast, knees tucked up to chest and hands joined in front of his knees; balanced on the baulk to the right of the kiln is a large jar sherd painted with the room identifier ("III 34"). This young man, despite being excluded from the caption, is referred to in a footnote in the volume's third chapter ("Technique and Types of Pottery") under a discussion of "Ancient Ceramic Technique at Seleucia." In a general description of kiln types and ceramic firing, Debevoise describes the three-pronged clay spurs used to separate vessels in a kiln during the firing process. A footnote to this explanation points the reader to this photograph, noting "[j]ust to the right of the boy, above and behind the kiln, are a pile of spurs and lumps of clay used as separators."[467] The following paragraph describes the depicted kiln specifically but does not refer to the photograph. The footnote's reference to this "boy" is occasioned by a need to direct a reader's eyes to the firing accessories visible in the photograph. Treated as merely a feature of orientation, this young worker's presence is implied to be unnecessary to explain. As we shall see, this is common in the captions given to unpublished field photographs as well. That he offers a human scale to the kiln, in addition to acting as a visual topographic marker, suggests a presentation of workers as part of the excavation furniture.

5.2 The Workforce in the Popular/News Press

The excavating workforce is also largely absent from press articles concerning the UM Seleucia expedition. With a few exceptions, the press reporting mentions the size of the excavation workforce in order to communicate scale of work; occasional uses of photographs

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[467] Debevoise 1934, 14, fn.1.

also visually attest to the locally-hired workers.

My discussion of press representations of the Seleucia Expedition is not exhaustive, limited as it is to articles discoverable digitally (digitized, indexed, and/or accessible freely or through library subscription) or clipped and retained physically in the archive. Nevertheless, I submit that this discussion offers a reliable sampling of how the expedition was portrayed in the popular, news press. A number of newspaper articles referring to Seleucia are Associated Press (AP) or United Press wire stories: as such, they are essentially the same articles, variously abridged.[468] The headlines, information, and framing echo even when the articles are not explicitly denoted as wire pieces, clearly responding to the same university or museum press releases, lectures, or articles in other news outlets.[469] Sometimes these notices reflect letters sent as field reports to university administrators and released by the university; these were sent principally to Dr. Frank E. Robbins as Executive Secretary of the University of Michigan's Institute for Archaeological Research (I.A.R.).[470]

And, indeed, there was an attempt to publicize the project actively through the Associated Press (AP). In 1931, during the fifth season of fieldwork, Robbins wrote to Leroy Waterman in

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[468] E.g., Ann Arbor Daily News 1931b; Associated Press 1931d, 1931b, 1931c, 1931e, 1931a; Oliver 1931. N.B. Merle Oliver was an AP correspondent.

[469] For example, two copies of an undated official statement—"For Immediate Release" —"University Archaeological Expedition Uses Airplane for Study" by Wilfred B. Shaw—from the University of Michigan News Dissemination Service are extant in Waterman's papers (Bentley/Waterman Box 4, "Newspaper clippings re archeological expeditions" Folders 2 and 3). As this statement is undated and its internal contents can only offer a terminus post quem of January 1930: the details about the size of the city blocks appear in Waterman's letters as early as October 1929 (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, October 11, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian), and the press release refers to the parchments found at the site in January 1930 (Waterman Notebook 6, January 5, 1930; see further references to letters in footnotes in Chapter 6, Section 6.2.2 Other Individuals in the Workforce), so postdate that find at least—it cannot be definitely connected to a flurry of AP pieces about the use of aerial photography at Seleucia in April 1932 (Associated Press 1932g, 1932h, 1932f; Battle Creek Enquirer 1932a.) Indeed, these AP pieces may respond to Robert McDowell's paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, reported in the *Michigan Daily* on March 19, 1932—or to that article itself (Michigan Daily 1932a.), but even these are suggestive of the press dissemination.

[470] For example, information mined from "a report released […] by Dr. Frank E. Robbins, assistant to the President" (Michigan Daily 1937b.). Robbins was assistant to the university president, Executive Secretary of UM's Institute of Archaeological Research (the unit with oversight for the excavation), and formerly a professor of Greek.

the field, asking Waterman if he would consider offering some photographs and bulletins to be passed to the Associated Press.[471] Robbins noted that he had been talking to an AP correspondent, Merle Oliver, who had flagged the "beneficial" relationship between the AP and the University of Pennsylvania's archaeological expeditions, and that "it would be generally helpful to us to secure the sort of nation wide publicity that the Associated Press could give us." Waterman replied in the affirmative, responding, "I think the arrangement you propose with the Associated press is a very admirable one, and I shall be glad to co-operate in every way."[472]

In addition to this enthusiasm for reaching nationwide audiences through the AP, Waterman periodically submitted pieces to various news outlets in the hopes they would be picked up. Aside from a dramatic, narrative account of a car convoy journey from Damascus to Baghdad published in the *Michigan Daily*,[473] Waterman also noted in his letters to TMA director Blake-More Godwin that he was preparing or submitting illustrated articles to the *New York Times* and the *Illustrated London News*.[474] I have not found an article in the *New York Times* that matches his description, but his submission about excavated jewelry in November 1930 to the *Illustrated London News* was published in February 1932.[475]

5.2.1 University of Michigan Publications

In the student-run university newspaper, the *Michigan Daily*, of the 32 articles reporting on the Seleucia expedition published between 1928 and 1939,[476] only six make any mention of

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[471] Copy of Letter, Frank E. Robbins to Leroy Waterman, November 24, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1.
[472] Waterman to Robbins, December 31, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1.
[473] Waterman 1929a. A manuscript is extant in the Waterman Papers (Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928), as is a letter from Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, in which he acknowledges that her previous letter contained notice that the "Desert Log" was published (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 5, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1929).
[474] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 2, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 22, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[475] Illustrated London News 1932.
[476] Michigan Daily 1928b, 1928c, 1928a, 1929b, 1929a; Waterman 1929a; Michigan Daily 1930c, 1930b, 1930a, 1931a, 1931c; Arnheim 1932; Michigan Daily 1932d, 1932a, 1932c, 1932b, 1933; Holden 1934a, 1934b; Michigan

the excavating workforce at Seleucia. One additional article mentions not the Seleucia workforce but recounts Waterman's training experiences prior to beginning his own project as including his supervision of "the Arab diggers" at the Harvard-Baghdad School Expedition of Yorgan Tepe/Nuzi near Tarkalan (itself near Kirkuk) directed by Edward Chiera.[477] While not covering the entire sum of Waterman's archaeological fieldwork crash course,[478] this description is rather odd in presenting Waterman's supervision of Arab workmen in the field as novel, given that this experience directly preceded the commencement of Waterman's own excavation, i.e., his assumption of "charge" of an excavation, including both a staff and a local Arab workforce, however few in quantity both sets of personnel might be.

The six *Michigan Daily* references to excavation workers at Seleucia are nearly confined to noting the size of the workforce. Thus, we hear that in the first season (1927-28), "[t]o carry on his work, Professor Waterman commanded a force from 25 to 75 men, all native Arabs. Ordinarily, one man was employed to do the digging and two or three boys carried off the material excavated."[479] Prior to the beginning of the second season, the *Michigan Daily* reported that an increase in workforce was expected: "The investigator expects to have a minimum staff of 125 native workmen, as contrasted with the maximum of 75 men that he used last year."[480] This increase was confirmed following the second season with the report that "[b]etween 100

Daily 1936b, 1936a, 1936d, 1936c, 1937a, 1937b; Bergstresser 1938; Michigan Daily 1938; Nashold 1938; Michigan Daily 1939.

[477] "For six weeks he was with Dr. Chiera of a Harvard expedition near Kirkuk, where he familiarized himself with the Arabic vernacular, the methods for caring for and recording objects of value found, and for some time was in charge of the Arab diggers." (Michigan Daily 1928a.)

[478] In addition to visiting various sites and working under Edward Chiera at Tarkalan near Kirkuk in late November and December 1927, Waterman also joined the University of Chicago expedition at Megiddo and the University of Pennsylvania expedition at Beisan for 10 days each, all while holding the Annual Professorship at the American School of Oriental Research at Baghdad for the 1927-28 academic year (Barton 1928b, 17-18, 1928a.). Waterman's correspondence to his family from this fieldwork tour can be found in Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927.

[479] Michigan Daily 1928b.

[480] Michigan Daily 1928c.

and 150 peasants were employed by the excavation last winter to do the actual digging."[481] In an article about the fourth season of excavation (1930/31), the workforce—not specified as "native" or "Arab," contrary to the usual habit—is again invoked to communicate the scale of the labor with a little more scene-setting drama:

> Under a blazing tropical sun, in the area between the Tigris and Euphrates, 300 men of the Michigan-Toledo-Cleveland archaeological expedition, under the direction of Prof. Leroy Waterman of the department of oriental languages and literatures, are constantly at work uncovering the remnants of an ancient day.[482]

Two articles on the final season (1936-1937) also use the size of the workforce to convey the scale of the operation, reporting in one instance that "Dr. McDowell and five other men direct the 200 Arab workers and native foremen,"[483] and, in another that, "[b]etween 200 and 300 workmen, divided into various site groups under eight or ten overseers, have been unearthing this evidence now for many years."[484]

Two of three articles about the Seleucia expedition published in the *Michigan Journalist*, the "laboratory" publication of the University of Michigan Department of Journalism refer to the size of excavation workforce.[485] In a feature published in March 1929, journalist M.G.C. wrote that Waterman

> has a staff of three men. Two of these are Dr. Clarence Fisher, an American archaeologist, and R.H. McDowell, an American college man who is at the site now. Between September and March, the staff employes [sic] between one hundred and two hundred workmen.[486]

Curiously omitting the other Season B staff member (and, perhaps not incidentally, a non-

[481] Michigan Daily 1929b.
[482] Michigan Daily 1930a.
[483] Michigan Daily 1937a.
[484] Bergstresser 1938.
[485] These articles were found as newspaper clippings in the Waterman Papers archived in the Bentley Historical Library. These are not digitized or indexed, and I have not been able to examine the publication on microfilm. Nevertheless, these two articles conform to the broader press practice and likely are reflective of any other articles about the Seleucia dig that might have been published. A. 1929; C. 1929; Brown 1931.
[486] C. 1929. In Bentley/Waterman Box 4, Newspaper clippings re archeological expeditions Folder 3.

American), Nicola Manasseh, M.G.C.'s reference to the workforce is one concerned with scale. Two years later, Charles Brown reported in the *Michigan Journalist* that, "[a]s a result of the augmented force of workers, numbering 300 native Arab laborers and nine staff-members, the objects unearthed this season number about 4,000, or twice the number yet brought to light in a single season."[487] Here the increased workforce size is given explanatory power, for the larger scale of work is implied to translate directly into higher object recovery numbers. Thus, once again, workforce connotes scale.

The five features publicizing the Seleucia excavation in the *Michigan Alumnus*,[488] the magazine of the Alumni Association of the University of Michigan, dedicate more attention than do the newspaper reports to archaeological workers and those living around the archaeological site, with such details largely offering exotic or novel local "color" to accounts of the excavation and results. In an initial announcement of the project, the unnamed author refers to Waterman's preparations to begin his project, noting that in addition to visiting active excavations in Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, he spent "six weeks with Dr. Chiera and the Harvard expedition near Kirkuk [Iraq], where he has not only had excellent opportunities to become familiar with the Arabic vernacular, the methods of caring for and recording objects of value discovered, but has also been, at times, in actual charge of the Arab diggers."[489] Much of the article directly echoes the *Michigan Daily* article of February 1928 noted above, with little variation in diction ("has also been, at times, in actual charge of the Arab diggers," rather than "for some time was in charge of the Arab diggers"), pointing to their likely common source in a communique, likely a university press release derived from a letter sent by Waterman.

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[487] Brown 1931. Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Biographical Newspaper Clipping file (2).
[488] Michigan Alumnus 1928b, 1928a, 1929, 1930; Smeaton 1933.
[489] Michigan Alumnus 1928a.

Reporting on the results of that first season, a feature in the *Michigan Alumnus* once again echoed nearly the exact same phrasing used by the *Michigan Daily* to describe the workforce size and labor organization: "To carry on the work, Professor Waterman had at his command a force of from 25 to 75 workmen, all native Arabs. Ordinarily, one man was employed to do the digging and two or three boys to carry off the material excavated."[490] This feature was splashier than the newspaper report: the magazine version reproduced multiple photographs, including several not extant in the KMA archive, bringing scenes of archaeological work to University of Michigan alumni audiences. The first photograph is not extant in the KMA archive. With the caption, "Arab Foreman with Staff of Office. The Jars Were Found in the Old Bath," it shows a man, standing by a row of eight excavated jars, laid on their sides. In the background are at least three men; the photograph's resolution makes it difficult to identify their activities. One appears to shield his eyes from the sun and look at the camera.

The feature is also illustrated with a group photograph of the workforce (also absent from the KMA archive), captioned "THE EXPEDITION'S FORCE OF WORKMEN: Arab Diggers and Basket Boys." Men and boys—about 56 individuals—although the grey scale and grainy resolution of the reprinted photograph obscure faces and make it hard to count exactly—stand and sit in four rows, many holding shovels. Next to this group photo is another photograph of Iraqis, captioned "PROFESSOR WATERMAN'S PERSONAL GUARD: A Bedouin, His Family and Home on the Banks of the Tigris." A man stands in the photograph's center, flanked by a horse and a small child. Two figures, possibly women, appear in the lower left of the image, backs to camera; another person seems present, seated, further back at left. Livestock eat at right; a tent is visible in the upper part of the photograph, and the Tigris at the upper right. Is this

[490] Michigan Alumnus 1928b, 794.

Hashim (discussed below), the excavation's guard during Season A? On current evidence, it is impossible to know.

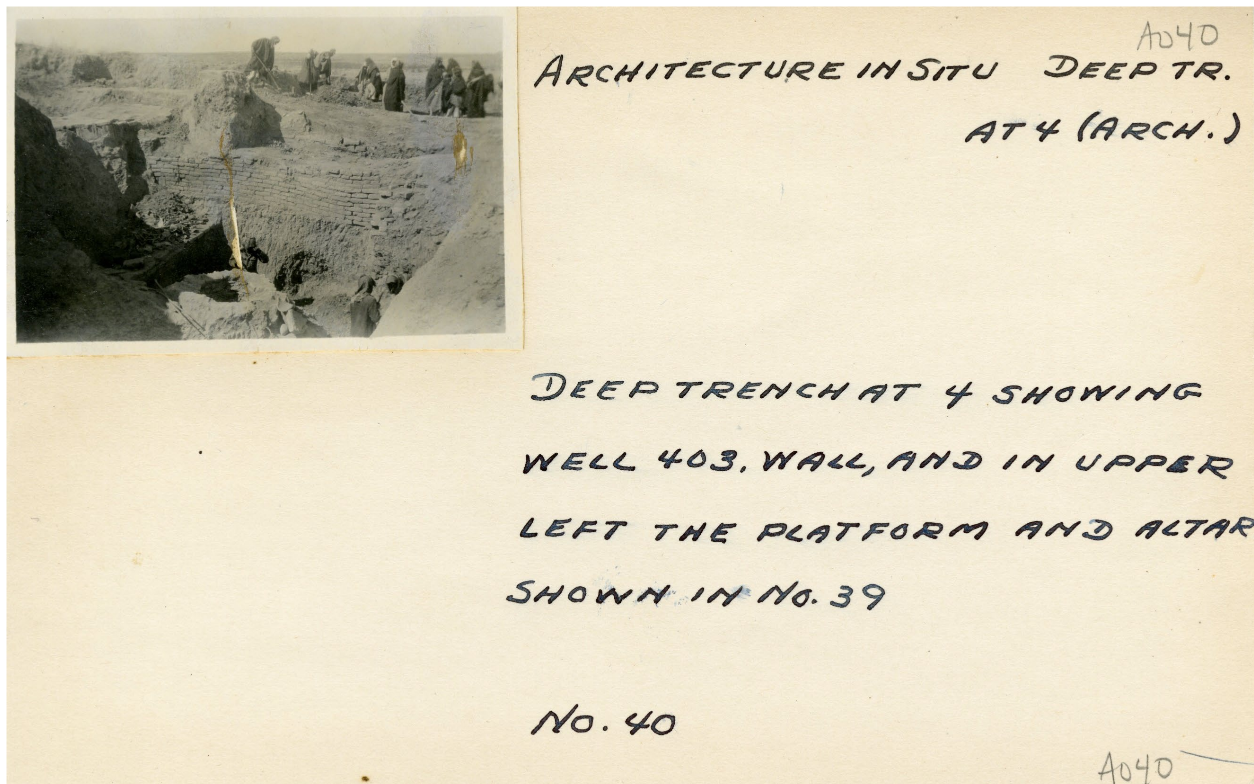

Figure 5-12 Print and card of photograph A040, KMA

The final two photographs in the feature showing the workforce can be found in the KMA archive. One, archived at the KMA as A040 (Figure 5-12), that shows about 15 locally-hired workers excavating, according to the archival captions, a "deep trench at 4."[491] About 12 men work at ground level in the upper third of the photo, with a large mudbrick wall exposed below them; in the bottom third of the photograph, three men work in a deep trench, with a well in the foreground. The magazine caption, however, does not specifically mention the men at work; rather, it draws attention to the archaeological remains: "The Main Excavation, showing

[491] Trial Trench 4, later published as the "Seleucid Heroon" (Manasseh 1931, 12-13; Hopkins 1972, 20.) The archival caption, with its identification of the platform and altar in the left of the image, places this in the northeast portion of the court.

Greco-Roman wall and a Well of a Much Older Period.”

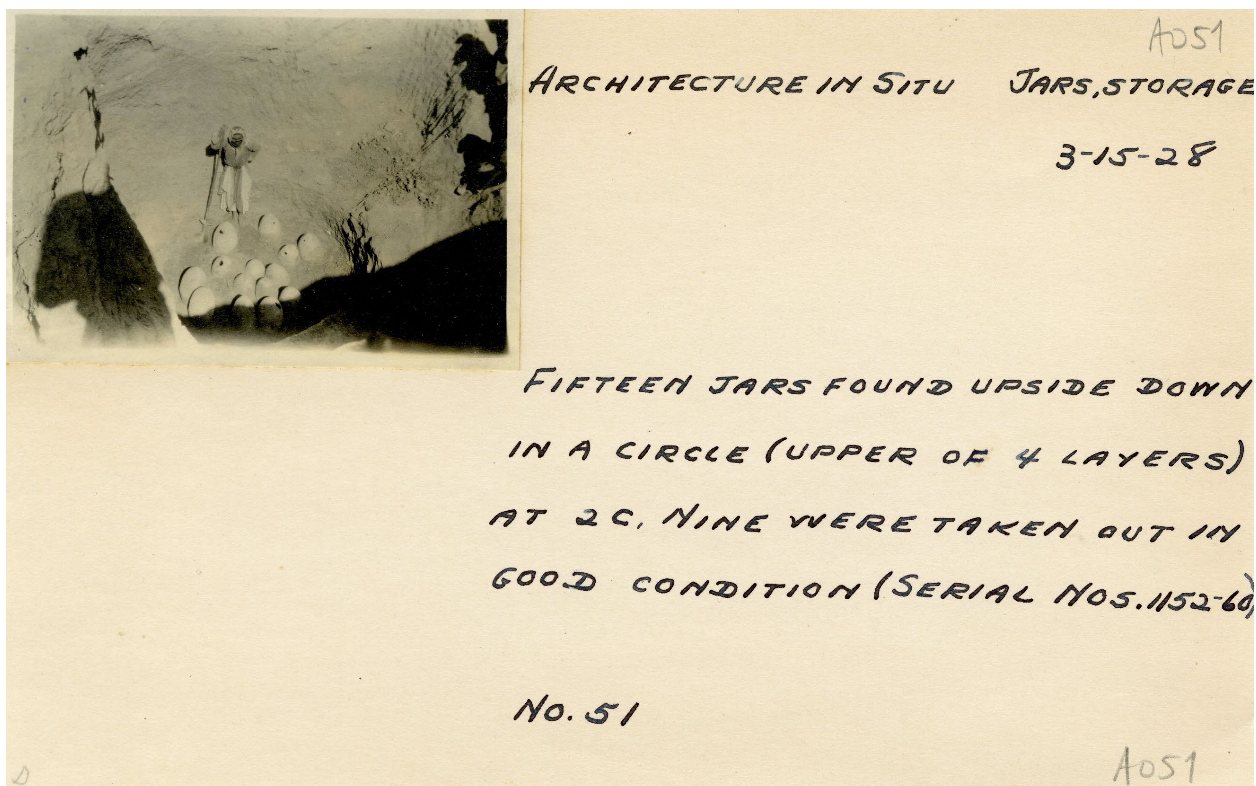

Figure 5-13 Print and card of photograph A051, KMA

Additionally, a cropped version of the photograph archived as A051 (Figure 5-13) is captioned “JARS USED FOR DRAINAGE Purposes Found Under the Bath Show in the Picture of the Greco-Roman Bath.”[492] The camera looks down into a trench, capturing a man who stands in the excavated area, propping up a shovel with his right hand and his left hand akimbo on his waist; his face is downturned and his body tipped forward as he gazes down at a group of in situ jars. His posture is one of inspection or waiting. The photograph as published is cropped as to focus a reader’s gaze on the man: the jars are in the bottom half of the photo, while he is located just left of center. As cropped and in print resolution, the dirt of the unexcavated elevation behind him turns into a nearly neutral ground: his pose and orientation then guide the viewer to

[492] This drain is discussed in the site’s preliminary and topographic reports. Manasseh 1931, 9-11; Hopkins 1972, 16.

the jars. In addition to these photographs, a formal portrait photograph of Leroy Waterman also illustrates the article, as do a few landscape and object images, but the workforce is not visible in these.

Following the second season of work (1928-1929), the *Michigan Alumnus* again presented Iraqis engaged with the project with a sense of novelty, focusing in particular on semi-nomadic qualities of life around the site. This 1929 article opens with a rather arch description of a "bedouin peasant" who relocated closer to the excavation to facilitate the project's rental of his horse.[493] With this anecdote, the magazine writer further characterizes the hired workforce as about 100 to 150 "semi-nomadic" "peasants," "hard workers and willing," eager for the "novelty" of work offered by the project.[494]

Such an interest in "quaint" local cultural description, again framed in lightly comical tones, is again visible in the reporting on the third excavation season. In a 1930 piece reporting dispatches from both UM excavations at Seleucia and at Karanis in Egypt's Fayuum, the *Michigan Alumnus* focused on exotic details from both sites, including characterizing Iraqis (not necessarily workmen) around the project explicitly as "unsophisticated" in the face of modern technologies from Michigan (and referring to an Egyptian specialist in snake removal at the Fayuum project in Egypt as an "Egyptian St. Patrick"). It reported a letter recounting the Seleucia team's use of a donated Ford car:

Professor Waterman sang the praises of the new Ford in no measured terms. This

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[493] "If you have a horse to rent and the man who wants to rent it lives too far away, just move yourself. That is the simple solution of an economic problem which faced a bedouin peasant when Professor Leroy Waterman of the Semetics [sic] department, who has been carrying on some important excavations south of Baghdad wanted to rent his horse for use at the "Mounds." The peasant picked up his tent, grunted to his wife that they were going to move and by night had established his household some seven or eight miles away." (Michigan Alumnus 1929, 479.)

[494] "Between one hundred and a hundred fifty of these peasants were employed by the expedition during the last winter—hard workers and willing. Work is rather a novelty for the semi-nomadic tribes who do the digging, and the thirty cents a day they earn is even more so. So unusual was this income that a barbarian desert tribe of marauders, hearing of the number of men at work in the small village near the "Mounds" attacked the village and pillaged the family sugar bowls for the meagre savings." (Michigan Alumnus 1929, 479.)

> machine was the gift of Henry Ford, D. Eng. (Hon.) '26, to the Michigan Expedition. Mr. Waterman reports that certain unsophisticated inhabitants of the region near Baghdad mistook the Michigan-Toledo Expedition's Ford for the vehicle of royalty![495]

The locals are thus presented as a naïve foil to the literal gifts of modern industrial Detroit; the later press reporting on the WPA project, described in Chapter 8, likewise delight in juxtaposing modern industrial Detroit with archaeological impressions.

The magazine's final feature about Seleucia offers more details about Iraqis who resided around the site. Winifred Smeaton (later Smeaton Thomas), a Michigan graduate, contributed a lively first-person account of a brief visit to the site in 1933 to the *Michigan Alumnus*. At the time, she was living in Baghdad, engaged in ethnographic research on Iraqi women. The excavation was on hiatus that year, due to the Great Depression's repercussions on funding. Despite the lack of an active excavation, English Baghdad resident and the project's photographer, William C. Bellingham, met Smeaton by Taq-i Kisra (the Sasanian Arch of Ctesiphon across the Tigris from Seleucia), to bring her and her two companions to Seleucia. Smeaton was accompanied on this weekend trip by a friend, a Syrian schoolteacher in Baghdad named Eleanor, and a nine-year-old boy named Nizar, the son of Iraq politician Ali Jawdat ("Ali Jaudet Bey, Court Chamberlain to the King Faisal of Iraq"), with whose family Smeaton lived in Baghdad for three years. At Taq-I Kisra, they also met one of the guards from Seleucia, a young man named Hamza ("a very nice-looking rather young chap, with a blond moustache and light eyes, dressed in a striped white zibun (long robe) with a jacket of figured Persian design (also a white background), 'aba and kufiyah"). Once on the western side of the river, they visited and lunched with Hamza's extended family. She writes,

> All these people are of the same tribe; they had not always lived in that place and cultivated the soil, but moved from Ramadi on the Euphrates about 10 or 12 years

[495] Michigan Alumnus 1930, 272.

> ago. They own horses, sheep and goats, and they grow wheat on the land belonging to the concession of the University of Michigan.[496]

They meet another site guard, Abbas, a cousin of Hamza, along with some of his family members, as they head to the dig house. Whether or not these guards belong to the same community as the excavation workforce is likely but not explicitly stated. Smeaton's account evinces her ethnographic interests, conveyed in a breezy, curiosity-inflected travelogue tone.

5.2.2 Ann Arbor and Detroit Press

A similar picture holds in the local Ann Arbor press, in a more limited fashion. Only two of eleven articles about the excavation published in either the *Ann Arbor Daily News* or the *Ann Arbor News* between 1928 and 1938 contain references to a local workforce.[497] One article, entitled "University Archaeologists Find Beautiful Jewels in Seleucia," in the *Ann Arbor Daily News* is consonant with the *Michigan Daily* references to workforce size, reporting in June 1931 that "[t]he expedition consists of a staff of nine men, directing 300 to 400 natives."[498]

[496] Smeaton 1933.
[497] Ann Arbor Daily News 1928, 1929, 1931b, 1931a, 1932, 1936a, 1936b; Ann Arbor News 1937a, 1937d, 1937b, 1937c.
[498] Ann Arbor Daily News 1931b.

Figure 5-14 Print and card of photograph F015, KMA

By contrast, a 1937 feature in *The Ann Arbor News* does not refer to the workforce in the article body, but, rather, prints photographs depicting workers, clearly supplied by the project (and extant in the Kelsey Museum archive).[499] In addition to a staff photograph that includes Javad Saffar, the representative from the Iraqi Department of Antiquities (Figure 5-14, archived at the KMA as F015 and F016), another photograph (Figure 5-15, archived at the KMA as F022) shows the excavation underway, accompanied by the caption, “A view of part of the area being excavated at Tel-Umar, Iraq, site of ancient Seleucia, showing the forecourt of a temple being uncovered. Digging operations will close next month.” In the photograph are visible, from a distance, more than fifty workers engaged over a large excavation area, divided by rails and six

[499] Ann Arbor News 1937b.

railway carts.

Figure 5-15 Print of photograph F022, KMA

The third photograph (Figure 5-16, archived at the KMA as F008) shows a large open excavation area (a residential block). In the middle ground of the photograph sits a young Iraqi man in profile, oriented perpendicular to the camera, with a brush in hand; the photograph is captioned,

> A native worker views a water channel and a well uncovered in a room by the Michigan archaeological expedition. A number of objects, such as coins, pieces of pottery and figurines have been found.[500]

He is the only person in the photograph, clearly intentionally situated, likely in order to offer human scale while other members of the staff and workforce have been evacuated from the

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[500] Ann Arbor News 1937b.

excavation area for the photograph.

Figure 5-16 Print of photograph F008, KMA

Of seven articles in the *Detroit Free Press* published between 1928 and 1936 to discuss the Seleucia excavation in any detail,[501] only one mentions the excavation workforce or the excavation process. In a highly sensational, color-illustrated spread in the December 7, 1930, Sunday edition, entitled "Science Finds a Slave of Babylon Buried Alive Up to His Neck in Mortar," the description of the excavation notes that "[a] staff of nine noted archaeological

[501] That is, excluding notices of exhibitions, donations, or University of Michigan administrative developments (the establishment of the Institute of Archaeological Research). Taylor 1928; Associated Press 1930e; Detroit Free Press 1930, 1932b, 1932a, 1933, 1936.

experts and a crew of 250 native laborers are engaged in the project."[502]

Another feature in the *Detroit Free Press* includes the excavation in a discussion of University of Michigan research in "Far-Flung Outposts." While the workforce is not mentioned in the article text, among its illustrative graphics are two photographs of people at Seleucia.[503] The first photograph, depicting four Iraqi boys, is not extant in the Kelsey archive. It is captioned, "Arab boys playing pipes at Tel Omar" and establishes no relationship between these boys and the excavation: did they just live in the area or were they local residents specifically hired on the project? Another article, captioned "U. of M. Archaeologists Digging for Secrets of past Ages in Near East," publishes the same photograph used in the September 1928 *Michigan Alumnus* (Figure 5-12, catalogued at the KMA as A040) of the locally-hired workers excavating at Trial Trench 4.

5.2.3 National and International Reporting

Outside of the Ann Arbor and Detroit press, of 49 articles reporting on the Seleucia excavation in U.S., Canadian, and British newspapers that I reviewed,[504] only a handful reference the excavating workforce.

The workforce is mentioned in five publications of a single AP piece—in the *Battle Creek Enquirer, and the Evening News* (Michigan), the *Appleton Post-Crescent* (Wisconsin), the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, and the *Daily Northwestern* (Wisconsin)—each

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[502] Detroit Free Press 1930. (This article was copyrighted by the International Feature Service, Inc., and was also picked up by the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia Inquirer 1930.)
[503] Taylor 1928.
[504] Toledo Daily Times 1927; Battle Creek Enquirer 1928; Jefferson Gazette 1928; New York Times 1928; Toledo Daily Times 1928; Associated Press 1929a, 1929b; New York Times 1929; Observer 1929; Patterson 1929a, 1929b; American Israelite 1930; Associated Press 1930c, 1930d, 1930b, 1930a; Border Cities' Star 1930; Jewish Exponent 1930; Philadelphia Inquirer 1930; Associated Press 1931c, 1931e, 1931d, 1931a, 1931b; Oliver 1931; Associated Press 1932g, 1932c, 1932j, 1932i, 1932b, 1932k, 1932a, 1932h, 1932f, 1932d, 1932e; Battle Creek Enquirer 1932a, 1932b; Chicago Daily Tribune 1932; Illustrated London News 1932; Kelly 1932; Los Angeles Times 1932; New York Times 1932; United Press 1932c, 1932d, 1932b, 1932a; Associated Press 1933; Battle Creek Enquirer 1933.

iteration an abridged version of the *Ann Arbor Daily News* article of June 2, 1931, mentioned above.[505] As such, these references, too, merely indicate the size of the effort, concluding the feature by stating that "[t]he expedition at Seleucia consists of a staff of nine men, directing from 300 to 400 natives."[506] The *Philadelphia Inquirer* published the same sensational spread discussed above, "Science Finds a Slave of Babylon Buried Alive Up to His Neck in Mortar," as the *Detroit Free Press*, also including the same numerical description of the excavation labor force as in the Detroit paper.[507] Finally, an AP feature published in the *St. Petersburg Times* (Florida) and the *Muncie Morning Star* (Indiana) does not mention the workforce in the text or image captions but reproduces as illustrations two photos showing members of the workforce, who are unreferenced in the captions.[508] The first, extant in the KMA archive as C070 (Figure 5-1), has been discussed above as published in the first *Preliminary Report*: it depicts a boy standing against a vaulted tomb, looking at the camera. The newspaper caption merely identifies the photograph as "Barrel-roofed brick tomb," reducing the boy's presence to that of human scale. The second image shows a man standing next to a large jar, body oriented toward the jar, looking straight into the camera, with the caption "jar of 'Forty Thieves' type."[509] The image is closely cropped: the man's head and shoulders break the rectangular frame. Examination of the archived prints of the photograph, C021, are clarifying (Figure 5-17). The man stands with his back to a wall or baulk, in a sort of alcove or excavated cavity; the archived caption list labels the photograph "Large jar in S. wall T.T. 18," with this description also eliding the man. The man,

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[505] Ann Arbor Daily News 1931b.

[506] Associated Press 1931b, 1931c, 1931e, 1931a; Oliver 1931. An more abridged version of the same feature appears in the *Toronto Daily Star*, omitting reference to the workforce (Associated Press 1931d.)

[507] Philadelphia Inquirer 1930. As noted above, this feature was also published in the *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit Free Press 1930.).

[508] Associated Press 1930a, 1930b.

[509] In an article in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* two years later (discussed below), the following explanation is given, connecting such jars to the Forty Thieves: "There are also huge jars, such as those in which the Forty Thieves met their fate when boiling oil was poured over them" (Kelly 1932.).

mustachioed, head wrapped in a keffiyeh, clad in a white, ankle-length *thawb* or *dishdashah* (tunic) belted with a dark colored garment, looks at the camera, a cigarette in a cigarette holder in his left hand, a knife held upright in his right. With his knife, this man may be a mudbrick tracer (see discussion of excavation roles below). The large storage jar, which reaches his waist, resembles—and may indeed be—Debevoise's type 99, an unglazed, unregistered storage jar from Trial Trench 18, with a banded rim (perhaps undercut or folded), two narrow horizontal grooves below the rim, and another groove at the midpoint of the vessel's body, perhaps indicating where the two halves were joined in construction (as indicated in Debevoise's catalog entry).[510] A pick appears in the foreground. As printed in the newspapers, the photograph and caption, relating the jar to the story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves together characterize the man as both a human scale and as a visual anchor for an "oriental" fantasy.

[510] Debevoise 1934, 60-61.

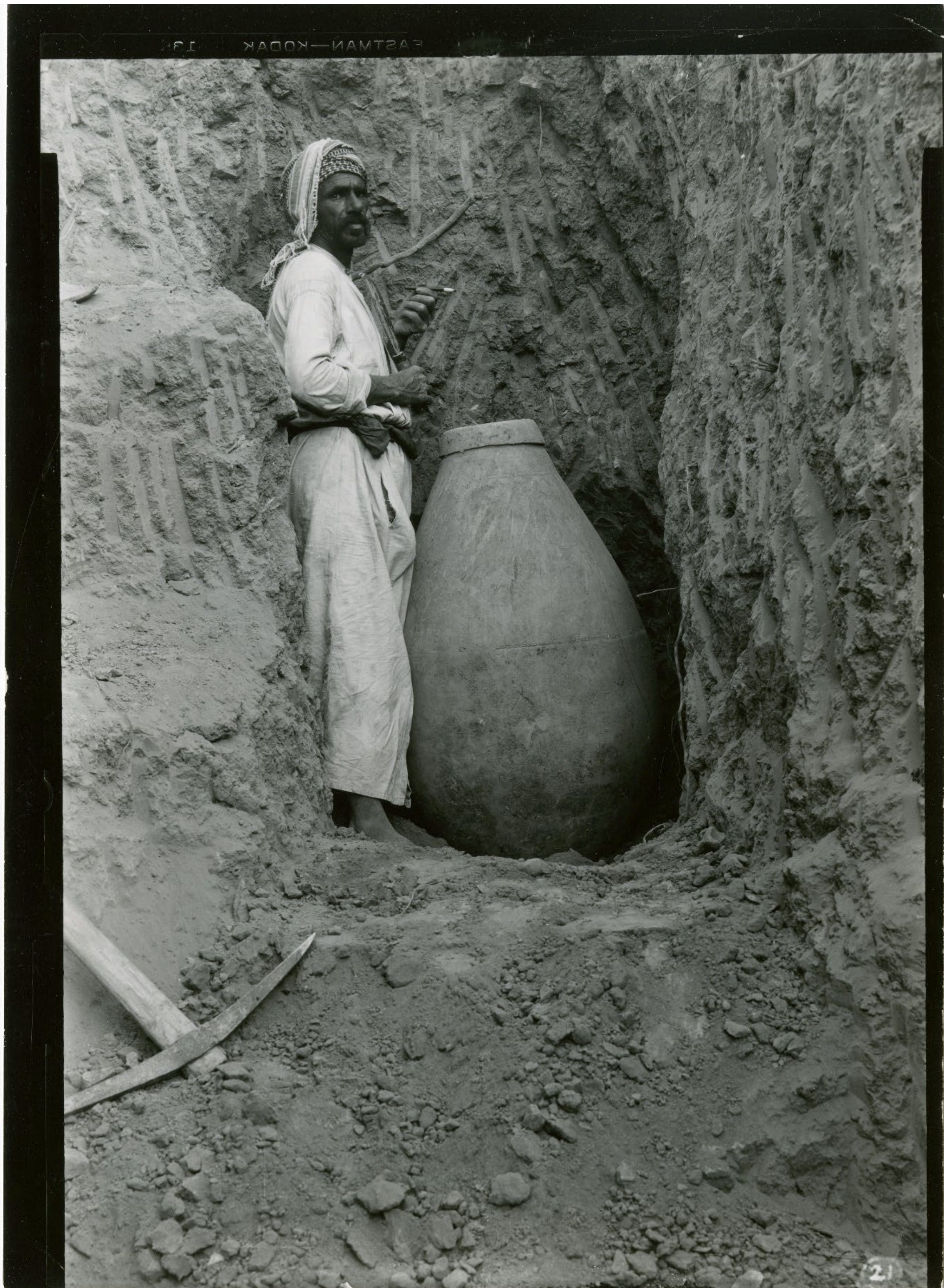

Figure 5-17 Print of photograph C021, KMA

A feature authored by one Grace V. Kelly, published in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*'s Sunday Magazine Section (September 4, 1932), is an exception to the usual brevity as regards excavation workers.[511] This long and detailed article, comprised of a full two-page spread with colored illustrations and a final half-page conclusion, was occasioned by an exhibition at the Cleveland Museum of Art, which became a project co-sponsor in the course of Season C (1929/1930).[512] It describes the excavation's history: what prompted Leroy Waterman to mount the excavation, the excavation process and results, and the Cleveland donors whose largess beginning in 1929 facilitated the work.

In the course of this description, contrast is drawn between the American "scientists" and the "natives" or "Arab workmen." For example, in recounting why the site was chosen for excavation, Kelly contrasts the "observant eyes of the trained archaeologist" with "[t]he natives [who] called the area of hills Tel Umar and shook their heads blankly when questioned about Seleucia, Opis or Akshak": professional eyes, apparently, see what locals cannot. Local labor is acknowledged as part of apparatus that enables discovery and object recovery, as Kelly writes that "[w]orkmen, toiling on three levels, brought more than one thousand of these objects to light in a comparatively short time." The paper also reproduces archival Seleucia photograph C021 (Figure 5-17), discussed above regarding its inclusion in the *St. Petersburg Times* and the *Muncie Morning Star*. The caption here, unusually, acknowledges the photographed worker: "Large jar shown as it is being excavated by an Arab workman at Seleucia."

Kelly once again juxtaposes American archaeologists' cleverness and reliability with a condescending, paternalistic notion of the Arab workmen's cupidity, inability to understand the

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[511] Kelly 1932. In Bentley/Waterman Box 4, Bentley/Waterman Box 4, Newspaper clippings re archeological expeditions Folder 1.
[512] Photographs of the exhibition are accessible through the Cleveland Museum of Art Archives Digital Collections: https://digitalarchives.clevelandart.org/digital/search/searchterm/seleucia

historical or cultural value of the excavation and artifacts, and flightiness:

> This treasure is coming to light now after twenty-two centuries and it has required all the ingenuity of the excavators to induce the Arab workmen to part with their finds—loot being as fully desirable in these days as it was in other ages. Thus it became necessary to devise some plan by which the workmen could be induced to surrender their finds, otherwise they might have been tempted to melt down the gold trinkets they found and thus would be lost to the world objects of great historic value.
>
> It was decided to offer backsheesh to the diggers as an inducement to search carefully and to conceal nothing. Gold trinkets were paid for on the basis of their value in bullion, an extra allowance being made for anything that was of special artistic value.
>
> Well, they found objects in all kinds of unlikely places. For one thing, a pint and a half of jewelry was discovered hidden in a little jar under the floor, probably put there by some great lady who never returned to claim it. It was found by a man who had been working only two or three weeks and his backsheesh amounted to more than a year's wages. That he quit work and went on a prolonged spree is only to be expected, and must be condoned by those who have any feeling for the other fellow's point of view. He probably felt like something out of the Arabian Nights, and when you look at the jewelry at the museum you may get some idea of his reaction.
>
> Still, what he did was personal, and not characteristic of the race, for another lucky worker used his backsheesh to clean up his debts. […]
>
> There were also two or three pecks of coins, washed up by the rains to the tops of the mounds. The wandering Arabs will miss these, for they were well aware of their existence, and were constantly picking them up.

Aside from inaccuracies regarding the *bakhshish* system,[513] this description frames the archaeologists as the guardians of history and global cultural heritage ("lost to the world objects of great historic value"), manipulating the "tempted" Arabs who might destroy artifacts for their intrinsic material value.

5.3 Conclusion

For the most part, the press reporting on the project communicates little about the workforce. When they are mentioned, their depiction is that of a monolithic mass of labor, with

[513] The *bakhshish* system was not an invention of the UM archaeologists at Seleucia, but, rather, a well-established practice on Western excavations, promoted, for example, by Petrie in his excavation handbook written more than 20 years prior, as noted elsewhere in this dissertation.

their numbers indicating the scale of work that they enabled. When details beyond quantity are provided, they often engage orientalist tropes and stereotypes of Arabs, presenting workers and neighbors as unsophisticated, novel and exotic, and unconnected to and unconcerned with the intangible aspects of the excavation and artifacts. Smeaton's special feature in *The Michigan Alumnus* offers an exception to the usual negative stereotyping. Importantly, these elisions and stereotypes about the workforce were communicated to American and other English-speaking international publics through these popular articles, contributing to a limited view of who held authority for archaeological work and knowledge.

In the academic, archaeological publications, the workforce is even more absent. As in the popular reporting, these publications largely invoke the workforce as an indication of scale of work.[514] Additionally, the local workforce is explicitly stereotyped, en masse, in explanations of the *bakhshish* system, and members of the workforce are deployed visually, if typically unmentioned, as human visual scales and as large of the general excavation landscape in photographs.

[514] The practice of recording quantities of workers is also discussed by Çelik 2016, 139-49.

Chapter 6 : Working on Seleucia in Iraq: The Archived Workforce

6.1 Introducing a Major Expense: Excavation Workers

During the hiatus in active excavation during the mid-1930s, Leroy Waterman submitted two financial reports of the "Mesopotamian Expedition" to Frank E. Robbins in response to a request from the Institute of Archaeological Research's (IAR) Executive Committee.[515] These financial reports included workmen's wages, as well as staff salaries and staff travel expenses, per the IAR request. The first financial report he submitted includes workmen's wages as a line item within each season's expenses.[516] These wage expenditures are offered in Table 3: as the table shows, workmen's wages constituted 40-50% of the project's expenses each season, with the exception of the Season E, when the workmen's wages were only 38% of the total budget expended.

Table 3: Season A to E wage expense totals, derived a 1933 financial report memorandum[517]

	Total Workers' Wages (R.s)	Total Workers' Wages (USD)	Total Season Expense (R.s)	Total Season Expense (USD)	Wages as % of Total Expenditure
Season A	2,069.00		4,184.00		49.45%
Season B	7,175.00		14,859.00		48.29%
Season C		7,837.00		16,200.00	48.38%
Season D		8,402.65		20,433.00	41.12%
Season E	9,758.70	3,485.36		9,113.00	38.25%

[515] Letters, Leroy. Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, December 2, 1933, and December 11, 1933, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2. The extant IAR correspondence is suggestive of longstanding tension between Waterman and the IAR Executive Committee (since at least 1931), in which the IAR appears to be taking over Waterman's authority for the project. In the exchange preceding this financial report, Waterman bristles, feeling accused of withholding accounting information that was never requested (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, October 19, 1933, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2; see additional correspondence in Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1 and 7.2 for general tension).

[516] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, December 2, 1933. Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2.

[517] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, December 2, 1933. Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2. In these financial memos, Waterman listed expenses in both rupees and U.S. dollars. I have converted between rupees and dollars only where necessary to establish the percent of total expenses (i.e., where the season's total expenditure was offered in dollars but wages in rupees), using the currency conversions implicit in Waterman's own calculations, as these likely reflected the changing exchange rate each season.

A proposal and budget for a 1938-1939 excavation season, written by Clark Hopkins and circulated to members of the Institute of Archaeological Research on December 7, 1937, affirms the budgetary importance of the workforce. As Hopkins wrote, following a justification of the importance of Seleucia as an archaeological site:

> The cost of an expedition depends directly on the number of workmen to be employed. A large item is the wages paid to the workmen themselves and the largest item, the salaries of the staff, depends on the number of skilled men required to oversee the work. At Seleucia the most efficient work is done with a force of between two and three hundred me for with this number the maximum amount of ground, consonant with scientific work, can be cleared. If the number of workmen is decrease to any extent, the staff may be cut down, but the expensive in proportion to the work accomplished is greater, for much of the overhead expense (the running of the house, the materials for the care and preservation of antiquities, etc.) remains almost the same. Furthermore, as reduce the staff, it is the less experienced and so the men of lower salaries who are left behind. An experienced director as well as at least two skilled assistants, with an architect, are essential in any campaign. A cut in the budget, therefore, affects directly the number of local workmen to be employed, and the loss of this work leaves just so much more to be accomplished in succeeding seasons.

He then proposes $6,800 for field wages for a workforce of 262 (including foremen) in a 17-week field season.[518]

Seleucia is not exceptional in having the wages paid to the excavation workforce comprise a substantial part of the budget: this is a reflection of their integral role in the archaeological work undertaken and the organization of excavation labor on projects like this, which typically engaged large, locally-hired workforces supervised by minimal numbers of foremen or staff. As such, and as discussed in Chapter 4, financial accounting records are a primary archival locus for locally-hired workers in excavation archives. While the financial records for the Seleucia expedition are less formal than those of some other contemporary excavations—no formal payroll lists are extant and may not have been used—evidence for and

[518] Proposal, attached to memorandum of December 7, 1937, Frank E. Robbins to E.H. Kraus, A.E.R. Boak, J.G. Winter, W.W. Bishop, H.A. Sanders, and C.S. Yoakum, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17.

about the workforce is often located in the less formal financial records in the Seleucia Expedition archive. Jotted lists about expenses and advanced wages, payroll totals, occasional lists of workers differentiating wage scales: these are places where workers can be found. Workers, too, can be found in jottings about incidental work, or deployment of excavation labor to different parts of the archaeological site as focus shifted in rhythm with a given season's goals and findings.

In this chapter, I turn to textual archival evidence for the excavating workforce. I discuss the seasons directed by Leroy Waterman, Seasons A to E (1927/28 to 1931/32) separately from the final season directed by Clark Hopkins, Season F (1936/37), as the hiatus in work, the changed personnel, and different documentation encourage different approaches and resolution of discussion. For each of the two campaigns, I introduce the archival sources, excavation roles, and general information about the workforce, before offering the information available about individual members of the locally-hired workforce.

6.2 The Excavation Workforce in the Seasons A to E Archives

6.2.1 Season A to E Archival Sources

Leroy Waterman, Notebooks and Correspondence

Leroy Waterman, director of the Seleucia excavations from 1927-1932, was a dedicated diarist. Nine journals covering the first five seasons (A to E) of excavation are extant in the Kelsey Museum archive, seven of which are archived with the Seleucia Expedition materials and two with the Sepphoris Expedition materials. These are numbered "1" to "9," in chronological order.

His diaries-cum-director's notebooks, even when covering periods of fieldwork, tend

more toward brief dairy entries (describing his own daily activities, financial accounting notes, and excavated objects of interest) than a robust record of excavation progress; they are the same daily journals he kept when not in the field. Clearly not intended as explanation or record for others, the notebooks pose a challenge for researchers: Waterman rarely introduces or explains the identities or roles of the people he mentions, and his often-hurried handwriting makes it extremely challenging to read many names precisely. However, his dairies do offer evidence for the organization of the excavation, the existence of a wider support network than the staff listing offered in the publications, and attitudes toward workers. Waterman's notebooks, as the archival source in greatest quantity, form the core source for the discussion I offer below.

These notebooks reveal what Waterman thought worth remarking on and what was not worth remarking on, what needed to be specifically remembered and what did not. This is not to say that Waterman did not "appreciate" the work of the hired Iraqis; his journals offer little evidence of his emotions or judgments in this regard. His entries do, however, the importance of the workers in the archaeological endeavor was in terms of work outcomes (e.g., "Cleaned Grave 11" [519]) and financial transactions—and that their actions, their agency, could be omitted from the record and still comprehended. In contrast, he frequently records which staff member worked at which part of the site on a given day—their specific, individual presences mattered to Waterman and to the record.

In addition to his notebooks, Waterman's correspondence offers some information about the workforce. The bulk of his letters, archived in his papers at the Bentley Historical Library, is written to his family members: his wife Mabelle, his daughter Dorothea, and his son Donald. Donald was present at the excavation for Season D (1930-31), and his letters to his mother and

[519] Waterman Notebook 5, November 21, 1929.

sister also offer some information about the workforce. Mabelle and Dorothea Waterman were both present at the excavation in Season E (1931-32); no letters from that season are archived among Waterman's papers.

In some letters, particularly those to his children, Waterman plays on expectations of the exotic for comic effect. For example, in letter sent at the start of the first season, Waterman wrote to his daughter about the staff's arrival at their bungalow residence:

> We had not finished out supper before our guard came over around with a gun and another fierce looking arab on horseback armed with a rifle. Here it might have looked as though we had been trapped and were about to be murdered in the desert but we were too busy eating to faint away and it turned out that it was only a special guard of [illegible: honor?] sent over by the local governor to see that everything was all right and so these men kept guard for us the first night, brought us water from the Tigris, eggs and milk from the tribe and in the morning a chicken for dinner.[520]

He raises expectations of danger, only to dash such anticipation with the reality of a friendly scene, taking narrative advantage of problematic stereotypes.

In addition to this personal correspondence, a few letters from Waterman, serving as reports from the field, are archived at the Bentley in the Kelsey Museum papers' Institute of Archaeological Research subgroup.[521] These all pertain to Seasons D and E. They contain few references to the excavation workforce, indeed, only in two letters, one communicating the ramping up of workforce size at the beginning of Season E[522] and the other merely mentioning

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[520] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, December 31, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927 Folder.

[521] Typed copy of letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, October 12, 1930, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17; Typed copy of letter, Leroy Waterman to Alexander Ruthven, October 21, 1930 , Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, October 20, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, December 6, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Alexander Ruthven, December 9, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, December 16, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, December 31, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, January 12, 1932, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2.

[522] "The first week we employed only about forty workmen, but the second we had a hundred. At present the force is about one hundred twenty-five" (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank Robbins, October 20, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1).

workers as an example of a small exploratory excavation.[523]

Finally, letters (also serving as reports), from Waterman to the directors of the sponsoring museums, Blake-More Godwin of the Toledo Museum of Art and William M. Milliken of the Cleveland Museum of Art, contain occasional details about the workforce. These are clearly letters to sponsoring authorities. These are archived at their respective institutions' archives; these letters are cited below when relevant.

Waterman references the workforce and workers most often in terms of quantities of workers, distribution of workers/roles at different areas of the excavation, and in reference to payroll. These facets are discussed in greater detail below.

Unknown author (Robert McDowell?), Notebook, Winter 1929 (Season B)[524]

A notebook archived in the Institute for Archaeological Research subgroup of the Kelsey Museum records at the Bentley Historical Library commences an account of the Seleucia excavation on January 31st, 1929, on which date Leroy Waterman departed from the dig to return to the U.S. It thus records the latter half of Season "B," for which excavation ran from November 10, 1928, to February 28, 1929. Following the completion of fieldwork, members of the staff remained at the site until March 26th, during which time packing, checking of the object register, and the official division of the finds by Sidney Smith, director of the Department of Antiquities, took place.

The author of the notebook is not recorded and is difficult to ascertain. With the exception of Clarence S. Fisher, all Season B staff members known to be present that season are named in the third person in the text: Waterman, Nicola Manasseh, Robert and Olga McDowell,

[523] "I may say that a week's work on the Ziggurat with a handful of workers has given me great encouragement" (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Alexander G. Ruthven, December 9, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1).
[524] Anonymous Notebook, Season B.

plus the latter's sister Sophie, and Harry Dorman. Fisher appears to have departed and not returned (contrary to initial plans) prior to Christmas, suggesting his absence from the text means that he was not present (rather than was the author).[525] On comparison to materials in the Kelsey Museum Records in the Bentley Historical Library, the handwriting looks like looks like Robert McDowell's, but McDowell himself is referred to as "Mr. McDowell" or "Mr. McD" in the text, complicating an easy attribution. Written cleanly in a consistent pen, the most likely scenario is that the notebook was recopied following initial composition, probably by McDowell. I posit, but cannot confirm, that Robert McDowell was the notebook's author as well as its copyist.

This notebook's entries follow Waterman's journaling practices, recording which staff member worked where at what time of day,[526] listing the day's finds, and recording general accounting and payroll information. The author goes further than Waterman's habit by including greater detail about the day's excavation activities,[527] offering more robust comments on the day's most interesting objects and developing interpretation of the archaeological contexts or features.

This author's more detailed recording extends to payroll records. Whereas in most cases, Waterman records the total amount disbursed, this author twice records the number of workers in

[525] In his 1929 letter-cum-season report in BASOR, Waterman wrote, "I had Dr. Clarence Fisher with me till Christmas, when illness prevented him from continuing." (Waterman 1929b, 26.) In his own journal, Waterman recorded that Fisher was summoned by telegram to Egypt ("Eg.") on December 18, 1928, and departed the following day, but that Waterman "arranged for his [Fisher's] return in Jan at Chicago rate."(Waterman Notebook 3, December 18-19, 1928). His correspondence home reports that Fisher went home to Palestine for Christmas but was prevented from returning as planned on account of illness. As a result, Waterman arranged for Harry Dorman to go to the excavation (when Waterman stopped in Beirut on his return trip home) to fill out the staff (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 5, 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 14, 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 29, 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, February 6, 1929, Bentley/Waterman, Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1929.)

[526] E.g., "Mr. Manasseh was occupied the a.m. with the registration of objects; in the afternoon with various measurements on the dig. Mr. McDowell was on the dig both morning and afternoon" (Anonymous Notebook, Season B, Page 1, January 31, 1929).

[527] E.g., "The work of tearing down R.s 13, 14, 15, III level continued" (Anonymous Notebook, Season B, Page 11, February 4, 1929).

each excavation role as part of this weekly reckoning. For example, for payday on January 31, 1929, he records that the workforce was composed of "1 foreman, 14 pickmen, 4 wall tracers, 5 ordinary shovelmen, 14 sack fillers, and 122 sackmen." Payroll for that week's excavation force came up to 537.15 rupees, plus 6.2 rupees in *bahkshish*, for total of 544.1 rupees. In addition, he reports other costs that week: transportation: horses (12) and Salman Seiah[528] (0.8); field equipment (1.1.); house supplies (food, itemized); and house wages to Aghas (5) and Khlaf (4.6).[529] Thus, this unlisted author offers a slightly higher resolution picture of the excavation workforce than does Waterman, through indications of specific excavation roles: foremen, pickmen, wall tracers, shovelmen, sack fillers, sackmen (presumably carrying the sacks of excavated soil). One man, Salman Seiah, had a particular job transporting things, and two people, Aghas and Khlaf, mentioned in Waterman's own notebooks, have specific (and separately paid) support roles in the dig house. These individuals are discussed further, below.

These accounting notes record flexible financial arrangements: advances made to individual workers for personal reasons as well as in payment for equipment maintenance/repair work. Such inclusions are also indicative of the wider network of work and support required to sustain the excavation. For example, on the payday of February 7, 1929, this diarist reports:

> Wages R521, Baksheesh 8/9,[530] total 529/9. [Aluri?] Asi was overpaid one annah because of lack of change; Serah Wali was advanced three Rupees to pay for the coffin of his wife. Transportation—horses 12/, special carrying by Sul. Seiah[531] /12. Repair of 16 old, and the making of 20 new, sacks cost 2/. Hashim, who is paid at the rate of 12/ per month, and who was last paid to date on Dec. 15, was this week paid R 20/ on account. Khlef was paid in full 4/6, and Aghas 15/ [illegible]. House, living expenses came to 22/8. R 5/ were advanced to Abbas Alwan, with which to pay for the repair of 11 picks, @ not more than annahs six per pick. The accounts were entered by Mr. McD in cash account sheet 2.[532]

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[528] Or "Serah": the handwriting is not clear on this name.
[529] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, Page 3, January 31, 1929.
[530] This notation indicates Rupees/Annas; one rupee is comprised of 16 annas.
[531] Or "Serah": the handwriting is again not clear on this name.
[532] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, Page 19, February 7, 1929.

Themes in the Seasons A to E archives

Payroll

In Waterman's journals, the relative visibility of excavation workers in financial accounting accords with Quirke's analysis of Petrie's archives (discussed in Chapter 4). This link between workers and accounting occurs with far less specificity than in archives such as Petrie's (or excavations in Egypt, Sudan, and Palestine directed by George Reisner, for another example), as the Seleucia excavation archives do not contain pay lists in the manner of Petrie's lists. Rather, Waterman most often refers to workers as a group in the context of paying them: he diligently notes paydays in his journals. For example, Waterman's journal entry for Thursday, March 8, 1928, begins:

> M & Sp went to dig I staid in and mended pots while Gilbert went to S.P. for pay roll 200 Rs which he got by 1 P.M. I had lunch & went to dig with money and paid off workers. <u>255.14</u>[533]

The following week, on Thursday, March 15, 1928, his entry is much the same (though he himself fetches the money from the Mudir of Salman Pak rather than sending an assistant):

> Manasseh prepared letter for Mudir. I got my own lunch & went to S.P. & got last of money of Mudir's 250 Rs.
> Saliman rowed me over & back with helper.
> Went to dig & paid off workers [interlinear, above] payroll <u>212.14</u> [/interlinear] & brought in objects. [534]

Occasionally, Waterman notes the quantities of workers when he records the payroll sums, as in these Season B and C entries:

> <u>Thur 15</u> Went to dig early got there 7 am. Sophie came out after water boy & helped till 10 am. I was along till after noon. Had 95 workers today. Yusuf came down with supplies & pay roll 8.25 R. Robert came out after lunch & we made up

[533] Waterman Notebook 2, March 8, 1928. "M" refers to Manasseh, "Sp" refers to Sproule, and "S.P." refers to Salman Pak.
[534] Waterman Notebook 2, March 15, 1928.

roll & I paid off, while he ran the dig[535]

Paid men off
McD & Manasseh paid I went out
pay roll 147.5 + 2.5 Backshesh.
12 men 17 boys in 18, + 10 + 1 = 40[536]

At other times, the workers are implied but not recorded: when the workers are not mentioned, the payroll sums are typically nestled into broader daily entries, which are typically lists, of objects, work accomplished, occasional observations, and payroll sums:

[…] Cleaned Grave 11
Payroll 540 + 8 ½
Backsheesh 7.12 ½
548.4
Spicer came in & complained of ennui[537]

As records of archaeological activity, Waterman's journals confirm that financial records are key loci for identifying local workers in the archives. Obviously, financial accounting is one of the key responsibilities of an excavation director or any project manager, so it is little surprise that this is the case. While some details of individuals' wages can be found in scattered references in his notebooks (see below, passim, under individuals), his notebooks largely consider the workforce at large as a singular unit to be paid, with occasional reference to quantities of workers engaged in specific roles (on which, see below). Other archival sources, however, hold some records of wage schedules. For example, in the second of the financial reports submitted to the IAR in 1933, Waterman wrote that "Workmen's wages have varied from 12 to 24 annas (i.e., 1 ½ rupees) per day, depending on the workman's skill. Few have gotten the higher number. Boys as carriers have earned from 8 to 12 annas per day. (The rupee has varied from 37 to 26

[535] Waterman Notebook 3, November 15, 1928.
[536] Waterman Notebook 4, October 3, 1929.
[537] Waterman Notebook 5, November 21, 1929.

cents in value).”[538] McDowell also recorded some individual payment notes.

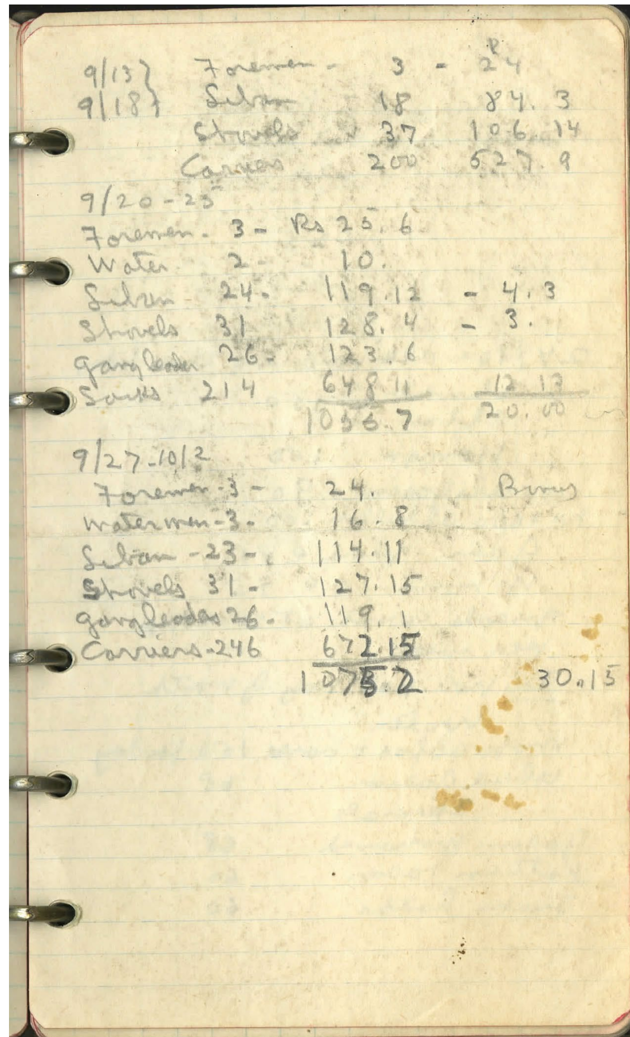
9/13 } Foremen - 3 - 24
9/18 } Sibran 18 84.3
Shovels 37 106.14
Carriers 200 627.9
9/20-25
Foremen. 3 - Rs 25.6
Water 2 10.
Sibran 24. 119.12 - 4.3
Shovels 31 128.4 - 3.
Gangleader 26 123.6
[illegible] 214 648.1 12.13
1056.7 20.00
9/27-10/2
Foremen-3- 24.
Waterman-3- 16.8
Sibran -23- 114.11
Shovels 31- 127.15
Gangleaders 26- 119.1
Carriers-246 672.15
1075.2 30.15

Figure 6-1 Scan of page of payroll notes from the beginning of Season D (McDowell Notebook, Season F, p. 5).

In Table 4, I have transcribed McDowell’s weekly payroll lists from the beginning of Season D, as recorded on the Season D page in the Season F notebook archived with the Sepphoris Expedition Archive in the KMA (Figure 6-1).[539] While the year is not noted on the page, I have

[538] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, December 11, 1933, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2. Waterman’s journals evince his efforts to keep project accounts straight: he records expenditures in the journals, differentiating personal and project spending, and also mentions the time he spends work on the account books as part of his broader activities. By the time of this financial report, the currency in Iraq had changed from the Indian Rupee to the Iraqi dinar. 16 annas equaled one rupee.

[539] McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 5. N.B. This notebook is not officially paginated/marked; this page number reflects my own count. See below for discussion of Season F archival sources for fuller discussion of my attribution of the rest of the notebook to Season F.

corroborated the dates and approximate payroll totals with Waterman's own payroll notes in his Season D notebook. In addition to transcribing McDowell's list, I have calculated the wages of each worker in each excavation role in rupees (and standardized the naming of the roles).

Table 4 Weekly Payroll, Beginning of Season D (based on Figure 6-1)

	# of Workers	Total Rupees	Total Annas	Wage (R.s) per worker	Total Payroll (R.s)	Bonus
September 13-18, 1930						
Foremen	3	24	0	8.000		
Mudbrick Tracers	18	84	3	4.677		
Shovelers	37	106	14	2.889		
Carriers	200	527	9	2.638		
Totals	**258**	**741**	**26**		**742.625**[540]	
September 20-25, 1930						
Foremen	3	25	6	8.458		
Water (Carriers?)	2	10	0	5.000		
Mudbrick Tracers	24	119	12	4.990		
Shovelers	31	128	4	4.137		
Gang Leader	26	123	6	4.745		
Sack-Carriers	214	648	11	3.031		
Totals	**300**	**1053**	**39**		**1055.438**[541]	**20 R**
September 27 - October 2, 1930						
Foremen	3	24	0	8.000		
Water (Carriers?)	3	16	8	5.500		
Mudbrick Tracers	23	114	11	4.986		
Shovelers	31	127	15	4.127		
Gang Leader	26	119	1	4.579		
Sack-Carriers	246	672	15	2.736		
Totals	**332**	**1072**	**50**		**1075.125**[542]	**30 R, 15 a.**

[540] These totals do not quite match Waterman's payroll total for the week. McDowell clearly did not include all categories of workers in his list, as his total number of workers is short by 37 workers compared to Waterman's (but is otherwise in the same range). Waterman's September 19th entry reads "We closed the week with 26 gangs with total of 292 men besides 3 foremen = 295 payroll 742.10 & 12. R backsheesh = 754.10. Wages at house preliminary 27.13." (Waterman Notebook 8, September 19, 1930).

[541] I.e., 1055 rupees and 7 annas. This matches Waterman's payroll total of 1055 rupees, 7 annas, excluding 20 rupees *bakhshih* and 15 rupees, 12 annas for labor on the well (Waterman Notebook 8, September 25, 1930).

[542] I.e., 1175 rupees and 2 annas. This matches Waterman's payroll total of 1055 rupees, 7 annas, excluding 30 rupees and 15 annas *bakhshish* (Waterman Notebook 8, Sept October 3, 1930).

The wage data contained in Table 4 reveals a few facets of the Seleucia excavation's employment and labor management practices. It confirms that the number of workers fluctuated week to week, as did wages. As noted previously, changes in quantity of workers are often used, logically, as a proxy for changes in scale and intensity of work. As Mickel's work reminds us, however, this fluctuation should also be understood as an indication of the instability and precarity of excavation employment for locally-hired workers: there was no guarantee of steady work.[543] Such precarity can further be found in the slight shifts in individual wages from week to week (before *bakhshish*).

Bakhshish

I have already discussed the *bakhshish* system in previous chapters. In addition, in the preceding section, I noted that Waterman included weekly *bakhshish* totals when listing payroll totals each week. Below, under the rubric of "individual workers," I note a few rare instances where Waterman records the name of a "finder" in relation to a *bakhshish* payment. As discussed above, workers were given slips when finds warranted *bakhshish*. By the later seasons Waterman seems to be buying specific kinds of pads for the slips on supply runs to Baghdad.[544] It seems that these were turned in on payday, and the distribution of *bakhshish* was part of the weekly distribution of payroll, with some staff members handling wages and others "taking" *bakhshish*. For example, on October 2, 1930, Waterman records that,

> I was at the dig early & till noon. McD got cards ready & money for payroll in PM began at 3:15 PM to pay Dorman helped McD pay & Donald & Deb took Backsheesh did it in less than hr.
>
> I paid out backsheesh

[543] E.g., Mickel 2021, 48.
[544] Waterman Notebook 8, September 13, 1930; Waterman Notebook 9, November 19, December 11, December 17, December 24, 1931, and January 13, 1932.

Regular pay roll 1175.2

Backsheesh 30.15 Total 1106.1[545]

In his Season E notebook, Waterman refers to punching cards on the excavation site; this punching may relate to this slip system for tracking *bakhshish*.[546] As also noted above, the implementation of this common payment system at Seleucia informs us about shape of the artifactual corpus, indicating what was valued—whole artifacts and objects of greater market value— and explaining the large number of surface or non-excavated objects, and creating an opening for us to see the results of individual workers' decisions about what objects counted.

Beyond the object-focused *bakhshish* payments, Waterman occasionally notes incidental offerings of financial incentives to speed work, for example:

> Began offering <u>14</u> annas to shovelmen for keeping boys busy
> Applied only to [men?] at cemetery
> It worked rather well.[547]

Excavation Roles

Waterman does not elaborate on excavation activities in his journals. However, the way he refers to workers and the work of excavation offer a few clues as to how the excavation labor was organized. He refers to "shovelers" (also spelled "shovellers") and "shovel men"; he refers to men with picks or "pick men"; men "on baskets" and "basket boys." He often describes the work as "clearing." Waterman mentions only a limited number of specific roles: the roles consistently discernable in Waterman's records are that of shoveller, pick-man, basket/carrier, and mudbrick-tracer (liban). A slightly wider suite of specific excavation roles and activities reported in Season F archival texts are discussed below.

The Seleucia excavation work was organized on lines that are fairly consistent with other

[545] Waterman Notebook 8, October 2, 1930
[546] Waterman Notebook 9, December 4, December 21, 1931, and January 19, January 20, 1932.
[547] Waterman Notebook 1, January 23, 1928.

contemporary excavations and, indeed, accords with the continued labor picture, for example, of early 21st century Syrian archaeological practice described by Gillot—established by the early 20th century— in which "[a] team of workers comprises three or four men, performing three types of functions: the pickman, the 'shoveller' and the basket-man."[548] Petrie, for example, primarily sketches roles of pick/digging work—not distinguishing between shovel and pick work—and basket/carrying work, adding, however, overseers to these, but the organization is not dissimilar.[549]

Waterman never explicitly names any foremen in his journals or letters. A few individuals, however, are identifiable as foremen through their activities generally and, specifically, by matching activities ascribed to their names to those attributed to unnamed foremen elsewhere in the documentation (on which, see below). Additionally, as noted above, press accounts of the projects refer to at least one "Arab foreman."

As is typical for most comparable historical excavations (and as discussed in previous chapters), it is clear that recording is not done by members of the excavation workforce nor by foremen, but rather by the project's staff. Indeed, Waterman's entries indicate that he is continually catching up on registering objects (suggesting that there is more work than there are staff members), Yeivin's desire for a larger "white" staff pertains to the high workload of recording (as discussed at the end of Chapter 4), and the illiteracy of the workforce posed a challenge to incorporating them into any recording system.

Beyond the more obvious roles of "shovelers" and "pickmen," Waterman refers to "basket sets," presumably grouping the workers who filled baskets with excavated earth together with those who hauled it away; he sometimes also specifies his references to "basket boys,"

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[548] Gillot 2010, 11. See also Çelik 2016, 146 ff..
[549] Petrie 1904, chapters 2 and 3.

children doing the carrying work. By Season B, Waterman refers to "carriers."[550] Although he continues mentioning "basket sets," this inclusion of "carriers" may reflect the fact that sacks were also being used to carry excavated earth, as is visible in photographs.

In Season C, he references a new, specific role for workers, that of "liben workers,"[551] (sometimes spelled "liban," for *libn*, "mudbrick" in Arabic). These workers were charged specifically with tracing mudbrick or mudbrick walls.[552] Season C is the season in which Usta Daud, a mudbrick tracing-specialist foreman also appears in Waterman's records (see below). The anonymous 1929 notebook author records this role in Season B, referring to them as "wall tracers."

Synecdoche: Worker as tool

In describing the work undertaken or the allotment of workers to different excavation areas, Waterman sometimes slides from characterizing workers by their tools or excavation roles ("pickmen" or "shovellers") into synecdoche, i.e., into referring only to the tools, sometimes in the same sentence: "Looked over (2) to see about continuing there tomorrow with [5?] shovellers & 12 baskets."[553] At other times, he only refers to excavation workers as tools, writing, for example, in Season A, "Cleared up at cemetery with two shovels & three baskets & later with 1 & 2 basket."[554]

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[550] Waterman Notebook 3, January 8, 1928: "Went out early to South Gate with 5 groups of carriers & 3 shovelers."
[551] Waterman Notebook 5, October 25, 1929: "I went to field where we had five liben workers clearing up walls & floors."
[552] See for description of this role, below under "Ustas" and Lloyd 1963, 23-28. Waterman refers to the need for workers in this specialized role, training workers over multiple seasons, and labor supply problems in a letter to Blake-More Godwin: "[O]ur work on the city "blocks" of Seleucia has been slowed up somewhat for lack of skilled wall tracers. Some of our best men whom we have trained in previous seasons have keep kept away for some time by the work of cleaning the Yusufiyah canal (the main canal, that is, of this region, and work upon it is obligatory). The workers concerned will be back this week we expect" (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, October 27, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian).
[553] Waterman Notebook 1, January 30, 1928.
[554] Waterman Notebook 1, January 28, 1928.

In exploring historical archaeological labor under the rubric of alienation, Mickel observed this tendency to refer to workers by tools in Petrie's *Method and Aims in Archaeology* and beyond.[555] She calls attention to the way this naming practice literalizes Harry Braverman's description, in his extension of Marxist analysis to 20th century changes in the labor process, of the "reduction of the worker to the level of an instrument in the production process."[556] This analysis is applicable in the Seleucia archival records. The synecdoche not only makes workers interchangeable but also elides over the fact that they are workers, that they are individuals, that they are humans. The Iraqi persons involved are elided from the record, occasionally represented as mere nonperson tools of archaeology.

6.2.2 Individual Workers in the Archives, Seasons A-E

In Waterman's journal entry recording the team's departure from the site following the completion of the first season of excavation, he lists names of the workers he has paid off. This short list is the most robust list of named, individual workers that Waterman includes in his excavation journals:

> Paid off the workers
> Hashim (guard) 6. Gave him the [illegible] also to use till we return
> Paid Ali Nassar .7, Khalaf 1.11
> Jassim Mahammad .5, Jassim Khalaf 3, Madhe Salih .3, Mah. Shah .4, [Muter?] Ha[wali? Hamadi?] .4 Saliman Saih 1. [or 7.?] Saliman Khalaf 8, Jassim Khalaf .8, Kazan Ha[madi?] .8[557]

This list is tantalizing; it includes the names of individual workers! But it also makes visible the difficulties of attempting to track individuals across Waterman's journal entries and other archival documents. Waterman's inclusion of more than single, personal names (e.g., "Ali Nassar" rather than "Ali") in this list throws into low relief the single names he typically uses to

[555] Mickel 2019, 189-90.
[556] Braverman 1998, 119.
[557] Waterman Notebook 2, March 19, 1928.

refer to individual workers. When contrasted with his usual habit and given this fuller list's inclusion of multiple individuals with the names "Jassim," "Saliman," and "Khalaf," it becomes clear that, elsewhere, when Waterman records these names without a second name, they can rarely be clearly tagged to one individual. To which Jassim in the Seleucia workforce is he referring? Which Saliman? And are there two people named "Jassim Khalaf," is Waterman's inclusion of the name on his list twice a mistake, or is it an indication of different kinds of accounting (3 Rupees' payment for one thing; .8 for another)? And what work were they being paid for, anyway?

Despite the interpretive challenges posed by individual names recorded in the Seleucia archives, it is still useful to attempt to follow a few individuals in their roles on the project. This project, if limited in possibility, sheds light on a fuller set of activities and, most importantly, participants than the published staff lists suggest. For example, the official staff list for Season A published in the first *Preliminary Report* includes three men only: Waterman, F.A. Sproule, and Nicolas Manasseh. Waterman's notebook entries that first season (Notebooks 1 and 2), however, indicate that others played integral organizational roles. Particularly prominent in the archival sources are a guard named Hashim; a man named Gilbert; a man named Yusuf employed by the Baghdad YMCA; and a man whose name I read as "Idhureb." None of these men are explicitly named among the staff, but the cumulative picture offered through collected archival references to each individual makes clear their key logistical support activities during season A.

Thus, here I attempt to sketch out the activities of individuals mentioned in the archival textual sources for the first five seasons of the Michigan excavation, with strong caveats about the limitations of the sources, both in their information and their embedded perspectives.

Hashim, Guard, Seasons A and B

From the very first day of the UM excavation at Tel Umar (December 29, 1927), a guard named Hashim is visible in Waterman's diaries. Waterman's first journal entry begins:

> Dec 29
> Began Trial Trenches
> Left Bungalow with guard Hashim at 7.20 was at Tel Omar at 7:45[558]

On this day, Hashim accompanies Waterman to lay out two trial trenches, prior to the arrival of local workmen at 9:15 am for the first day of work.

Hashim's role as a guard is clearly more expansive than only maintaining site and staff security. According to the various activities undertaken by Hashim that Waterman records in letters and his diaries, it is clear that Hashim also acts as a local guide and a fixer. He accompanies Waterman to the site for the workday on the dig; he accompanies Waterman on trips to Salman Pak, and to Baghdad; he arranges transportation (boats across the river and cars).[559] He runs errands: he goes to Salman Pak or Baghdad for various supplies; he delivers information and notes; he brings mail to Baghdad; he gets a deal on chicken (6 lbs. for 3 Rupees); and he picks up cash for the workers' payroll.[560] With "helpers," he does maintenance work on the roof of the Irrigation Department bungalow used as a residence by the team.[561] Waterman also describes in letters home how Hashim

> also helps the cook and brings water from the Tigris. He carries our lunch basket for us to the dig in the morning & brings it back at night often heavy with objects we have dug up. Sometimes if Hashim is too busy with something else he sends Salim his younger brother with the basket.[562]

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[558] Waterman Notebook 1, December 29, 1927.
[559] Waterman Notebook 1, December 29, 30, 1927, and January 20, February 11, 29, 1928.
[560] Waterman Notebook 1, December 29, 1927, January 22, 25, February 29, March 1, 1928.
[561] Waterman Notebook 1, February 11, 1928.
[562] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald Waterman, January 5, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.

Indeed, in his first letter home, Waterman describes Hashim as "my Arab."[563]

In letters to his family, Waterman describes how Hashim came to be employed as site guard that first season. In his first letter from the dig to his wife Mabelle, Waterman writes of his hitherto unnamed guard that "[t]he administrative officials furnish my guard who goes about with me like a plain clothes detective where I go sleeps in the bungalow at night as guard etc."[564] Like the workforce at large and the staff's bungalow lodgings for the first two seasons of excavation, Irrigation Department officials (under a Mr. Gray) facilitated Hashim's employment by the project. As Waterman wrote to his son Donald, "Hashim works for the government as a watchman of our bungalow and the government loans him to us to do whatever needs to be done,"[565] similarly telling Mabelle that the Irrigation Department "also loan[s] us the watchman or guard who guards by night and acts as a servant and kitchen helper by day and saves us employing really two men."[566]

According to Waterman, Hashim is also a resident of the locality, a member of the

> Bedouin tribe who are camped not farther way than the [Dunn?] house, and there are all sorts & sizes of boys & girls old men and women & babies, not to mention goats, sheep cows, chickens dogs and cats and they all live together somehow in their black tents and pasture their herds & flocks out farther in the desert. [567]

In addition to his own work in this regard, Hashim clearly liaises with his community for excavation support activities, arranging, for example, for "his women folk" to fetch water from

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[563] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 29, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927. For similar, see also Letter, Leroy Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, December 31, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927.

[564] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 29, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927.

[565] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald Waterman, January 5, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.

[566] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 12, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.

[567] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald Waterman, January 5, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.

the river for the staff and do their weekly washing.[568]

Waterman's references to Hashim are totally absent in his Season B correspondence and limited in his Season B notebook entries, shedding little additional light on his role or responsibilities: Waterman mentions him just three times in his Season B diary, noting acquisition of a new donkey for Hashim, Hashim's (continued) bungalow roof maintenance work, and use of Hashim's horse.[569] However, the unrecorded author of the additional 1929/Season B notebook records that Hashim's payrate is 12 Rupees per month as part of his calculations for payroll for the week of February 7, 1929 (previously paid on December 15, 1928, Hashim was paid 20 rupees that first February payday).[570] These references do not necessarily confirm that Hashim continued in his role as a guard, although it seems likely. Nevertheless, Hashim's inclusion in this payment record makes it clear that he is still employed on the project over the second season's duration and at a consistent rate.

Gilbert, Season A

Waterman also records the logistical support activities of man with the last name of Gilbert; his first name is not recorded, nor is his nationality (though a non-Iraqi or non-Arab origin may be inferred from his name). While he does not appear on the official staff list for Season A, a "Mr. Gilbert" is included as a staff member in the retrospective project financial report Waterman submitted to the IAR in 1933 (noted above). Gilbert's salary is reported as $30 per month (total: $79 dollars), and can be compared to Manasseh's salary of $75/month (total: $225) and Sproule's of $25/month (total: $75).[571] If Gilbert's English name is any indication,

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[568] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald Waterman, January 5, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.
[569] Waterman Notebook 3, November 11, 17, December 2, 1928.
[570] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, February 7, 1929.
[571] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, December 11, 1933, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2.

Gilbert was perhaps an expatriate resident of Baghdad: though he was apparently not on staff for Season B (1928-1929), Waterman noted that he "[s]aw Gilbert" among his other tasks upon arrival in Baghdad (before departing for the site to begin the second field season), between arranging to hire Robert McDowell and getting a haircut.[572] It seems that Gilbert, at least, lived in Baghdad.

In Waterman's Season A notebook entries, Gilbert often worked in tandem with Hashim;[573] when mentioned individually, he handles a similar range of activities as Hashim, running errands to Salman Pak and Baghdad, including grocery runs,[574] delivery of film to be developed, and picking up cash for payroll, and arranging transportation in cars and boats.[575] He also serves as an interpreter, including for on some on-site paydays and in interactions with the Mudir of Salman Pak to arranging cash withdrawals in Salman Pak.[576] Finally, Waterman records that Gilbert served tea to visitors to the site who were entertained by Waterman.[577]

Yusuf (YMCA), Season A, B, and E

A man named Yusuf (Yusef, Yussouf), based in Baghdad, appears in Waterman's notebooks during Seasons A and B as part of a broader support network beyond the dig. During Season A, Waterman notes in his diary when Yusuf does not arrive, as expected, from Baghdad with payroll; when he arranges transportation (cars to take Waterman back from Baghdad to Salman Pak; a motor boat to bring finds to Baghdad at the season's end); and when he brings

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[572] Waterman Notebook 3, November 5, 1929.
[573] Waterman Notebook 1, January 4, 13, February 5, 17, 25, 1928.
[574] E.g., Waterman Notebook 1, January 29, 1928: "Gilbert got home at six brought potatoes, apricots, peaches, cabbages, nuts, jam marmalade, matches, [2 illegible words], sugar, salt."
[575] Waterman Notebook 1, January 26, 29, February 2, 1928; Waterman Notebook 2, March 5, 6, 8, 15, 17, 18, 19. 20, 1928.
[576] Waterman Notebook 1, January 12, February 2, 1928.
[577] Waterman Notebook 1, February 11, 1928.

supplies (groceries, sacks), correspondence (bills), and news from Baghdad to Waterman.[578] In Season B, Waterman typically records when he awaits Yusuf's arrival to the dig and when Yusuf arrives from Baghdad with supplies, payroll, and letters or telegrams.[579] Yusuf's role is similar in the anonymous Season B notebook: he is mentioned as bringing cash/payroll, supplies, and cables and letters, all presumably from Baghdad.[580]

With Yusuf's specific role unarticulated in the notebooks, Waterman's correspondence makes it clear that Yusuf is an employee of the YMCA in Baghdad. As he explains to Mabelle,

> I have not I think told you how the YMCA Secy has helped me in buying my supplies. I could not go into the market and get supplies as a European without paying double or more than I should, for there are no fixed prices and they never ask what they expect to get and so I do [not?] know what the price out to be. Therefore Mr Munro of the YM has done nearly all my buying for me without charge whatever. This has not only saved me much money but it has saved me even more time but Mr Munro has not had to do all the work himself he has a faithful follower Yusuf who was the messenger today. He is Christian whom Mr M. converted from Mohammedanism and he now also acts as a [illegible: ___porter], during his working time, I have just bought an Arabic New Testament of him, but always he is the devoted servant of Mr Munro and so when he says now Yusuf go into the market and buy forty eleven things for Dr. Waterman, off goes Yusuf and soon he comes back laden like the argosies of Solomon. And he knows all the cheapest prices and can't be fooled. At the same time he is thoroughly reliable. Today he brought me cabbages, onions, potatoes cauliflower, oranges, peanuts, macaroni, vermicelli, etc, etc. And with the guests he brought along he managed it so that the transportation of himself and supplies cost me nothing. Oh I forgot he also brought me a stack of Assyrian bread.[581]

Waterman makes no reference to Yusuf in his textual production from Seasons C and D, but he records a visit from Yusuf in his Season E diary, wherein Yusuf acts as messenger, bringing a check back to Baghdad for Waterman.[582] As such, it seems likely that his position with the

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[578] Waterman Notebook 1, January 12, 13, 19, February 4, 13 1928; Waterman Notebook 2, March 5, 6, 13, 1928.
[579] Waterman Notebook 3, November 8, 15, 22, 28, 29, December 12, 18, 27, 1928, January 2, 23, 25, 30, 31, 1929.
[580] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, February 6, 20, March 8, April 20, 1929.
[581] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 18, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928. Waterman also records Yusuf's usual payroll delivery activity in his correspondence: Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 26, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.
[582] Waterman Notebook 9, October 11, 1931.

YMCA and his work in supporting the UM project's logistics continued in the interim period.

Idhureb, Foreman (?), Season A, B, C, D, and E

Waterman refers often to the activities of a man whose name appears to be "Idhureb": Waterman's handwriting is very challenging to read (the letters between the "h" and the final "b" are very obscure each time the name is recorded in Waterman's notebooks; I am also uncertain about my reading of the other letters in this name). During Season A, he is singled out for mention when he runs notes between Waterman and a local notable, Khudhur Effendi,[583] regarding help acquiring pickaxes, bringing new men and boys to the workforce, and communicating a wage reduction to the workforce (following a discussion between Waterman and Khudhur Effendi). He is also mentioned in ways that imply supervisory activities. Once, Waterman records that Idhureb is "set […] to watching basket boys"; on another occasion he described as "sent to (2)" (i.e., trial trench 2). The latter reference to redeployment on site suggests the man's significance, for it is rare that Waterman records any members of the workforce shuffled around different excavation locations by name.[584]

Idhureb appears to be an excavation foreman during Season C. He is mentioned infrequently: Waterman notes that Idhureb calls on the team the day prior to the beginning of the excavation work, among other meetings between the two men.[585] Waterman also records in his diary that Idhureb was the second to be vaccinated, following Manasseh, when Waterman arranges for a Health Department official to come from Baghdad to inoculate the team and workforce against smallpox.[586] In describing this vaccination of the workforce to Toledo

[583] I am also uncertain about this man's name. The honorific "Effendi" is clearly written, but the letters of his name are not entirely clear.
[584] Waterman Notebook 1, January 12, 14, 15, February 15, 1928.
[585] Waterman Notebook 3, November 9, 12, December 21, 1928.
[586] Waterman Notebook 3, December 23, 1928.

Museum of Art director Blake-More Godwin, Waterman writes that "my architect and the foreman were vaccinated before" the workers: with Manasseh as the architect, Idhureb must be this "foreman."[587]

Idhureb is mentioned only once in Waterman's Season C notebooks: Waterman notes that he calls on the team at the dig house when they arrive, the day prior to the start of the excavation work.[588] It seems likely, however, that he continued in this role. He is back on the workforce in Season D and E. In Season D, Waterman references Idhureb's work in installing light railway tracks for the excavation.[589] Waterman wrote to the Toledo Museum of Art's Blake-More Godwin about a foreman's railway building expertise:

> Fortunately one of our native foremen worked on such a railway in building the Hindi [i.e., Hindiya] Barrage near Babylon and so we have at least one man who knows not only how to run the cars but also how to elevate the tracks without relaying the rails.[590]

As Idhureb is specifically mentioned raising tracks ("We got NW RR raised 1 ft above by Idhureb"[591]), it is possible that he is this specific "native foreman."

Waterman mentions him multiple more times in his journal for season E, most often in connection with weekly payments (his average weekly wage is 12), but also three times in reference to his seeking medical treatment (with others) at the dig house for "a bad foot."[592]

Ferhan Dihli (Dikli?), Guard (?), Season B

In Season B, Waterman records renting two horses from one Ferhan Dihli (or Dikli) in

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[587] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, January 1, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian. He describes the same in a letter to Mabelle, Dorothea, and Donald Waterman (December 25, 1928, Waterman/Bentley Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.
[588] Waterman Notebook 4, September 26, 1929.
[589] Waterman Notebook 8, December 13, 1930, January 1, 1931.
[590] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-Moore Godwin, December 16, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[591] Waterman Notebook 8, December 13, 1930.
[592] Waterman Notebook 9, October 10, 17, November 9, 10, 11, 21, 28, December 6, 12, 19, 27, 1931, January 2, 9, 17, 27, 1932.

his notebook, at a rate of one rupee a day per horse, for use by Salman Khalaf (see below) and Waterman himself.[593] While Waterman does not refer again to this man that season, Ferhan Dihli appears in the anonymous Season B notebook as a guard, though he is perhaps not regularly employed as a guard. The unnamed author records, at length, Ferhan's involvement in stopping a theft of bricks from the site and the subsequent legal proceedings.[594] These are worth discussing in detail, as they offer a significant if narrow window into project-community-local administrative relations.

According to the account in the notebook: Ferhan stopped and fought with a Kazam Abbas. The latter man allegedly came to site with four donkeys to steal bricks (about 150 bricks had been already successfully stolen, seemingly on an earlier evening). The other, "regular" guard, Salman Seiah (discussed individually, below), scared the man off, and the two guards took possession of his donkeys. The project staff polled other witnesses, who agreed that this Kazam Abbas was stealing bricks, and they thus decided to hold him "responsible for the return of 150 bricks" and hold "one donkey as bond for his doing this." The local *sirkal*,[595] a certain "Saleh Meherdi, cursed and threatened Ferhan Dahli for having trapped the man."[596] Salman Seiah and Ferhan Dihli were both paid a rupee for taking custody of Kazam Abbas' donkey, and the staff arranged to have Salman Seiah and Abd el Thahi (discussed individually, below) as the "point guards for the mounds" going forward.[597] The Seleucia staff reached out to the appropriate Mudir (governor of the local administrative unit) under whose jurisdiction the project fell. As the notebook author records, they explained to the mudir

[593] Waterman Notebook 3, December 18, 1928.
[594] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 8, 11, 23, 24, 1929.
[595] A *sirkal* (*serkâr*, *serkal*, *sarkal*) was a sub-tribal head, bailiff, or a local supervisor of farming in both Ottoman and British Mandate land tenure/tax systems, though the role, obligations, and social/structural position shifted with the British modification of the system. See, inter alia, Batatu 1978, 86-67; Dodge 2003, 101-29; Kiyotaki 2019.
[596] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 8, 1929.
[597] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 11, 1929.

> that we were interested only in preventing further theft, and that we wanted our guards protected. He appeared to be friendly and desirous of being helpful. M. Manasseh wrote him a letter in Arabic giving an account of the incident of the bricks. A copy of this letter is to go to Cpt. Alderman. [598]

Through the Mudir, the alleged thief was taken into custody and witnesses, including Ferhan, were called to court. The Mudir also advised the archaeologists to "dismiss [their] present guards and take on a man belonging to the most powerful local sheikh. This will enable to government to hold the sheikh responsible for the security of [their] work."[599] The notebook's author concludes his account of the case:

> Today Ferhan Dihli returned from court. He reported nothing of the decision, as he was not present at the close. Saleh Meherdi was warned by the Judge to be very circumspect for if there are more complaints against him he will receive three months prison and a beating. The expense of Ferhan for his journey to court, and three days wages for the time he has spent were paid him. This case has been of great advantage to the Expedition. The local Arabs realize two things, first that the government will take speedy action upon any complaint by us; secondly that we stand by our men. This last because in the dispute Ferhan broke the hand of the brick thief, and the friends of this man had hoped to have him punished for this. [600]

This incident, as recorded, does not reveal much about Ferhan Dihli as an individual nor about his role on the project. It does, however, offer a glimpse into the project's relationship with the local community and administrative apparatus. A few points are worth raising.

This incident was precipitated by an interrupted theft of bricks from the dig. According to the Seleucia staff member's account, this was an ongoing theft. After abandoning his donkeys, our notebook author writes that

> Kazam came around noon. He insists he did not come to take bricks from our Dig, but had lost his way. About 150 good bricks are missing. Kazam himself told Ferhan that he had already taken one load, and Meherdi Salih on the evening of

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[598] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 21, 1929. N.B. Captain R.E. Alderman was the British Administrative Inspector of Baghdad.
[599] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 23, 1929.
[600] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 24, 1929.

> the 6th saw three donkey loads leaving.[601]

This incident occurred after the end of the excavation season, though Manasseh was still surveying around the site; the division of finds had taken place the day prior. Thus, the site visibly no longer the worksite for hundreds of workers.

Were these bricks—presumably ancient—being stolen for reuse as building material? It seems unlikely that they were stolen in order to be sold as antiquities. It is not clear from the excavators' records what they did with excavated, removed mudbricks, but the registration of many finds recorded as embedded in mudbrick[602] suggests that many bricks were not retained in whole and were likely broken up. Is this theft an instance of an ontological difference in how these bricks were understood: as available building material to a local man and as legally-protected antiquities to the archaeologists and their local associates?[603] The anonymous notebook author records that McDowell

> wrote a letter to Mr. Sidney Smith [current Director of Antiquities] with regard to the theft asking him to take action to see that local authorities [illegible] themselves to prevent further theft. This was because Mr. Smith while here informed us that we are held responsible for providing a guard for the complex while work was not in progress and that he wished us to report any case of theft.[604]

The author's emphasis on legal responsibility stands out.

Secondly, it appears that there were tensions between the archaeological team and the local sirkal, Saleh Meherdi. The unknown author described him as "Saleh Meherdi our local Sukal, who has been hostile to us." [605] He reportedly threatened Ferhan Dilhi for his role in

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[601] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 8, 1929.
[602] Or even retained in their mudbrick casings, when excavated, e.g., B00518 = KM 2018.01.0102 (formerly TMA 30.149), published as van Ingen 1939, 201 no. 720, Pl. XLVIII fig. 341.
[603] At the Harvard Expedition near Kirkuk/Tarkalan of Yorgan Tepe (ancient Nuzi), the staff used ancient bricks to construct walkways and a large oven to bake excavated tablets (Aja 2008.)
[604] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 9, 1929.
[605] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 23, 1929.

detaining Kazam Abbas—though, if the person that our anonymous author records as "Meherdi Salih" (that is, with the same names but in reverse order) is the same person as Saleh Meherdi, he himself was recorded as a witness of the first stage of this theft two evenings prior. Saleh Meherdi himself was on the receiving end of a severe threat from a judge if he was obstructive to the archaeological team and its employees. With only this incident offering a glimmer of these tensions, it is impossible to parse them exactly. Is the tension a result of local community divisions ("friends of this man," i.e., Kazam Abbas, set against those working with the foreign archaeologists)? Is the tension over the foreign archaeologists' easy access to the hierarchies of the legal and penal system? Over archaeological claims to the margins of cultivatable land or labor, against a backdrop of the fluctuating status of *sirkals* under the British Mandate (as the British empowered the tribal sheikhs over figures like the *sirkal*)? Other moments of potential tension or negotiation over cultivatable land in the archaeological concession area appear in Waterman's notebooks and letters (discussed below).

Ferhan Dihli's role in season C is decidedly less exciting: he only appears once in Waterman's notebook, when Waterman records that McDowell borrowed Ferhan Dihli's horse to run an errand.[606] It is not clear whether he worked for the excavation that season or is merely a neighbor.

Abd el Thahi (Dhahi, Dahi), Season B, C, D, and E

The unrecorded author of the Season B notebook refers to an Abd el Thahi, working with Manasseh on surveying along with a Salman Serah or Seiah (see below). After the incident of mass brick theft from the site described above, both men were hired to guard the mound on alternating days, at a combined rate of 25 Rupees per month (this comes out to 12.5 Rupees per

[606] Waterman Notebook 6, December 13, 1929.

month for each guard, assuming the duties and pay were split evenly between the two men).[607]

An Abd el Dhahi (also spelled "Abd el Dahi") appears in Waterman's entries for Season C. D, and E. It seems likely, given issues of transliteration/transcription, that this is the same man as the "Abd el Thahi" referenced in the anonymous notebook the previous season; once, in Waterman's season D notebooks, the name is spelled "Thahi."[608] In his Season C records, Waterman's references suggest the man's prominence among the workforce; it is possible that he was a foreman, though Waterman does not explicitly state this. He does, however, record that Abd el Dhahi was placed in charge of Trench 30 on at least one occasion, while also noting his presence at other excavation areas in the same way he indicates what trenches are overseen by staff members.[609] He also attributes a find to him on one occasion ("Terra c arm & hand holding obj. (Abd el Dhahi) surface"[610]), though whether this refers to a surface find from the excavation area or elsewhere in the site's environs is unclear. In Waterman's diaries, Abd el Dhahi is also engaged for other support activities: carrying notes to/from local notable Fakhri Jamil in the course of conversations about cultivation within the archaeological concession, sewing sacks, and accompanying staff members to Baghdad.[611] While he does not refer to Abd el Dhahi as a guard (despite his role the previous season), Waterman records once that he arranged for the man to watch a trench at night, though the duration of this guard work (nor what occasioned its implementation) is not specified.[612] Finally, in Waterman's entry recording the staff's end-of-

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[607] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 11, 1929: "From tomorrow Abd al Thahi and Salman Serah will be point guards for the mounds, one serving each day. They will be paid on a monthly basis, receiving together Rupees 25 per month. Each day they are to report here morning and evening."
[608] Waterman Notebook 8, September 13, 1930.
[609] Waterman Notebook 6, January 3, 8, 9, 10, 1930. E.g., "Abdel Dhahi at 30," meaning at Trial Trench ("TT") 30 (Waterman Notebook 6, January 9, 1930).
[610] Waterman Notebook 5, November 1, 1929.
[611] Waterman Notebook 5, November 1, 7, 29, 1929; Waterman Notebook 6, January 3, 8 9, 10, 1930; Waterman Notebook 7, January 24, 28, 1930.
[612] Waterman Notebook 4, October 3, 1929.

the-season departure from the site, he reports that "Manasseh the McDs & I left the house at 9:15 am leaving Abd el Dhahi in charge."[613]

Abd el Dhahi was employed by the project in Season D as well. Waterman only refers to him three times, twice in reference to his work as a guard[614] and once as bringing in an off-season find: "small seal jar found by Abd el Thahi' at T.30 in summer uncovered by wind."[615]

He is much more textually prominent in Waterman's notebook for Season E, where his name is recorded eighteen times. Most of these references occur in Waterman's weekly payroll note, with Abd el Dhahi's weekly wage typically falling at 8.4 rupees.[616] Along with Idhureb, he is one of the few whose names consistently appear with their weekly wages. Waterman also records payments to him, seemingly for off-season work, recording a payment of 79 rupees "for horse feed (14) & 5 per [mo?] to date Oct 1" on October 8.[617] Waterman also records Abd el Dhahi's other activities: attempting to get a horse shod (and returning the cash when he could not), filling ditches to make the road more passable, coming to the dig house for medical treatment, and accompanying Waterman and Manasseh to check out new irrigation areas nearby.[618]

Hajji, Guard, Season C

A guard referred to as Hajji appears in Waterman's Season C (1929-30) notebooks.[619] Much like Hashim, Hajji's activities include, but also extend beyond, security: once he is

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613 Waterman Notebook 7, January 28, 1930.

614 Waterman Notebook 8, September 12, 1930 ("Abd el Dhahi on guard") and September 19, 1930 ("Abd el Thahi in full 20. as guard," referring to a payment).

615 Waterman Notebook 8, September 13, 1930.

616 Waterman Notebook 9, October 10, 17, November 19, 28, December 5, 12, 19, 27, 1931, January 2, 9, 17, 27, 1932.

617 Waterman Notebook 9, October 8, 1931.

618 Waterman Notebook 9, October 24, 25, November 8, 11, December 8, 1932.

619 Note that "Hajji" is typically an honorific title; there is no indication of Hajji's personal names in the archive.

recorded as catching a nighttime looter, who is kept a "prisoner" until the local police arrive the following afternoon.[620] His logistical facilitation activities find him running errands to Baghdad (including bringing the airmail), involved in discussions about a rented horse's food, and building a shelter on site.[621] Once, in one of Waterman's daily finds lists, a find is attributed to him ("Seleucia tax receipt from Hajji on west of X").[622] Waterman also records once instance when "Hajji threatened to resign but we got him straight" and another when he "had a row" with the project's cook, offering tiny glimpses into personality and the project as a workplace.[623] Hajji makes a final appearance the following season (Season D), apparently no longer in the project's employ: Waterman writes "Hajji our old guard called in AM" on October 8, 1930.[624]

Waterman's letters home from Season C offer more information about Hajji. Indeed, according to Waterman, Hajji was not an Iraqi but an Afghan and was "a dervish" (presumably Sufi) and very devout. As he writes to Mabelle:

> We have a very interesting guard he is an Afgan [sic] & a dervish. He is very religious and spends much of the night and day too reciting his prayers etc. He can also charm scorpions so they won't sting. He picks them up & so has McD & Sophie. I haven't tried it yet. However he also cures their sting. One of our dogs was stung the other evening and he began howling but Hajji the guard managed to catch the scorpion put him in a box prayed over it & spit on it and the dog stopped crying and is O.K.[625]

He offers the same information in a letter to Dorothea, in a description of the Season C staff: "Finally Hajji the night guard who is an Afghan and a Dervish. He spends much of both night &

[620] Waterman Notebook 5, October 15, 1929. For the same incident, see also: Letter, Leroy Waterman to Dorothea waterman, October 7, 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald Waterman, (?) October 15, 1929 (letter was later dated c. Sept. 23, 1929, but that date, given the contents is incorrect), Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929.
[621] Waterman Notebook 4, September 24, 1929; Waterman Notebook 5, November 5, 15, 25, 1929; Waterman Notebook 7, January 28, 1929.
[622] Waterman Notebook 6, December 22, 1929.
[623] Waterman Notebook 5, October 21, November 10, 1929.
[624] Waterman Notebook 8, October 8, 1930.
[625] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 4, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929.

day at his prayers, praying always aloud. And at Dawn he gives the muezzin call to prayer."[626]

Hamza (Hamzi) Hamadi, Guard, Seasons D and E

A man named Hamza (or Hamzi) Hamadi worked as a guard during Seasons D and E; Waterman's references to him are minimal but include his Season D payrate as 1 rupee per day (thus 30 per month).[627] The following season (E), Waterman reports that Hamzi's house was one of several destination on his family's Christmas day walk.[628]

During Season D, Donald Waterman wrote to his sister Dorothea that "[o]ur Guard is a very nice guy. He made me a sling, a very pretty one too. He can throw a stone about 200 yards with it."[629] In another letter to his mother and sister, Donald once again mentioned the guard: "The other night our guard thought he saw a man silhouted [sic] on top of a rise near the house and fired his rifle. He ran over there and it turned out to be a strange dog […] The guard finally caught him and that was that."[630] As discussed above, Abd el Dhahi was also employed during Season D as a guard, so Donald may refer to either man (or, alternatively, to a third, unnamed guard).

As discussed above with regard to the popular press, Winifred Smeaton detailed meeting Hamza ("a very nice-looking rather young chap") and his extended family on a weekend trip to Seleucia in 1933. Thus, through Smeaton's article, we know that, during this hiatus in fieldwork, he and his cousin Abbas continued to work as guards.

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[626] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, October 7, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929.
[627] Waterman Notebook 8, September 25, November 23, December 16, 1930. "Settled guards salary at 1 @ day as [from? For?] Sept 15 paid him 25" (Waterman Notebook 8, October 9, 1930).
[628] Waterman Notebook 9, December 25, 1931. See also Waterman Notebook 9, November 29, 1931.
[629] Letter, Donald Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, September 27, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.
[630] Letter, Donald Waterman to Mabelle and Dorothea Waterman, December 17, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.

Two or more Salimans [or Sulimans]: Saliman Seiah (Saih, Serah, Seah, Sayyah) and Saliman Khalaf

Saliman Seiah, Seasons A, B, C, and E

A Saliman Saih is included in Waterman's list of final payments to workers at the end of Season A (introduced above). In the anonymous Season B notebook, a Salman Seiah (or Serah) is singled out on two paydays for payment for "transportation" (".8"[631]) and "special carrying" ("/12"[632]). The following month, his role as the site's "regular guard" is mentioned in the context of his involvement in stopping "a certain Kazam Abbas" who was initially caught in the act of stealing multiple loads bricks from the site by "Ferhan Dihli, who was acting as guard at the Dig" (discussed above).[633] Following this incident, the unknown notebook writer refers to hiring Salman Seiah, along with Abd el Thahi (Abd el Dhahi), to guard the site (as noted above). As also noted above, a payment to him, along with Abd el Thahi (Abd el Dhahi), is recorded for his surveying work with Manasseh.[634]

Waterman only records the activities of a Suliman Seiah once in Season C, at the end of the season when he has been dispatched to Salman Pak to meet Selim Effendi of the Iraq Museum, presumably expected for the finds division process (he did not arrive; Sidney Smith, then director of antiquities, came the following day for the division).[635] His name is not recorded in the Season D notebook, but Waterman seems to mention him twice in his Season E journal, though differences in spelling open the possibility that these references are to different people. First, a "Suliman as Seah" is mentioned as the head of a work gang that is moved around the

[631] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, January 31, 1929.
[632] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, February 7, 1929.
[633] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 8, 1929.
[634] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 11, 1929.
[635] Waterman Notebook 7, January 23, 1930.

site.[636] Waterman's second reference records "trouble between Ahmed & Aliwih & Suliman Sayyah," with one of these workgang leaders or foremen (their roles are not explicitly stated) "sent to main dig in PM" and Ahmed given a warning.[637]

Saliman Khalaf (Suliman, Khalif), Seasons A, B, and C

A Saliman Khalaf appears a few times in Waterman's Season A records. In his "got today" list of finds for February 20, 1928, Waterman mentions a Saliman Khalif as an artifact source: "Heavy basalt pestle brought in by Saliman Khalif .8 by donkey."[638] This is an example of Waterman's habit of occasionally—not consistently—noting the names of finders of objects and the *bakhshish* paid, whether in excavation or as noncontextualized objects ("surface finds" or the like). At the close of the season, Waterman refers to Saliman Khalaf again, this time in reference to the man's work transporting furniture and equipment: "table, chairs 3 [illegible] 8 picks [to] K37," the designation for a bungalow belonging to the Department of Irrigation, presumably in order to store these items until the next field season; on completion this task, Waterman records paying Saliman Khalaf "3 ½ R[upee]s." He also is included in that first season's final worker pay list (on the same day), receiving 8 rupees.[639]

Waterman mentions him once in his notebook covering the second field season (Season B), to note that he rented horses, "1 for Suliman Khalif & me from Ferhan Dihli to be 1 Rupee a day each."[640] He refers to him in the third season (C) once more, writing "Wash day Saliman

[636] Waterman Notebook 9, December 3, 1931 ("Put Malih & Talal on north face & rest on South for rest of day and in P.M. brought Suliman as Seah with his gang first on north & then on south").
[637] Waterman Notebook 9, January 14, 1932.
[638] Waterman Notebook 1, February 20, 1928.
[639] Waterman Notebook 2, March 18, 1928.
[640] Waterman Notebook 3, December 18, 1928. Waterman borrowed Ferhan Dihli's horse on one occasion during the following season (Season C), in order to ride over to the K37 Department of Irrigation bungalow and inquire about a new road (Waterman Notebook 6, December 13, 1929); he is also the same man referred to (as discussed above) in the Anonymous season B notebook who caught a man stealing bricks from the site (Anonymous Notebook, Season B, March 8, 1929).

Khalaf on water." This seems to mean that Saliman Khalaf is hauling water, either from the river or a well—though what is being washed—small finds, pottery, or laundry, is unspecified.[641] He is not visible in Waterman's Season D or E notebooks.

Saliman and Suliman, no surname, Seasons A, B, and C

Waterman also records the activities of "Saliman" or "Suliman" with no second name or surname several times during the first three seasons of work.[642] A Saliman or Suliman is named as the source of "surface" finds: in Season A, cuneiform-inscribed brick (1 Rupee *bakhshish*)[643]; in Season B, a "bead & one of stone" (no *bakhshish* specified).[644] A Saliman is recorded, on several instances in Seasons A and C, as aiding in transportation, such as by rowing Waterman and others across the Tigris.[645] Finally, a Saliman's archaeological activities are recorded: he aides Manassah in surveying ("Manasseh came with Saliman & Dumpy level"[646]) and is engaged for what seems to be delicate excavation work, removing and transporting large intact jars.[647] These references to Saliman and Suliman—and our inability to distinguish them from or connect them to the activities of Saliman Seiah, Saliman Khalaf, or any other Saliman—are symptomatic of the difficulty in tracking individuals across these kinds of textual references. The challenges are similar to that described by Sarah Irving in relation to the "two Yusifs" on PEF excavations (discussed in Chapter 4), but, indeed, without sufficient evidence to attribute the activities of the sole name "Saliman" to any other individual.

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[641] Waterman Notebook 5, November 2, 1929.
[642] One reference is too illegible to make out the activity recorded (Waterman Notebook 1, January 24, 1928).
[643] Waterman Notebook 1, January 23, 1928.
[644] Waterman Notebook 3, December 17, 1929.
[645] Waterman Notebook 2, March 5, 13, 15; Waterman Notebook 7, January 23
[646] Waterman Notebook 1, January 22, 1928.
[647] "Found five new jars & top of sixth got [camera?] & [photoed?] part of these, took out a fine jar from 4m east side six feet [down?] 2 ft 8 in tall & got it out where Saliman brought it in gave him 4 annas extra [...] Today got large jars one of (2)' & got it in to house Saliman helped bring it" (Waterman Notebook 1, January 25-26, 1928).

Two or more Abbases: Abbas Alwan, Abbas Jassim, Abbas (no surname)

Abbas Alwan, Season B, C, D, and E

Abbas Alwan first appears in the anonymous Season B notebook: there, he is recorded as receiving an advance of five rupees "with which to pay for the repair of 11 picks, @ not more than annahs [six?] per pick."[648] From his first textual appearance, thus, he is employed for logistical support. He reappears in Waterman's Season C dairies twice, with his residence ("Abbas Alwan's camp") mentioned as a geographical reference (in connection to a borrowed, runaway horse)[649] and as a head of a work crew of 5 men on shoveling duty.[650]

In Seasons D and E, Waterman primarily refers to Abbas Alwan in connection to Waterman's renting of his horse. In Season D, Waterman frequently hires Abbas Alwan's horse for his son Donald's use; once, he records that he paid Abbas Alwan two rupees for two weeks' rental.[651] The following season, Waterman records payments to Abbas Alwan ranging from one to 65 rupees (but not what they are payments for)[652] as well as other, varied support activities: Waterman borrows barley from him for a horse; Abbas Alwan is one of a number (Dorothea, Manasseh, Waterman, and Hamzi) to inspect and make plans for a footbridge over the Khtemi canal; Waterman rents his horse for Dorothea to use; and the staff visit his village.[653]

In the excavation register of finds from Season F, Abbas Alwan's village (and mounds nearby) is recorded as a findspot for various surface finds.[654] This suggests that, even if he was

[648] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, February 7, 1929.
[649] Waterman Notebook 5, November 6, 1929.
[650] Waterman Notebook 7, January 19, 1930: "I began at Zig no 2 on north E side to look for [pots?] with 5 shovelers under Abbas Alwan."
[651] Waterman Notebook 8, November 28, December 5, December 18, 1930, January 2, 1931.
[652] Waterman Notebook 9, October 8, November 1, November 29, December 10, 1931.
[653] Waterman Notebook 9, September 30, November 29, 1931, January 10, 1932.
[654] F02645, F02646, F02647, F02648, F04032, F04033, F04306, F04613, F04614, F04710, F05505, F05597, F05662, F06059, F07677, F07879, F08609, F08610, F08611, F08814.

not employed that season by the excavation, he was viewed as a memorable local community fixture for recording purposes.

Abbas Jassim (Jassam, Jassem), Seasons D and E

Abbas Jassim is mentioned three times in Waterman's notebooks. During Season D, Waterman records that he is washing pottery.[655] In Season E, Waterman records an increase to his wages, as well as his aiding of Khalaf (see below) at the dig house when the cook was ill.[656]

Abbas(s), no surname, Season E

Waterman refers to Abbas, no second name given, on two dates in his Season E notebooks. Both references are in connection to payments. The first time, he seems to be paid for mending a kettle (8 annas) as well as 3 rupees (reason unstated).[657] The second time Waterman refers to paying Abbas, he recorded that he "Paid Abbas 9.3 for chickens and 60 salary."[658] Is this Abbas—or Abbas Alwan or Abbas Jassim—the same Abbas, a cousin of Hamzi, whom Winifred Smeaton reports working as a guard during the excavation hiatus (1933)? The references to men named Abbas are not sufficient to offer any clues to that identification.

Mali (Malih) Salal, Seasons C, D, and E

In Season C, D, and E, one Mali Salal was often deployed to work on the road and bridges (over canals).[659] In addition to this construction and repair work, Mali Salal also worked at the excavation. In Season D, Waterman records paying a "big [backsheesh] to Mali Salal for

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655 Waterman Notebook 8, September 23, 1931.
656 Waterman Notebook 9, October 10, November 28, 1931 ("Cook ill all day ... Had Abbas Jassim til 2 PM to help Khalaf").
657 Waterman Notebook 9, December 19, 1931.
658 Waterman Notebook 9, January 28, 1932.
659 Waterman Notebook 5, November 6, 1929; Waterman Notebook 8, November 6, 12, 18, 1930; Waterman Notebook 9, October 25, 1931; possibly also Waterman Notebook 9, December 13, 1931, January 18, 1932.

214 coins 40 rupees" (out of a total of 61.8 rupees of *bakhshish* paid that payday).[660] In Season E, Waterman names him specially, along with workers named Aliwih, Talal Yogut, and Ahmed Mayaf (discussed individually, below), implying leadership of a work gang, foreman activities, or a specialist role of some kind (mudbrick tracers?): I posit that these men are mudbrick tracers (called "*libans*" in the records) with supervisory roles. Waterman records Mali Salal's work on the south and north faces of the "Ziggurat," beginning on December 1st, 1930, when Waterman "worked at home till 9 a, went to dig at 9:30 at 10 took Aliwih & Malih & went to Ziggurat & began on south face found liben bricks & every third white found other reed mats higher up."[661]

Talal Yogut, Season D and E

A Talal Yogut first appears in Waterman's records during Season D, working at PP (Pottery Pit) 6 with "2 men & boy."[662] Waterman next records bringing and getting him admitted to the hospital in Baghdad and picking him up the next day; he does not record what aliment prompted the visit.[663] In his Season E notebook, Waterman records Talal Yogut's construction work ("on stable gate," helping a man from the irrigation department repair a bridge)[664] as well as his work at the "Ziggurat," mentioned along with Mali Salal and Aliwih, again, likely as mudbrick specialist.[665] Waterman first records his work in this capacity on December 3, 1930, writing that he (Waterman)

> [w]ent to Ziggurat at 8 am with Aliwih and Malih before noon brought over Attiyeh with gang and Talal Yogut. Put Malih & Talal on north face & rest on South for rest of day and in P.M. brought Suliman as Seah with his gang first on north & then on south.[666]

[660] Waterman Notebook 8, October 9, 1930.
[661] Waterman Notebook 9, December 1, 3-4, 7, 1931.
[662] Waterman Notebook 8, January 5, 1931.
[663] Waterman Notebook 8, January 13-14, 1931.
[664] Waterman Notebook 9, October 26, December 30, 1931.
[665] Waterman Notebook 9, December 3-4, 1931.
[666] Waterman Notebook 9, December 3, 1931.

Waterman also records paying him 4.2 rupees on one occasion (not on a payday) but does not specify the reason for the payment.[667]

Aliwih, Season E

During Season E, Waterman records the activities of another man whose name he records as "Aliwih," with similar activities to Mali Salal, Talal Yogut, and Ahmed Mayaf. [668] Indeed, Waterman's references to Aliwih are suggestive of the roles held by these other men as well, for Waterman specifically calls him a "liban,"[669] a mudbrick tracer, and refers to his "gang,"[670] suggesting that he was specifically supervising other workers. Like these other men, Waterman records Aliwih's work at the south and north faces of the "Ziggurat."[671] Waterman first refers to Aliwih in his entry of December 1st, 1930, quoted above, when both men begin working tracing bricks on the "Ziggurat's" south face. Soon, Aliwih is moved to work in a new, nearby trench: Waterman writes "began wide trench to SW face of Zig yesterday with only Aliwih as liban."[672] Waterman continues to refer to Aliwah's work on mudbrick walls, recording that he "[s]et Aliwah on wall at right angle to Zig all day" and, subsequently, that "Aliwih found angle of cross wall parallel to Zig of small rooms."[673] Once, Waterman reports redeploying "Aliwih's gang […] around Zig & to enlarge old cut in zig."[674] After this, Waterman records several instances of trouble between Aliwah and an Ahmed Mayaf (discussed further below), another mudbrick tracer with his own work group. Waterman writes "Aliwih got into trouble over

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667 Waterman Notebook 9, December 8, 1931.
668 Waterman's handwriting poses a challenge to accurately reading the letters in this individual's name as well. I have read and transcribed it as "Aliwih," but the exact letters are very difficult to identify with certainty, however clearly repeated the name is across twelve journal entries.
669 Waterman Notebook 9, December 18, 1931.
670 Waterman Notebook 9, January 9, 1932.
671 Waterman Notebook 9, December 1, 3-4, 7, 1931.
672 Waterman Notebook 9, December 18, 1931.
673 Waterman Notebook 9, December 22-23, 1931.
674 Waterman Notebook 9, January 9, 1932.

discipline of Ahmed's group."[675] (The next time the men clash, Waterman implies that Ahmed is the instigator; see below).

Beyond work on the dig, Waterman records extending a loan of 2 rupees to Aliwih, followed by Aliwih's repayment of the loan over the following month.[676]

Ahmed Mayaf, Season E

Like Mali Salal, Talal Yogut, and Aliwih, Ahmed Mayaf appears to lead a work gang of mudbrick tracers during Season E. He first appears paired with Aliwih: when, as noted above, Waterman writes that "yesterday" (December 17, 1931) he began a trench "only with Aliwih as liban," he next notes "Today had Ahmed Mayaf back": Ahmed Mayaf's return to work means that Aliwih is no longer the only "liban." Waterman continues to record where Ahmed Mayaf works, sometimes recording his work in tandem with Aliwih's.[677] "Ahmed Mayaf's group," i.e., the work team he leads, are sent to find the mudbrick edges of the "shadow plan"—that is, to investigate features north of the so-called Ziggurat apparent as "shadows" in RAF aerial-photos; while they "got traces of liben but not the wall," Waterman eventually writes that he "[g]ave up edge beyond zig & put Ahmed back on old trench."[678]

Finally, as noted above, Ahmed comes into conflict with Aliwih. The first time is noted above, where Aliwih is named as the investigator; the second time, Waterman records that there was "trouble between Ahmed & Aliwih & Suliam Sayyah. sent him to main dig in PM. & gave Ahmed [warning?] at Bungalow."[679]

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[675] Waterman Notebook 9, January 11, 1932.
[676] Waterman Notebook 9, December 12, 18, 1931, January 9, 1932.
[677] E.g., "Set Aliwih on wall at right angle to Zig all day. Ahmed Mayuf almost round the N.W." (Waterman Notebook 9, December 22, 1931).
[678] Waterman Notebook 9, January 11-12, 18, 1932.
[679] Waterman Notebook 9, January 14, 1932.

Boys

Waterman refers to several "boys" in his notebooks. Their activities are largely errand-running and assistant/helper activities, whether they occupy specific roles ("coin boy") or are named in helping organize objects and records or wash pottery. Most of the time, they do appear to be boys—that is, children or adolescents; "boy" here does not seem to be specifically a derogatory disparagement. Child labor was ubiquitous on 19th and early 20th archaeological excavations across the Middle East. Petrie's influential excavation manual, for example, encouraged employing children, advising that "boys are of use for carrying from about 10 years old" and that "girls will work very well in the Delta and in Syria, though not in Upper Egypt. They do well at carrying."[680] The Seleucia excavation hired "basket boys" in at least the earliest two seasons, essentially following the organizational model suggested by Petrie, in which boys (recorded as "basket boys" by Waterman) carried away excavated earth in baskets, teamed up with men tasked with excavating. However, Waterman's notebook entries suggest that such hauling work was not exclusively the work of boys, referring also to "men" charged with carrying baskets;[681] in his third season, he tends to refer to "basket sets" (i.e. a team on basket duty) and offers no indication of the ages of the workers employed for this work.[682] There is no archival evidence for the project hiring girls (or adult women) for the excavation labor, although local women certainly contributed to the broader support of the excavation through work such as laundry washing.[683] Here I discuss the individual boys whose tasks other than basket carrying are recorded.

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[680] Petrie 1904, 21, 23. Petrie asserts that "[t]he best age for diggers is about 15 to 20 years." See also, Quirke 2010.
[681] E.g., Waterman Notebook 1, January 14, 1928.
[682] E.g., Waterman Notebook 5, October 21, 1929.
[683] E.g., Waterman Notebook 1, February 14, 21, 1928; Waterman Notebook 9, October 10, 24, November 7, 16, 23, December 21, 1931, January 29, 1932.

Khalaf (Halif, Khalif), Khalaf Radi, Or, the Coin Boy(s), Season A

McDowell estimated (quoted above, from the first *Preliminary Report*) that only 1% of coins from the first three seasons of work were excavated; the "majority" of coins, he writes in his 1935 coin volume, "come from the surface debris over the whole extent of the mounds."[684] This character of the corpus was partially the result of the employment of a "coin boy" to collect surface finds of coins during the first season of work and continued compensation for surface finds of coins in later seasons. While staff member F.H. Sproule was first dispatched to collect coins from the site's surface,[685] he was soon replaced by an eagle-eyed "coin boy." In a letter to Mabelle, Waterman described the coin boy and his activities:

> Our coin collection now numbers well on to 1500. (Graeco-Roman). The last couple of days we have been employing a small boy for 15 cts a day and he has already brought about 500 from the mounds. Many of these are of course too far corroded to be restored but there are some fine ones nevertheless […] [Ali's] brother who is still smaller than he wants to work with a basket but we don't think he is big enough I suppose he is about as big as Hubert Abbot and so we have employed him to pick up coins. He has proved very adept at this and can get more than my assistant Mr Sproule can any day.[686]

Writing to Toledo Museum of Art director Blake-More Godwin, Waterman again writes:

> As to the coins, all we can do is to make a rough estimate to the grist of each day and single out a few of the best for special study. We estimate that we have now some 2000 including all fragments. Our special collector is a boy (Arab) only about ten years old but he has eyes like a tack and can find coins were I could see nothing. All we needs is a good rain to double the collection inside a week.[687]

He mentions the "coin boy" in one other Season A letter to Godwin.[688]

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[684] McDowell 1931, 43; McDowell 1935a, vii. "Slightly more than one half the coins included in the volume came from definite provenances" (vii).
[685] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 12, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928: "I have him spend half a day at least each day picking up Graeco-Roman coins on our mounds. We have now a baking powder can nearly half full. Some of them are very good and some other objects are also included, like spear heads, nails, rings, etc."
[686] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 25, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.
[687] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, January 28, 1928, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[688] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, February 11, 1928, TMA/Mesopotamian: "several gold coins have come in by our coin boy."

While unnamed in this correspondence, Waterman names a boy in his Season A notebooks. Khalaf is first introduced with the entry “Halif (boy) collector of coins got fine coin of Nero with inscript.”[689] The name “Halif” is clearly added above the entry. After that initial reference, Waterman spells the name “Khalaf” or “Khalif.” Once, when Waterman notes the boy’s absence, he refers to “Khalaf Radi.”[690] Another time, he refers to “Coin boy Khalif.”[691] Most often, however, Waterman refers to “coin boy” no personal name provided. I interpret these references to “coin boy” or a single boy collecting coins as referring to this same boy named Khalaf. Toward the end of the season, however, Waterman refers to a “new coin boy,” and it is not clear which boy is meant by the following (and final) two references to the “coin boy.”

Table 5 Waterman's references to "coin boy" in his Season A notebook

References in Waterman Notebook 1	Entry Date
“Had a boy collect coins 5 annas”	January 22, 1928
“Had little boy pick up coins and he got a fine lot for 4 annas.”	January 23, 1928
“Small boy got coins .6.”	January 26, 1928
“^[interlinear, above] Halif [/interlinear] (boy) collector of coins got fine coin of Nero with inscript.”	January 28, 1928
“bronze figures from surface by coin boy, broken lamp”	January 29, 1928
“Coin boy brought in small jug backshish 1 anna he brought in lot of coins also.”	January 30, 1928
“1 barrel shaped one of glass all found on surface by coin boy”	February 1, 1928
“Burnt clay model of coin, some good coins from coin boy, a considerable piece of metal green in color but partly of gold came up from (2)^2”	February 3, 1928
“Coin boy got [illegible]ng a few coins today but two gold pieces, one with [Eu?] of a cuneiform sign.”	February 5, 1928
“Coin boy absent (Khalaf Radi)”	February 6, 1928
“Gold coin from surface by boy.”	February 7, 1928
“Coin boy brought bunch of coins in [increasing?] [worth?] to Spitzer.”	February 11, 1928

[689] Waterman Notebook 1, January 28, 1928.
[690] Waterman Notebook 1, February 6, 1928.
[691] Waterman Notebook 1, February 20, 1928.

“Coin boy brought coins.”	February 12, 1928
“Coin boy brought coins & decorative nail of bronze”	February 14, 1928
“Coin boy Khalif got good lot of coins & some special bronze things”	February 20, 1928
“Got from surface 4 beads [&?] agate by new coin boy, [Washerwoman’s grandson?]”	February 21, 1928
“Coins brought by coin boy fairly good.”	February 23, 1928
“Basket boy Jasim Mah[ou?]d turned back on acct of cold also coin boy”	March 1, 1928

The same Khalaf or different Khalaf(s)?, Season B, C, D, and E

During Season B, Waterman tells Blake-More Godwin that he is “not trying to collect surface coins any more but in spite of that the Arabs will bring them in.”[692] Thus, by the second season, the position of “coin boy” no longer exists, but the Season A coin collection and compensation strategy spurred surface collection of coins. With his Season A role eliminated, Khalaf is not visible in Waterman’s Season B records: no Khalaf is mentioned in his Season B notebooks. However, the anonymous notebook writer that season records payment to a “Khlaf” under the heading “house wages” (along with an Aghas) suggesting that, if the same person, Khalaf’s position is in the dig house/project support.[693] Furthermore, Waterman refers in a letter to “two Arab boys” assisting Olga McDowell in her running of the excavation household during Season B by working around the house and fetching water from the river: one is likely Khalaf. [694]

In Waterman’s Season C notebooks, references to “Khalaf” do not clarify his role (nor confirm that they refer to the same individual). Khalaf’s labor seems to be the source of a

[692] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, November 26, 1928, TMA/Mesopotamian: “I am not trying to collect surface coins any more but in spite of that the Arabs will bring them in. I have over a quart at present. For any good pieces I give a small backsheesh. In that way I have gotten some fairly good ones & some with a high percent of gold! I have one piece that looks like an ingot, perhaps used as a weight.”
[693] Anonymous Notebook, Season B: 4.6 rupees on January 31, 1929, and “paid in full, 4/6” on February 7, 1929.
[694] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald and Dorothea Waterman, December 7, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.

kerfuffle: Waterman writes, “Yeivin went to Baghdad via Ctesiphon took Khalaf to river to carry suit case without asking. Cook nearly struck. Gave him [20 or 26] R.”[695] Yeivin’s engaging of Khalaf without asking seems to annoy Waterman and may be the source of the cook’s protest, if Khalaf’s employment was still in the dig house as the previous season; this, however, cannot be confirmed. A Khalaf is also recorded in a list of finds, associated with a molded ceramic relief fragment (“Khalaf fig head & bust on pottery cast Aksaf”), presumably as finder of the object.[696] Finally a Khalaf is listed in the departing group as the season’s end.[697]

A Khalaf also appears in the Season D and E notebooks. The Khalaf(s) referenced those seasons seem to be the same Khalaf of Season B and C (if not also of Season A), given that his recorded activities, again, largely locate him in the dig house and working closely with the cook. In Season D, Waterman once records “Khalaf got supper”[698]; the other three times Khalaf is mentioned are in reference to payments.[699]

In Season E, Waterman once again records payments to Khalaf.[700] He also appears in reference to household tasks, errand-running (“Had Khalaf sweep out the library”[701]; “sent cook & Khalaf to S. Pak”[702]), and substituting for the cook when the cook was unwell.[703] Once, Waterman registers suspicion that Khalaf has stolen money (“checked up accts & found 2 rupees lacking Looks suspicious for Khalaf”).[704] Nothing seems to have come of this: Waterman makes

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[695] Waterman Notebook 5, October 13, 1929.
[696] I have been unable to identify this find in the object register. Waterman Notebook 5, November 13, 1929.
[697] Waterman Notebook 7, January 28, 1930: “The cook Bab & [Illegible name, begins with “P”], Hajji, Jasim & his family, Khalaf, Spicer & Yeivin went for the motor boat.”
[698] Waterman Notebook 8, September 12, 1930.
[699] Waterman Notebook 8, October 27, November 13, December 3, 1930.
[700] Waterman Notebook 9, October 4, 1931 (“After dinner gave Khalaf 5 has worked 29 days @ .12 per day”); October 17, 1931 (20 rupees); December 27, 1931 (2 rupees); January 27, 1932 (6 rupees); January 31, 1932 (30 rupees).
[701] Waterman Notebook 9, October 21, 1931.
[702] Waterman Notebook 9, November 1, 1931.
[703] Waterman Notebook 9, November 27, 1931 ("Cook bad with eyes & [B?] & Khalaf got dinner M helped"), November 28, 1931 ("Cook ill all day ... Had Abbas Jassim til 2 PM to help Khalaf").
[704] Waterman Notebook 9, November 23, 1931.

no other mention of it, but Waterman's brief note speaks to both Khalaf's access around (and thus employment in) the dig house, a lack of trust between Waterman and the local staff, and, in all probability, bias on Waterman's part.

Ali, Ali Nassar (Nasar), Seasons A and B; Nassar, Season E

A boy named Ali appears in Waterman's notebooks most often when running errands. Waterman first refers to him as "(boy) Ali," in Season A, sent to accompany a messenger (from a Mr. Gray of the Irrigation Department) who brought Waterman "a goose and literature," back to the dig bungalow.[705] I have inferred that this Ali is the same person as the Ali Nassar who is paired with a Khalaf (another boy, see below) in Waterman's Season A final pay list (discussed above) and the Ali Nasar who appears in Waterman's Season B notebooks.

Throughout January 1928, Waterman refers to Ali bringing "pail and lunch things" to site and back to the house or bringing a "basket" as he accompanies one of the staff members to the dig.[706] On one occasion, Ali gets in trouble over these duties: Waterman writes, "Found Ali had set down basket & sheep ate ~~his~~ our bread all up. Charged him 8 annas & sent Sproule after more bread for lunch."[707] Two days later, Waterman includes this story in a letter to his family, leaving out the fact that Ali was charged money for the loss but including more information about Ali:

> I must now tell Donald a story about an Arab boy Ali by name. He is a shepherd boy who goes out with the flocks all day and brings them in at night. He lives in a native Arab Black tent village on the Tigris and so is one of our neighbors. He came to the dig when I first came and wanted to work for me. And this last week when we began to hire boys to carry baskets of earth Ali came again & we finally hired him (he is about Donald's age) for 20 cts a day We have since raised him to 23 cts for he calls in the morning and carries our lunch basket to the dig and brings it back at night. Imagine him going out with us before sunrise in a cold

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[705] Waterman Notebook 1, January 17, 1928.
[706] Waterman Notebook 1, January 18-19, 21-22, 1928.
[707] Waterman Notebook 1, January 23, 1928. "His" is crossed out and replaced with "our."

> biting wind, I with my heavy winter clothing high tops two pair of sox & overcoat. Ali wears no underwear and trudges along barefoot. It seems incredible. But one morning when it was unusually cold and he was carrying the basket alone, he stopped to warm his feet by a shepherd's fire in the field and in doing so he set down the basket and before he knew it the sheep had come and eaten up all the bread in the basket. He was a very crestfallen boy that arrived at the dig some time later. We had to send to the house of course for more bread that day. But he is a very bright boy and we use him for all sorts of errands. He is now supplying us with wheat, eggs sometimes, and occasionally a chicken.[708]

From this letter, we learn Ali's pay-rate: 20 cents per day, raised to 23 cents per day for his lunch-carrying activities (presumably, this refers to a conversion from rupees to USD); it thus seems likely that the payrate for the "basket boys" was 20 cents per day, but this is not explicitly stated. We also learn that Ali belongs to the community living next to the Tigris river, next to the Department of Irrigation bungalow. In this description of Ali's activities, we can also see the intertwining of excavation activities with broader logistical support activities: Ali works by carrying baskets on the dig and through other activities, like errand running. As the season comes to a close, Waterman records in his notebook that Ali helps him organize artifacts and records.[709]

In Season B, an Ali Nasar appears alongside another boy, Thabit (discussed below), mentioned in the context of a fight between the boys.[710] Waterman refers to Ali only one other time that season, where he seems to assist Manasseh (presumably in surveying).[711] Waterman does not refer to anyone by this name in his Season C or D notebooks.

In his Season E notebooks, Waterman records payment to a "Nassar" four times in his weekly payroll notes. Each week, he is paid six rupees, save one 6.1-rupee payment.[712] This

[708] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 25, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928. N.B. Donald Waterman was 13 in 1928 (born August 7, 1915).
[709] Waterman Notebook 2, March 9, 1928: "had Ali help clean up antiques"; March 11, 1928: "had Ali help me rearrange envelopes etc"; March 12, 1928: "Sp[roule] & I copied records all day had Ali to help and caught up whole list to no 1076."
[710] "Thabit & Ali Nasar had fight during & after hours had to [illegible: suspend?] both" (Waterman Notebook 3, November 21, 1928).
[711] Waterman Notebook 3, December 12, 1928.
[712] Waterman Notebook 9, November 28, December 5, 12, 19, 1931.

makes Nassar's weekly wage about half of Idhureb's, and about 75% of Abd el Dhahi's. Is this a different Nassar or a shortened reference to either this Ali Nassar or the Wathid (Wuthid) Nasar (below) who worked on the project in the early seasons?

Wathid or Wuthid Nasar

During Season B, Waterman twice references work by a Wathid or Wuthid Nasar. He is mentioned once in reference to work around the dig house (bungalow).[713] The second time, Waterman records that he "[s]ent Wuthid Nasar on mounds for coins,"[714] seemingly marking him as a coin boy on at least one occasion. Is he, rather than Khalaf, the smaller brother of Ali referred to in as a coin collector in a letter? [715]

Aghas, Season B

As noted above, a person called Aghas appears in the anonymous Season B notebook when the author records house wages,[716] and is likely one of the "two Arab boys to help about the house and bring the water from the river."[717] Waterman records the wages of the "house boys" one week as "4.12, 3.8."[718] Waterman also records that an Aghas runs errands in Baghdad for the excavation, including mending picks and sending and bringing mail.[719] Thus, Aghas is best understood as a boy or adolescent employed in the dig house during Season B.

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[713] Waterman Notebook 3, November 23, 1928.
[714] Waterman Notebook 3, December 5, 1928.
[715] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 25, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.
[716] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, January 31, 1929 (5 rupees under "House Wages"); February 7, 1929 (15 rupees).
[717] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald and Dorothea Waterman, December 7, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.
[718] Waterman Notebook 3, December 21, 1928.
[719] Waterman Notebook 3, January 26-27, 1929.

Thabit (Thabib, Thabbit/Thabbib), Seasons A and B

Waterman mentions a boy named Thabit or Thabib in his Seasons A and B records. At the end of the first field season, as the team is preparing for the division of finds, Waterman writes, "Got all objects displayed had boys working Khalif & Thabit all day."[720] Waterman records his continued involvement with the project the following season (Season B). He is first mentioned in Waterman's Season B notebooks as one of "Two boys [who] quit the dig[,] [Thabbib] & Jasim Mohammed," although both seem to return to the project promptly.[721] Thabit next gets in a fight with another boy, Ali Nasar, as noted above.[722] Otherwise, he helps Waterman, assisting with cleaning and organizing the artifact store room and apparently available to aid on the excavation/survey.[723] Thabit appears once in Waterman's Season D notebook, named among shovelers taken along to repair a bridge.[724]

Jasim Moh. (Mahmoud Jassin, Jasin, Jassim), Seasons A, C, and E

One or more individuals with the name Jasim appear across the seasons in Waterman's journals. In a case similar to that of the Salimans discussed above, it is difficult to determine whether, indeed, there is one Jasim or multiple Jasims. It may be that Waterman's references to "Jasim Mahmoud" and to "Jasim" (with no second name) differentiate between different individuals. However, in Season C, Waterman records, on different days the name of a person washing and mending pottery as both "Jasim" and "Jasim Moh.," suggesting that they are the same person, for it seems overly coincidental that he would employ two people by the same

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[720] Waterman Notebook 2, March 18, 1928.
[721] Waterman Notebook 3, November 12, 1928.
[722] "Thabit & Ali Nasar had fight during & after hours had to [illegible: suspend?] both" (Waterman Notebook 3, November 21, 1928).
[723] Waterman Notebook 3, November 29, 1928; "Sent Thabib to help Manasseh but Ali came & Thabib came back" (Waterman Notebook 3, December 12, 1928).
[724] Waterman Notebook 8, January 17 ("Took shovelers along (Thabit) to repair bridges").

name for the same task on alternating days. Additionally, in Season E, Waterman records a 30-rupee debt in connection with both the names "Jasim" and "Jasim Moh.": it seems too coincidental that two different individuals would be in the same amount of debt at the same time. As such, I discuss the references to Jasim together here and discuss the uncertainty further, below.

In Season A, Waterman describes a Jasim Mahmoud as a "basket boy" who leaves work early on a very cold March day.[725] A non-work note that season also concerns a Jasim: Waterman writes, "Sp. [i.e., staff member Sproule] took Jasim's picture in new garments of white."[726] No individual named Jasim is visible in Waterman's Season B notebook entries.

A "Jasim Moh." reappears in Waterman's Season C notebooks. For a continuous stretch during winter 1929/30, Jasim Moh. (sometimes recorded as only "Jasim") assists Waterman by washing and mending pottery; the second of eleven times this activity is recorded,[727] Waterman reports that "Jasim boy) came and washed & mended pottery."[728]

Earlier in the season, a Jasim Moh. is reported as involved in construction of the dig house, hauling water and lumber as well as in other construction tasks.[729] He and his associates ("Jassin's boys") are also credited with bringing in some artifacts including clay sealings, presumably "surface" finds.[730] Toward the end of the season, Jasim Moh. is dispatched to Baghdad several times with mail and messages, including a note to Sidney Smith to move up the division of finds by a day.[731] Finally, "Jasim & his family" are listed among those departing the

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[725] Waterman Notebook 1, March 1, 1928: "Basket boy boy Jasim Mah[mou?]d turned back on acct of cold also coin boy."
[726] Waterman Notebook 2, March 15, 1928.
[727] Waterman Notebook 6, December 19, 21, 23, 25, 28, 29, 31, 1929; January 1, 3, 5, 6, 1930.
[728] Waterman Notebook 6, Dec 21, 1929. Waterman also refers to a boy washing pottery in a letter (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 30, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929).
[729] Waterman Notebook 5, October 22, November 1, November 3, 1929.
[730] Waterman Notebook 5, October 22, November 1, 3, 1929.
[731] Waterman Notebook 6, January 8, 14, 1930; Waterman Notebook 7, January 22, 1930.

dig house along with the staff.[732] Waterman also records a "Mahmoud Jassin" as involved in preparations for RAF aerial photography; I suspect this is the same person.[733] No Jasim appears in Season D's records.

Most of Waterman's references to "Jasim" and "Jasim Moh." in his Season E notebooks pertain to financial record keeping. Waterman notes payment of wages[734] to "Jasim's family" as well as accounting of a debt. The name "Jasim" is first recorded that season in Waterman's record about the first week's payroll: "Payroll proper + backsheesh 227.20 but retained 10.8 for Jasim's family debt."[735] Most of the subsequent Season E notebook references to "Jasim" track continued repayment of this debt: Waterman records some amount of Jasim's and/or his family's wages behind held back most weeks.[736] Waterman also records paying a creditor 30 rupees on Jasim Moh.'s behalf,[737] and continues to account for repayments from Jasim's family (e.g. "Set side from Jasim's family 7.15 – 2.13 owing us on 30. pd leaves 5.2 in his acct").[738] (As noted above, since Waterman references both the name "Jasim Moh." and the name "Jasim" in entries regarding 30-rupee debt in a three-day period, they are most likely the same person.) Waterman also refers specifically to the wages of Jasim's son(s).[739] These accounting notes seem incomplete, as the numbers do not quite balance out. Beyond financial notes, Jasim (and Jasim Moh.) and his family appear in Waterman's notebooks in reference to excavation work and in reference to trips to the hospital in Baghdad. Once, Jasim Moh. is connected to an excavation feature with another worker, in Waterman's transcription of Samuel Yeivin's daily dig notes:

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[732] Waterman Notebook 7, January 29, 1930.
[733] Waterman Notebook 5, November 1, 1929.
[734] Waterman Notebook 9, January 2, 29, 1932.
[735] Waterman Notebook 9, October 3, 1931.
[736] Waterman Notebook 9, October 10, 17, 24, November 7, 18-19, 21, December 5, 1931.
[737] Waterman Notebook 9, November 19, 1931.
[738] Waterman Notebook 9, November 21, 1931.
[739] Waterman Notebook 9, October 17, November 7, 1931. For a reference to the wages of "Jasim's boys," see Waterman Notebook 9, October 24, 1931.

"Jasim Moh. & Sh'ayyid Moh in cubicle 1 in Gr 216 below cover of [lamp?]."[740]

Jasim seems to go to the hospital twice in Season E. It is not clear, the first time, for what malady is he seeking admittance. Waterman merely writes that he gains Jasim hospital admittance and gives him one rupee to pay for his transportation back to Seleucia.[741] The second trip to the hospital is occasioned by an infected hand injury. Waterman writes, "Drove to Baghdad & took Moh Jasim & his father Moh's hand very badly infected took to Hospital & got him in for 3 days brought Jasim Moh. back."[742] Two days later Waterman reports that he "got car drove to Hospital saw Moh Jasim." [743] Waterman's writing and lack of punctuation creates some confusion: Is Moh. Jasim's father named Moh., too? Did he intend a full stop after "father" (so that the infected hand belongs to Moh Jasim)? Is he using "Jasim Moh" and "Moh Jasim" interchangeably or referring to two different people with similar names?

The confusion for a reader is compounded in later entries that season. Waterman notes that he plans to send "Moh. Jasim" to Baghdad for errand running (posting letters),[744] but later omits the name "Jasim," mentioning only "Moh" when he records the letters actually being sent to Baghdad.[745] Did he find another Mohammed or Mahmoud to send to Baghdad, or did he merely omit part of this individual's name?

Viewed across the seasons, references to Jasim or Jasim Moh. are also confusing in terms of age (and perhaps identity). In Season A, a Jasim Mah[mou?]d is described as a "basket boy"; in Season C, Jasim (in the same role as "Jasim Moh.") is described as "Jasim boy)." Is the notation "Jasim boy)" missing a possessive, indicating that the boy working on pottery is the son

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[740] Waterman Notebook 8, December 19, 1930
[741] Waterman Notebook 9, October 29, 1931: "Decided to take Jasim & so D [couldn't?] go B went with me 6:35-7:35 drove B to bazar took J to hospital & got him accepted for a day or two […] Gave Jasim 1. To come home on."
[742] Waterman Notebook 9, December 29, 1931.
[743] Waterman Notebook 9, December 31, 1931.
[744] Waterman Notebook 9, January 13, 1932.
[745] Waterman Notebook 9, January 15, 1932.

of Jasim (i.e., "Jasim's boy")? Is the partial parenthetical of "boy" indicating that this is a different person, implying that a Jasim other than the one referenced here is not a boy but rather than adult? In season E, Waterman references "Jasim's sons." Is Jasim thus an adult with sons old enough to urn wages (near, perhaps, the age of ten or older)?

I am unable to definitely sort out, on available evidence, the number and age of "Jasim" in Waterman's notebooks.

Cooks[746]

The expedition employed two cooks over the course of Season A. The first—and very temporary—project cook was F.H. Sproule, an American college student. As Waterman wrote to his wife Mabelle:

> My temporary cook a student globetrotter from the Univ of California sits near reading an old Outlook. He never cooked before in his life but I couldn't wait to get my real cook & invited him to come along & tonight at dinner we had chicken & gravy potatoes & onions & cabbage salad Arab bread & butter and for dessert custard with apricots. I told my student cook I would give him at least A- for this his first day[747]

Sproule seems, however, to have only worked as cook for two days or so, though he stayed on as a "general assistant" on the project.

On the first day of excavation and the same day as Sproule's good "chicken dinner and

[746] It can be challenging to identify Waterman's references to the cook in his notebooks. In addition to the difficulties in reading his handwriting or parsing his references (described *passim*), Waterman also refers—but not always with clarity—to the travel company Thomas Cook & Son. While references to going to "Cook" in Baghdad or in reference to steamer tickers are legible as references to Thomas Cook & Sons, the inclusion of "cook" in an expenditure list is not always clear. An additional complication is Waterman's spelling/penmanship when referencing Richard S. Cooke, a prominent British expat and director of antiquities for 1926-1928, who was resident in Baghdad until he was expelled for smuggling antiquities in summer 1930 (Bernhardsson 2006, 156-63.). These are most easily blurred with notes about Thomas Cook & Son, and often look like "Cork" or "Cook" in Waterman's cursive (e.g., Waterman's record of hearing of the 1930 smuggling affair involving Richard Cooke and Richard F.S. Starr—"saw Smith heard of Star & Cook!!"— lacks an "e" at the end of Cooke's surname (and the second "o" looks quite like an "r") and misses the final "r" in Starr's last name as well: Waterman Notebook 7, September 12, 1930).
[747] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 29, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927.

dessert," Waterman had, through a referral from the Baghdad YMCA, hired a permanent cook at a rate of either 55 or 85 rupees (the handwriting is not clear).[748] Waterman never supplies the cook's name but offers background details in letters to his family, including that he is Indian and was formerly in the employ of an Englishman. He informs Mabelle about the circumstances of his hiring: "This afternoon a young Indian cook whom I have hoped I could get because his master is going home to England called at the Bungalow & I have hired him & he will come tomorrow."[749] To Dorothea, he writes, "My Hindi cook (Indian) arrived today & he is a real cook"[750]; he tells Donald that the unnamed cook is a polyglot, writing, "My cook is a Hindu young man from India, black as the ace of spades, but he speaks English and Arabic to say nothing of Indian tongues, and he can cook very well."[751]

Waterman only mentions the cook once more in his Season A director's notebooks, when Waterman notes that he "had talk with cook about breakfast & rising" on account of the lateness of the morning meal, vis-à-vis the workday, that morning.[752] As noted above, Waterman reported that Hashim, the guard, also acts as a "kitchen helper by day," assisting the cook.[753]

It is difficult to sort out how many cooks were in the kitchen during Season B. Waterman writes of Mrs. Olga McDowell running the kitchen, assisted by a "cook boy" or a "kitchen boy," but also occasionally refers to a "cook." Context suggests, but not definitively, that Waterman's

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[748] Waterman Notebook 1, December 29, 1927: "[Yufus?] and [Fauly's?] cook had come & waited for me at Bungalow. I rode horse back […] hired cook at 55 Rs. [or 85 Rs.]."; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle, December 29, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927.
[749] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 29, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927.
[750] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, December 31, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927.
[751] Waterman's "but" is doing a great deal of work. Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald Waterman, January 5, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.
[752] Waterman Notebook 1, January 17, 1928.
[753] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 12, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.

Season B references to a "cook" are references to the same "cook boy."

Thus, at the commencement of Season B, Waterman records in his notebook that the "cook[']s wages" are "25" and reports the arrival of a "cook boy," along with Robert and Olga McDowell and a carpenter.[754] A month later, he wrote to his children that Olga McDowell "has charge of the kitchen" and "[s]he has an Assyrian cook boy who does most of the kitchen work under her direction, and then we have two Arab boys to help about the house and bring the water from the river."[755] These two Arab boys are likely a Khalaf and an Aghas, payments to whom under the heading "house wages" are recorded by the anonymous Season B notebook writer.[756]

In recounting Robert McDowell's command of multiple languages to his children, Waterman writes that McDowell speaks "Syriac with the cook"—likely the "cook boy."[757] In yet another letter to his family, in which he chattily writes, in German, that "we speak many languages in our house," he elaborates by outlining the kitchen boy's own multilingualism as an example of their polyglot dig household: "We have for example a new kitchen boy and he alone speaks Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Turkish, English, and Hindi. It's terrible!"[758]

The kitchen crew—between Olga McDowell and the "cook boy"—suffered from dental problems during Season B, necessitating trips to Baghdad (and thus some redistribution of

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[754] Waterman Notebook 3, November 8, 1928: "Mr & Mrs Robert McDowell & Mrs McD's sister Sophia all coming in motor boat together with carpenter & cook boy [Joman?]." Waterman's loose use of commas in his notebooks (often absent) makes it difficult to determine whether he means a cook and a boy, a boy who is the cook, or the cook's boy. The final word or name, which may refer to the boy, is not completely legible. This problem of commas persists for entries regarding the cook in the following seasons: see discussion below.
[755] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald and Dorothea Waterman, December 7, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928; See also Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, November 7, 1928, TMA/Mesopotamian: "The wife will run the house and kitchen."
[756] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, January 31, February 7, 1929.
[757] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald and Dorothea Waterman, December 7, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.
[758] "Wir sprechen viele Sprachen in unser Haus […] Wir haben par example ein neuen Küche Knabe und er allein spricht Syrisch, Armenisch, Arabisch, Turkisch, Englisch, und Hindi. Es is furchtbar!" He then outlines the various languages he asserts the household animals "speak." (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle, Donald, and Dorothea Waterman, December 30, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.

kitchen duties). In his notebook, Waterman records that the "Cooks boy" is "sent to Baghdad with bad tooth. Got women to help in kitchen"[759]; he elaborates in a letter to Mabelle that

> Our cook boy had to be sent to Baghdad last Thursday with an ulcerated tooth and he is still away leaving Mrs. McDowell to do all the cooking. We have a native woman though who comes in and washes dishes etc […] Tomorrow is pay day & our messenger from Baghdad comes. Mrs McD. has to go in to have some dentist work but Sophia & the cook boy will keep us in eats. [760]

When Olga McDowell returns to Baghdad for more dental work the following week, Waterman again tells Mabelle that "Sophia will be chief cook etc. We shall have another boy helper though and think we shall make it alright."[761] This suggests that there is only one cook, or, rather, "cook boy," given the necessity of making alternative cooking arrangements when Olga McDowell is away.

Waterman's final reference to the cook—or the "cook boy"—that season ("Sophia & cook came out [to excavation] with horses & I rode in") may relate to the administering of vaccinations on site: Waterman arranged for a vaccinator to come from Baghdad and vaccinate the staff and workforce; Sophia, sister of Olga McDowell, continued administering vaccinations in coming weeks.[762]

For Season C, the project once again hired a dedicated cook, rather than relying on Olga McDowell. While describing that season's cast of characters in a letter to his daughter Dorothea, Waterman writes of the local dig house team that "we have a cook and his wife. They are Assyrians. Then an Arab house boy about Donald's age & size."[763]

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[759] Waterman Notebook 3, November 15, 1928.
[760] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 18, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928. This letter was likely—like many—written over several days, thus the apparent discrepancy regarding the cook boy's presence at Baghdad or the dig.
[761] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 26, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.
[762] Waterman Notebook 3, December 23, 1928.
[763] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, October 7, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929. In the same letter, Waterman reports that "The cook also has a fine English rifle." "The cook and his

At first glance, Waterman's notebook entries from Season C can be read as identifying an individual called Baba as the cook. But Waterman's loose use of commas in his personal diary entries makes his lists of names and roles difficult to parse at times. Thus, when Waterman writes, without punctuation, "Baba the cook" and "[t]he cook Bab," it is difficult to understand whether he is describing this Baba as "the cook" or listing two individuals with a clarifying comma omitted.[764] Evidence from Season D, however, during which the same Baba is present, suggests that Baba may, instead, be a carpenter (or an usta). Baba's recorded activities that season pertain to construction work on the dig house (and Baba is present at the site all season, mentioned beyond the replacement of the cook, possibly twice). An alternative, though perhaps unlikely, is that Baba was the cook for Season C but was employed as a carpenter in Season D; it is also possible that there were different individuals called Baba who worked on the project at different times. Baba is thus discussed below, with other carpenters and ustas.

Baba seems to appear in conjunction with an individual whose name is something like "Pennah": the name is very difficult to read.[765] Before Notebooks 8 and 9 came to my attention (which suggested that Baba's role was that a carpenter or foreman), I had first surmised that Baba and "Pennah" were the cook and his wife, respectively, given their pairing in a list of Season C departures.[766] During Season C, "Pennah" appears primarily in Waterman's journal

young wife (Assyrian)" are also mentioned in another letter from Waterman to Mabelle (December 16, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929).

[764] In full: Waterman Notebook 6, January 16, 1930: "At 8:30 I started for Baghdad with Baba the cook we got thru at 11:10"; Waterman Notebook 7, January 28, 1930: "The cook Bab & [Pennah?], Hajji, Jasim & his family, Khalaf, Spicer & Yeivin went for the motor boat."

[765] Two of the five times Waterman writes this name in his Season C notebooks, it is as an interlinear addition, above the line. The "n" I have read in the middle of the name could very well be the letter "m" or "u" or another such letter that is similar in quickly-written cursive. Waterman Notebook 5, November 23, 1929; Waterman Notebook 6, December 11, 1929; Waterman Notebook 7, January 28, 1930.

[766] Waterman Notebook 7, January 28, 1930 (quoted in footnote above).

entries recording who went on runs to Baghdad.[767] During Season D, Waterman records Pennah's presence on a run to Baghdad for a visit to a doctor, the cost of a prescription for Pennah (2 rupees), as well as a payment of 5 rupees to "Pennah."[768]

During Season C, Waterman reports various tensions pertaining to the cook: as noted above, with reference to Khalaf, on one occasion Waterman records that the "cook nearly struck" (possibly over Yeivin's engagement of Khalaf's time without permission) and, on another he that "had a row" with the guard Hajji.[769] Once, "the cook's wife" is included in a list of teams members returning from Baghdad "with last inoculation for typhoid."[770] Waterman also recounted, in a letter to his children, an incident on the road where his car became stuck in the mud, following heavy rains: he writes that he "had our cook with me and he had a shovel," and with the help of some bystanders, they finally the car out of the mud.[771] At the end of the season C, "the cook's things" and "[t]he cook Bab & Pennah" (along with the other departing team members) are recorded as prepared to cross the river and head, presumably, to Baghdad.[772]

Three different cooks worked for the project over the course of Season D. At the start of season, Waterman records hiring "a new cook from Baghdad at 80 R per mo[nth]."[773] In listing Robert McDowell's expenses for Sept. 11-12, 1930, Waterman also records "cook on acct 30." (rupees), and repeats the expense list with the notation "Cook (Samuel) 30."[774] Waterman records a small complaint in his notebook on the second day of the season, that the "Cook's

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[767] Pennah accompanying Waterman (and Spicer and Johnson, on respective occasions) to Baghdad: Waterman Notebook 5, November 23, 1929; Waterman Notebook 6, December 11, 1929, January 2, 1930.
[768] Waterman Notebook 8, December 27, 1930.
[769] Waterman Notebook 5, October 13, November 10, 1929.
[770] Waterman Notebook 5, October 22, 1929.
[771] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald and Dorothea Waterman, January 21, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1930. It is not clear why the cook happens to have a shovel.
[772] Waterman Notebook 7, January 28, 1930.
[773] Waterman Notebook 8, September 13, 1930.
[774] Waterman Notebook 8, September 12, 1930.

clock a little slow I up before the gong."[775] His son Donald, however, is appreciative of the cook, writing to his mother Mabelle that "The cook is certainly a good one. We have been having lemon pie and all sorts of fance [sic] dishes that we have at home."[776]

That cook (Samuel?), however, quit on October 6, necessitating that team members head to Baghdad to hire, with the YMCA's help, a new cook, "a Hindi" according to Waterman.[777] This cook was apparently accompanied by a wife and infant, as Waterman wrote home that "[t]he cook's wife's baby gets the colic and needs [paragoric]."[778] This new cook, however, only lasted for a few weeks: Waterman reports to Mabelle that "Nothing very exciting happened while I was gone [to Palestine], except that they fired our cook & got a better one."[779] There are no further comments about cooks that season, merely two references to finances.[780]

The primary cook employed during Season E was an Assyrian man named John. John, however, was plagued by eye health troubles; this necessitated hiring substitute cooks, apparently, first, an individual named Yusuf, then an Assyrian man named Leon who was a friend of John's. Thus, beyond recording the usual running of errands by and payments to the cook (e.g., "sent cook and Khalaf to Salman Pak"[781]), Waterman reports bringing John back and forth to Baghdad in pursuit of a diagnosis and treatment for John's eye maladies. A first visit to a

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[775] Waterman Notebook 8, September 14, 1930.
[776] Letter, Donald Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, September 23, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.
[777] Waterman Notebook 8, October 7, 1930; Letter, Donald Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 10, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930. Waterman's journal entry reporting this may include the cook's name, a word beginning with a "C," but it is illegible.
[778] Letter, Donald and Leroy Waterman to Mabelle and Dorothea Waterman, October 20, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.
[779] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 2, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930. Waterman left Seleucia from October 22nd to November 1st, 1930, in order to check out a site in Palestine (Sepphoris).
[780] Expense lists include "Acct Cook 3.13" and "Cook 5" (Waterman Notebook 8, October 27, November 5, 1930).
[781] Waterman Notebook 9, November 1, 1931. Also: "had lunch at YM. Left passports & 10. For [Raba?] John to get flour Fri" (Waterman Notebook 9, January 26, 1932); "gave 50 to D to give at YM for cook" (Waterman Notebook 9, January 13, 1932); "Paid Manasseh 20. Khalaf 30 John the cook 25 for horses 4.8" (Waterman Notebook 9, January 31, 1932).

doctor yielded a proscription but no relief, necessitating that others pitch in to get meals ready; Waterman also reports that Manasseh suspected John of malingering.[782] Waterman records bringing John back to the hospital, this visit resulting in a diagnosis (trichoma) and a hospital stay; Waterman thus hired a substitute cook, seemingly named Yusuf.[783] About three weeks later, Waterman records visiting John in the Assyrian Colony (having first sought him in the hospital), still unwell; with John's help, Waterman hires a new substitute cook, also Assyrian, named Leon and brings the second cook (Yusuf?) back to Baghdad the next day.[784] We hear little of Leon except his knowledge of preparing wild boar.[785] Waterman sees John, recovering, several times at the B.S. (the British Supply store) in Baghdad[786] and finally brings him back to Seleucia from Baghdad's Assyrian Colony to resume his employment at the year's end.[787]

Usta(s): Carpenters (Ustas and Baba) and/or Mudbrick Tracer (Usta Daoud), Seasons A, B, C, D, and E

During Seasons A and B, the excavation staff lived in a bungalow "at Baruda" near the Tigris River that was lent to the project by the Department of Irrigation.[788] The bungalow was

[782] "B & I with John the Cook whose eyes are bad started for Baghdad at 6:30 […] took John to hospital but Fri & no eye specialists Drove to Dr [Sirui?] on New St & got diagnosis 3. And prescription .12 […] Cook bad with eyes & [B?] & Khalaf got dinner M helped" (Notebook 9, November 27); "Cook ill all day Usta helped at breakfast Had Abbas Jassim til 2 PM to help Khalaf. B & M got lunch & dinner N.M got suspicious of eye trouble of cook." (Waterman Notebook 9, November 28, 1931)
[783] "Got ready & took cook to Baghdad at 8 am […] got John diagnosed at 11:15 trichoma but can be cured […] stopped at Consulate for John to bring substitute cook but did not come so returned to Y.M. got lunch & came back to Consulate got new cook Yusuf" (Waterman Notebook 9, November 30, 1931).
[784] "went to hospital to look for John the cook […] drove to Assyr Colony Saw John eyes (both) bad, in bed. Gave him 30. Got promise of another cook. […] got new cook Leon of [illegible] (Assyr.) friend of John. He brought his bedding & suitcase" (Waterman Notebook 9, December 10, 1931); "Wrote note to John & enclosed 10. for our 2nd cook. At 8 took him & Yeivin to Baghdad." (Waterman Notebook 9, December 11, 1931).
[785] Waterman Notebook 9, December 21, 1931: "Wild boar was killed in plain & we took it in for 1. Leon knew about such meat & [Bellingham] helped get meat with cart."
[786] Waterman Notebook 9, December 17, 24, 1931.
[787] Waterman Notebook 9, December 31, 1931.
[788] Waterman 1931c. This was presumably near Tell Baruda, west of Seleucia and close to the Tigris. As Waterman wrote of the bungalow to Mabelle, "What is awkward is that our bungalow is actually within their [the Germans'] concession!" (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 29, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1929). The Turin team later excavated at Tell Baruda as part of Choche/Veh Ardashir.

located about a mile and a half from the mounds.[789] During Season A, bungalow maintenance work (e.g., putting in windows) was provided by carpenters sent by the Department of Irrigation.[790] For their second season in the bungalow, a carpenter appears to have been in residence with the staff for almost a month, having arrived by boat with the rest of the staff at the beginning of the season.[791] They expanded the bungalow with the addition of a room: Waterman records the carpenter's work on shelves, doors, and windows, with Robert McDowell at work on the new room as well.[792] The unnamed carpenter departed for Baghdad on November 28th, twenty days after arriving, having been paid 67.5 rupees.[793]

Beginning with the third season ("C") of 1929/1930, the team lived in a newly built dig house within the mound complex.[794] Work to complete the house, begun during summer 1929 under McDowell's supervision,[795] continued through the season. Waterman refers to construction work on the house by several "ustas."[796] *Usta*, derived from Persian *ustadh*, can refer to a master craftsman, as it did in Ottoman guild systems.[797] It is unclear whether

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[789] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald Waterman, January 5, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.
[790] Waterman Notebook 1, January 22, 1928.
[791] Waterman Notebook 3, November 8, 1928.
[792] Waterman Notebook 3, November 10, 12-13, 19, 1928.
[793] Waterman Notebook 3, November 27-28, 1928.
[794] Waterman explored building a dig house on the site during Season B. This move would shorten the "commute," and was made possible by confirmation of good water near the mounds (having successfully sunk a well by the mounds), which would eliminate (though not completely, as it turned out) the need to haul all drinking water from the river. "And now we know we can get sweet water in abundance, I am in town today to see if the government would not be willing to make us a road from the mounds out to the road on the west side of the Tigris, that runs from Baghdad to Babylon. It would only have to extend a track for a few miles and then we could have an auto and always get into Baghdad without having to cross the river and we should not be bothered ever by the floods. Also in case of illness we could always get to a doctor in an hour or so. Where we are if there a case of serious illness at night we could never make it for example appendicitis. With a larger staff this responsibility becomes serious" (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 29, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1929).
[795] Michigan Alumnus 1930, 272; Waterman 1931c, v-vi. Waterman refers to plans for the house in his diary entries during the 1929 "off-season," apparently given the funding go-head by the Toledo Museum of Art and coordinated through McDowell (Waterman Notebook 4, April 10, 12, 14, 1929).
[796] Waterman Notebook 5, October 16, 17, 20, 21, 1929.
[797] E.g., Rafeq 2002, 103, 2011, 108. "Usta" is still in use as a specific title ("Master") in Turkish craft traditions, in addition to more general use of the term (e.g. Kaya and Yagız 2011, 64.).

Waterman's references engage this specific, ranked meaning or, more casually, connote "craftsman" or "mister" ("master"). Waterman's use of the title, often without a personal name, however, creates some confusion for readers of his notebooks by making it difficult to understand when he is referring to different individuals, particularly different individuals fulfilling different roles.

Waterman first refers to a "carpenter" tasked with constructing shelving, windows, and window shutters.[798] The carpenter appears to be in residence at the dig house, at least for the month of October 1929: Waterman includes him in his rundown of dig staff in a letter to Dorothea, and also he notes the carpenter's presence when the whole household is roused by a potential robber in the middle of a night.[799] The carpenter also helps out with dig-related wood construction needs: Waterman writes that he "[h]ad Manasseh put in supports for roof of tomb with help of carpenter."[800] Waterman appears to distinguish this the carpenter from both the "ustas" (plural) and "Usta" (often capitalized, typically without an article), suggesting that the carpenter is a different individual.

Waterman first records the work of two unnamed ustas installing I-beams alongside McDowell.[801] In all, Waterman seems to refer to a maximum of three ustas working at one time.[802] The work undertaken by men designated as "usta" seems focused on installing ceilings and roofs and finishing walls.[803] Waterman differentiates them from others, referred to them as

[798] Waterman Notebook 4, October 3, 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 4, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929; Waterman Notebook 5, October 17, 1929.
[799] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, October 7, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929.; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald Waterman, (?) October 15, 1929 (letter later dated c. Sept. 23, 1929, but that date is incorrect), Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929.
[800] Waterman Notebook 5, October 15, 1929.
[801] "McD & two ustas at work on [Mintier's?] room to put in I beams" (Waterman Notebook 5, October 16, 1929).
[802] Waterman Notebook 5, October 20, 1929: "We had usta working closing up walls where I beams went in & 2 other ustas from Salman Pak to put [mud?] on the roof."
[803] Waterman Notebook 5, October 16, 17-22, 24, 26, 1929.

“men” or “Arabs,” apparently hired to assist, with the implication that the ustas are specialists. When I-beam installation in the house requires all hands on deck, the carpenter is also pulled in—and named separately—to help as well: Waterman writes that “We worked steadily (McD & I) with the Usta & 6 Arabs & carpenter & got three I beams in place leaving only kitchen & work room.”[804]

What can we know about the *ustas*? One appears to come from Baghdad: he may be the Usta (capitalized).[805] The “two other ustas from Salman Pak” appear to be less permanently attached to the project: references to three unnamed ustas winnow into just one Usta.[806] This perhaps coincides with the end of the employment of the carpenters—confusingly plural but not designated as “ustas”: Waterman wrote in his journal that “Got rid of carpenters, here about a month 98 rupees.”[807]

However, the appearance of an Usta Daoud (also transcribed as “Daud”) in Waterman’s records re-complicates the picture. At the end of October, Waterman reports, “Began with Usta Daud on liben.”[808] Usta Daoud’s excavation role of tracing mudbrick is clarified in a letter. About a month and a half (mid-December) after Waterman’s initial notebook entry, in offering Mabelle a descriptive tour of the new dig house in a letter, Waterman reports that

> The small door goes into what we planned as the stable but we had to have the room for our foreman of skilled workers on mud walls. He is an Arab but a mason by trade and he has to live at our camp. His house is in Baghdad.[809]

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[804] Waterman Notebook 5, October 8, 1929.
[805] Waterman Notebook 5, October 18, 20, 22, 24, 29, November 1, 3-5, 7, 15, 1929; Waterman Notebook 6, December 17, 19, 1929, January 6, 10, 27, 1930.
[806] Waterman Notebook 5, October 20, 21, 1929.
[807] Waterman Notebook 5, October 29, 1929.
[808] Waterman Notebook 5, October 30, 1929.
[809] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 16, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929. The stable room was converted to a bedroom by November first, right after Usta Daoud’s debut in Waterman’s records (“Jassin brought water & the lumber 60 pieces from river part in stable room now for Usta”: Waterman Notebook 5, November 1, 1929). This notebook entry is an example, also, of the problem of Waterman’s references to “Usta.” This reference is best read in connection with Usta Daoud, the mason-turned-mudbrick specialist, but the lack of personal name or qualifier blurs the reference’s specificity.

Mudbrick wall tracing was a specialized activity. Seton Lloyd, for example, recounts the development of this specialty among Sherqati workmen (from the village of Sherqat near Ashur) on German excavations at Babylon and Ashur directed by Walter Andrae and Robert Koldewey at the turn of the century.[810] Unfortunately, Waterman offers no further details about how he came to employ the Baghdad-based mason-turned-mudbrick specialist nor whence he developed his specialized knowledge.

From this first reference to Usta Daoud's excavation work, it becomes unclear in Waterman's records whether, for the remainder of Season C, there is a single Usta, i.e., Usta Daoud, who is both working in the field and acting as a handyman, or two men identified by the honorific, one working on the house and one excavating. From November 1929 through January 1930, Waterman occasionally records work by "Usta" (singular, no article) on the house in his notebook: Usta installs a shower bath base, a kitchen drain, fills in cracks in the house's roof, builds shelves for their storeroom, and builds boxes for shipping artifacts.[811] Once, Waterman expresses frustration about differing conceptions of the workday, writing in his notebook that "Usta [was] away till 2 PM & I refused to have him rest of day."[812] At the same time, Waterman records the work that January of "Usta" (singular, no article) at specific excavation areas— "Zig 2," "29", and "30"[813] —in ways that imply supervisory activities. These entries must refer to Usta Daoud and his supervision of mudbrick tracing on site.

The excavation employed at least two ustas during Season D once again: Waterman notes

[810] Lloyd 1963, 23-28. As noted above, the Sherqati remained a dominant archaeological workforce community in Iraq through the twentieth century, like the Qufti in Egypt; see also, for example, Curtis 2008, 340-41.
[811] Waterman Notebook 5, November 3, 5, 7, 1929; Waterman Notebook 6, December 17, 19, 1929, January 6, 27, 1930.
[812] Waterman Notebook 6, January 10, 1930.
[813] Waterman Notebook 6, January 8-9, 19, 1930. "Zig 2" seems to refer to the mound excavated as Trial Trench (TT) 29, which I believe was later designated area "IJ." "30" appears to refer to Trial Trench (TT) 30 ("Zig 3"), located at E11 to E13 on the grid.

in his journal that "Both Ustas [are] work[ing] on new houses."[814] One usta present is Usta Daoud; the identity of the other (or others) is a little more uncertain, made blurry by references to "Usta" (no personal name) and to a person called Baba.

A man called Baba first appeared in Waterman's diary entries toward the end of Season C; as discussed above under the rubric of "cooks," Waterman's Season C references to Baba blur with the cook, perhaps as a result of casual punctuation. During Season D, however, Baba's activities in Waterman's records largely pertain to work *on* the excavation house. Baba is first mentioned that season in lists of McDowell's expenses, listed separately from both the cook and Usta Daoud.[815] Beyond reports of a few instances of ill-health,[816] Baba is primarily recorded laying floors and "direct[ing work on the] 2nd new house."[817] He also appears to be involved with organizing the project's receipt of light railway tracks and dump cars, as he is named as a member of the party running to and from Mahmoudiyah to get the tracks,[818] where the tracks were being shipped by train for transport by wagon to Tel Umar.[819] In transcribing Samuel Yeivin's daily dig notes in his own journal, Waterman also records Baba's knowledge of construction materials, with the note, "Drain in St. 36 mortared & cemented acc [according] to

814 Waterman Notebook 8, November 17, 1930.
815 Waterman Notebook 8, September 11-12, 1930: Usta Daoud receives 10 rupees, Baba 5 rupees, and the cook 30 rupees on account.
816 In the course of a Baghdad errand and payroll expense list (accrued while Waterman was in Palestine), an infection of Baba's hand is recorded (accompanied by the rupee amount 7.8—perhaps the medical bill or the price of medicine); about a week later, Waterman records, "Baba ill all day," and his illness persists for at least one more day, given Waterman's notation "Baba still sick" (Waterman Notebook 8, October 27, November 4-5, 1930). He is again sick the following month, listed as going to Baghdad ("Baba who was ill": Waterman Notebook 8, December 12, 1930). Other references to Baba not discussed below: his salary of 10 rupees is recorded in an expense list (Waterman Notebook 8, November 25-26, 1930), and he is named in runs to Baghdad (Waterman Notebook 8, November 26, 1930, January 16, 1931).
817 Laying floors: Waterman Notebook 8, November 11, 23-24, 1930; working on new, second house: Waterman Notebook 8, November 15-16, 1930.
818 Waterman Notebook 8, November 27-29, December 2, 1930.
819 Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 23, 1930; Letter, Donald Waterman to Mabelle and Dorothea Waterman, December 1, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930; Waterman Notebook 8, November 26, 1930.

Baba same mortar used still in W Persia."[820] Is Baba an excavation foreman? A carpenter and/or usta? All of these roles?

Waterman mostly refers to Usta Daoud (recorded sometimes this season only as "Daoud" or "Daud") in his Season D records when the man is running errands to Baghdad (and incurring expenses). He goes to Baghdad to sharpen the knives used for tracing mudbrick, to repair picks, to acquire new handles for the sacks used for carrying and dumping excavated dirt, to purchase lumber.[821] He also, as is typical, appears in Waterman's records in reference to payments and expenses (these are not always differentiated).[822] One recorded payment, of 5 rupees, to "Said Daoud" offers a suggestion of a fuller name.[823]

Several diary entries show that Waterman sometimes omits Usta Daoud's name, referring to him just as Usta; these instances are identifiable because Waterman records the name "Daoud" in relation to the same activities elsewhere in the same entry. For instance, when Usta Daoud sharpens knives in Baghdad, Waterman first attributes the errand to "Usta" but later names Daoud specifically in his list of expenses associated with the errand.[824] The same inconsistency occurs when Usta Daoud acquires more material for sacks in Baghdad.[825] But, in Waterman's records, Usta Daoud also appears to substitute for the "other" usta—who is named separately from Baba—on construction duties when the other usta is not available.[826] The appearance of

[820] Waterman Notebook 8, December 16, 1930.
[821] Waterman Notebook 8, September 19, October 17, November 9, 14, 16
[822] 10 rupees (Waterman Notebook 8, September 11-12, 1930); 5 rupees on account (Waterman Notebook 8, September 19, 1930); 5 rupees on account September 26; 5 rupees October 16; 10 rupees (Waterman Notebook 8, October 22, 1930); 150 rupees for hair for hizas, 4 for travel (Waterman Notebook 8, November 4, 1930); 10 rupees "salary" (Waterman Notebook 8, November 20, 1930); 5 rupees (Waterman Notebook 8, November 25, 1930); 50 rupees "salary" (Waterman Notebook 8, November 27, 1930).
[823] Waterman Notebook 8, December 9 or 10, 1930.
[824] Waterman Notebook 8, September 19, 1930.
[825] Waterman Notebook 8, November 4, 1930.
[826] Waterman Notebook 8, November 11, 1930: "Outside usta sick so Daoud took over work, got [roof for?] new house 1 at half. Baba put pavement ½ in kitchen."

another, different usta with no personal name in the same sentence as Usta Daoud challenges any attempt to read all of Waterman's references to "Usta" with no personal name as references to Usta Daoud. Thus, we are left with references to an Usta with no personal name, who may be the other usta or may be Usta Daoud, frustrating attempts to get a more precise bead on the other usta's role beyond construction-related activities.[827]

Finally, at the end of Season D, the project hired a carpenter from Baghdad for to build boxes for shipping artifacts; Waterman refers to him as the "new carpenter 'Haskell;'" the meaning of his quotation marks is unclear.[828]

The landscape of ustas is less complicated in Waterman's final season, Season E, if still uncertain. Usta Daoud is back, and sometimes named as "S. Daoud."[829] Waterman does not explicitly refer to a second usta: it is thus plausible that the only usta employed during Season E is Usta Daoud, and that references to "usta" with no personal name also refer to Daoud. If so, Usta Daoud undertook both construction/handyman work[830] and mudbrick-focused work at the

[827] Probably referring to Usta Daoud: going to Baghdad for lumber (Notebook 8, November 14, 15). Referent uncertain: Work on houses (Waterman Notebook 8, November 4, 6, 18, 1930, January 18, 1931); Work with Waterman on light railway dump cars (Waterman Notebook 8, December 21, 23, 1930); Payments (including payments on account and expense notes) to Usta (Waterman Notebook 8, September 25, October 16, 1928, January 1, 1931); "Usta ill in [Salman] Pak" (Waterman Notebook 8, October 18, 1929); Repair of cart (Waterman Notebook 8, November 10, 1930); stay at the YMCA in Baghdad (Waterman Notebook 8, January 13, 1931).
[828] Letter, Donald Waterman to Mabelle and Dorothea Waterman, January 5, 1931, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence 1931-1934; Waterman Notebook 8, January 6, 8, 1930.
[829] Waterman Notebook 9, September 28, October 1, 3, 1931. Financial accounting pertaining to the Usta or Usta S. Daoud: 20 rupees on account (Waterman Notebook 9, September 27, 1931); Travel expenses (Waterman Notebook 9, September 28, 1931); 60 rupees on account (Waterman Notebook 9, October 1, 1931); Baghdad travel expenses (Waterman Notebook 9, October 3, 1931); Baghdad expenses including knives sharpening (Waterman Notebook 9, October 8, 1931); 20 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, October 17, 1931); 30 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, October 31, 1931); 30 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, November 6, 1931); 10 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, November 13, 1931); 10 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, November 28, 1931); 10 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, December 5, 1931); 40 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, December 12, 1931); 5 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, December 19, 1931); 50 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, December 27, 1931); 30 rupees plus 14.11 ½ bonus (Waterman Notebook 9, January 17, 1932).
[830] Waterman Notebook 9, September 29, October 2, 12-13, 21, 30, November 24, 1931.

dig.[831] The Usta (likely Daoud) also "helped at breakfast" when the cook was ill.[832]

Waterman also records the employment of a carpenter (or multiple carpenters), prior to and at the beginning of the season and again toward of the season: Waterman notes the carpenter's travel expenses to Salman Pak, payment for work on a screen door (30 rupees), and an additional payment of 30 rupees,[833] in addition to recording picking up a carpenter from the YMCA in Baghdad later in the season.[834] There is nothing to suggest (except for the non-comprehensive character of Waterman's journal entries) that the carpenter was present for the entire season (if not the usta) nor that the same carpenter was employed at the two different points in the season.

Ahmed Ali Khan, draughtsman, Season D

In Season D, Waterman records the arrival and about two months of work by "draughtsman" (draftsman) named Ahmed Ali Khan. The man arrived on December 5, 1930, according to Waterman's journal entries; that day, he ate lunch with "us" (the Season D staff), but "arranged to have his own food & room & servant."[835] Waterman refers to him in his notebooks variously as Ali Khan and Ahmed.[836] At the season's end, Waterman records paying him 332 rupees.[837]

From the extant evidence, it is not clear what Ahmed Ali Khan was drawing or where his work ended up. His name is not included in the "official" staff lists, possibly save in one financial report, discussed below; no line drawings, illustrations or plans are clearly signed with

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[831] Waterman Notebook 9, December 7, 1931; The Usta (presumably Daoud) also got knives sharpened, presumably for mudbrick work, in Baghdad (Waterman Notebook 9, October 8, 1931).
[832] Waterman Notebook 9, November 28, 1931.
[833] Waterman Notebook 9, September 28, October 11, 1931.
[834] Waterman Notebook 9, December 10, 1930.
[835] Waterman Notebook 8, December 5, 1930.
[836] Waterman Notebook 8, December 6-7, 20, 26, 1930, January 2, 1931.
[837] Waterman Notebook 8, January 22, 1931.

his name either in the publications or the Kelsey Museum archive (whereas Manasseh's, Yeivin's, and Braidwood's names appear, as do others accompanying dates postdating the fieldwork).

In the retrospective financial report Waterman submitted to Robbins of the I.A.R. in December 1933, he reports season wages of $43 (for a month of work) to an "Ahmed Al Amin" among the Season D staff.[838] It seems likely, given the a lack of other candidates for work that would be likewise classed as "staff"-type work (i.e., "mental" or "intellectual" rather than manual labor) that this must refer to the payment of the same draughtsman.

Other Individuals in the Workforce

A few other individuals' names appear in the archives, recognizable as members of the workforce or a broader support network. Unable to determine much about their roles, I discuss them here thematically.

Very occasionally, the notebooks record the names of individuals who found or excavated objects. For example, during Season B, the anonymous notebook writer highlights a seal found "on the surface of the complex by Jasim [illegible name: Gnaid?]" as a particularly interesting find that day.[839] For Waterman, these rare references can mostly be found in his lists of daily finds (very few entries in these extensive daily finds lists include names, and, in my findings, are confined to Season C). In the very few instances that Waterman attaches a name to

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[838] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, December 11, 1933, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence 1931-1934. Waterman mentions an "Ahmed Al Amir" in one of his Season C notebooks ("The Mudir of Dura & Ahmed al Amir of the Yusifiyah & [friends?] called Manasseh took them around": Waterman Notebook 5, November 2, 1929); contextually, however, it appears unlikely that this is the individual referred to in the financial report. There is a notation on the flyleaf of Waterman Notebook 1 that reads "Ahmed Al [Amir or Amin]/Mudir Sulman Pak." It is possible that the payment recorded in the financial report is to the Mudir of Salman Pak, if that is indeed Ahmed Al Amir/Amin—but it is not clear why he would be paid for one month of work for a single season, when his facilitation/logistical support (including helping with payroll acquisition) work began in Season A (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 12, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928).

[839] Anonymous Season B Notebook, Page 4, January 31, 1929. Field Number B01404 = KMA 0000.03.6741.

an artifact, the finds tend to be extraordinary.

The least extraordinary, at least with Waterman's entries as an indication, is his attribution of a cracked but complete jar to a man named Sebah during Season C.[840] This may be the same individual, with Waterman transcribing his name differently ("Subbah Jhahi"), whom Waterman connects to finding the first of four sealed jars containing metal (iron and bronze) rods and bronze cylinders containing papyrus.[841] The latter find is rather sensational: in a letter to Mabelle, Waterman labels the day of that find a "red letter day."[842]

The other recorded "finders" also are mentioned in connection to fairly exceptional artifacts. Waterman reports, from the daily list of finds from McDowell's excavation area, "gold signet ring with ruby 2 wall of R47 (4 ft) in last course of 1st liben brick over 2nd level found by Ali [Mah---? Mahussad?] at 3:45."[843] In the next entry in the same list, an Abdullah is singled out in connection with a "quantity of fine beads from sifting of R165."[844] Finally, a Hamid il Hassan is named for finding a "gold Vespasian coin from surface at [noon?]."[845]

Beyond these references to "finders," Waterman occasionally (rarely) records names

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840 "Sebah brought jar in one big crack in it but it held" (Waterman Notebook 5, October 14, 1929). One candidate for this vessel is C01971 ("huge jar. clay") from TT 18, dated October 14, 1929, in the object register.

841 "Put Subbah Jhahi in Zig no 3 T.30. and got jar with bronze rods & parchment (?) in bronze tube inside" (Waterman Notebook 6, January 5, 1930). Subbah Jhahi found the first one on January 5: C03216 = KM 1.9688 (sealed jar), C03221 = KM 1.8519 (inside jar, tube containing papyrus), found with C03217 = KM 1.8643 (iron rod) and C03219= KM 1.8234 and C03220 = 1.8233 (bronze rods). Additional ones were found on January 14 (C03378 = KM 1.9876 (Sealed jug), containing bronze cylinders and contents (C03379a, b)), January 15 (C03401a (Sealed jug) with metal rods with C03400 = KM 1.8130 and C03401= KM 1.8644 and bronze cylinder C03402a), and January 20, 1929 (C03530 = TMA 1931.221 = KM IL2012.04.275 = KM 2018.01.0275).

842 Letters discussing the finds: Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 30, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929 (N.B. this letter is dated December 30, but includes postscripts added through the first week of January); Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, January 7, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 15, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1930. Discussed as a group in letter (Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, January 21, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian) and Waterman 1931b, 61, Plate XII.

843 Waterman Notebook 6, December 15, 1929. The object register identifies the inset as carnelian rather than ruby: C02694B = Baghdad Museum 669 (?).

844 Waterman Notebook 6, December 15, 1929. In the object register under December 17, 1929: 152 tiny beads and 1 large rectangular bead (C03555 = KM 0000.03.4809).

845 Waterman Notebook 6, December 17, 1929. C02744 in the object register.

when noting specific *bakhshish* payments for finds or surface finds. A large (40 rupee) *bakhshish* payment to Mali Salal during Season D has been noted above.[846] During Season E, Waterman records paying a Saleh (likely Saleh or Salih Ahmed) *bakhshish* of 3 rupees for an earring;[847] Waterman also "purchased [an] early Sumerian seal [cylinder] said to have been found by Salih's mother near [Sur?] in Dump heap there," but did not record the amount he paid for it.[848] He also transcribes, from Samuel Yeivin's notes, a planned split of *bakhshish* from excavating Vault 216 between three men, Nahi Jed'an, Serhan Berberti, and Mahmud Shertii, each apparently receiving one-third of the total.[849]

Bakhshish was primarily handled, essentially, through pay slips, as discussed above. Once, during Season D, Waterman records catching a worker forging *bakhshish* slips. The individual's name is difficult to make out, possibly Abweid Suhan or Luhan; two days after the incident, the man is arrested by the police and taken to Mahmoudiyah.[850]

Beyond wages and *bakhshish*, the excavation notebooks track loans and advances made to members of the workforce (the loans and advances do not seem to accrue interest). The anonymous Season B notebook author records an advance of 2 rupees to Serah Wali for a coffin for his wife."[851] Waterman's notes regarding loans and repayment are not so specific in terms of reasons; they are confined to his Season E notebook. Waterman records loans made to individual discussed above, such as Idhureb[852] and Aliwih.[853] Other workers also receive advances or loans:

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[846] Waterman Notebook 8, October 9, 1930.
[847] Waterman Notebook 9, January 31, 1932.
[848] Waterman Notebook 9, December 29, 1931. This maybe KM 1.7930 (no field number given), recorded in the register as from the "Neighborhood of Telidmar."
[849] Waterman Notebook 9, December 17, 1931.
[850] Waterman Notebook 8, December 26, 28, 1931.
[851] Anonymous Notebook, Season B, February 7, 1929.
[852] Loaned 10 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, November 21, 1931), repaid in two installments of 5 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, November 28, December 6, 1931).
[853] Loaned 2 rupees (Waterman Notebook 9, December 12, 1931), paid back (Waterman Notebook 9, December 19, 1931, January 9, 1932).

one Aliuih Asi is loaned 5 rupees, paying them back over the course of month;[854] an Abdullah Diheil was the recipient of a 10-rupee loan, paid back in three installments over the period of a month.[855] Waterman records three loans, all repaid in full, made to Saleh (Salih) Ahmed, mentioned above as receiving *bakhshish*.[856] This is probably the same Saleh Ahmed whom Waterman records hiring to act as a temporary night guard when a slipper coffin burial was excavated.[857] A Subbah—possibly the same man Waterman recorded as a "finder" during Season C—also received a loan during Season E (6 rupees, repaid in 2 installments).[858]

Waterman's notes about advances are repayments are also not complete: for example, a notice of an advance of .8 rupees to a Moh. Alwan is never followed by a note about repayment.[859] Other names come up in unclear financial or payroll notes: for example, Waterman records in Season E that Muhsein Hamadi has .8 rupees withheld one week and paid as owed the following week (and there is no indication that this withholding is due to a shortage of cash at hand).[860] Similarly, Waterman includes the note "having kept back 4.14 for Er Maiah boy" without any clear indication of what this means or why.[861] In all, these references confirm Quirke's observation that financial accounting is a primary locus in excavation records for individual workers or their names.

A worker named Abd al Middef is mentioned in Waterman's Season D notebook, not for

[854] Notebook 9, October 25, November 7, 13, 21, 1931.
[855] Notebook 9, October 24, November 12, 21, 1931
[856] Loans of 2, then 5, then 2 rupees. Waterman Notebook 9, October 20, 24, 26, November 21, 28, December 6, 1931, January 9, 17, 1932.
[857] Waterman Notebook 9, November 11, 1931.
[858] Waterman Notebook 9, January 2, 9, 17, 1932.
[859] Waterman Notebook 9, October 10, 1931. Moh. Alwan appears one more time in Waterman's Season D notebook: At the season's end, Waterman returns to the dig house from Baghdad to fetch a forgotten typewriter. He suffers frightening car trouble, and Moh. Alwan accompanies him on the trip back to Baghdad; Waterman records paying him 2 rupees, perhaps as payment for his work/help (Waterman Notebook 9, January 31, 1932).
[860] Waterman Notebook 9, October 3, 10, 1931.
[861] Waterman Notebook 9, December 19, 1931.

financial accounting but under what might be classified as "occupational safety." Waterman writes of an

> Accident there [at Pottery Pit 5] pail & earth fell on head of Abd al Middef Braidwood got him out & to house. After lunch Br & I took him & Talal Yogut to Baghdad to hospital & got him in.[862]

Waterman records visiting the patient a few days later, writing that he "went to Hospital and saw Abd el Middif."[863] He expanded on the incident in a letter to Mabelle, writing

> We had our first accident on the dig today [January 13]. At one of our sounding pits a pail bail broke and a bucket of earth fell on a workman's head. The pit is now down 20 ft. He was unconscious at first. We gave him first and then rushed him to Baghdad. So I am in for the night and will take back our week's orders tomorrow. They diagnosed our man at the hospital and assure us he will come through all right. We feared a fracture skull but perhaps only his cheek bone is cracked. We were greatly relieved to get him to the hospital.[864]

Waterman records another bucket-head injury incident during Season D, though apparently of lesser severity and did not necessitate a trip to the hospital in Baghdad. The injured worker remained unnamed: Waterman writes merely that they "[t]reated man who had bucket fall on head."[865]

6.2.3 Broader relations to workforce and community, Seasons A to E

There are few indications in the archival sources aiding any characterization of the excavation staff's relationship with its locally-hired workforce and neighbors as generally aimable or not; this, indeed, is likely the wrong question to be asking. The colonial framework of British Mandate Iraq pervades the Seleucia excavation, as the context for all personal, professional, and community relationships. This is particularly clear in fifteen-year-old Donald

[862] Waterman Notebook 8, January 13, 1931.
[863] Waterman Notebook 8, January 16, 1931.
[864] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 12, 1931, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence 1931-1934.
[865] Waterman Notebook 9, October 6, 1931.

Waterman's letters home from the excavation in Season D, a trip that seems to have been his first and only time abroad. In a letter written to his sister Dorothea at the beginning of the season, he finds that his stereotypes about Arabs confounded slightly, but not enough to remove a conceptual difference in status:

> The Arabs are not so bad as I thought them to be. We have some of them working on our well that we are digging right next to the house and they all get together and sing while they are working. They are not so dirty as I thought them to be. It is a lot of fun to have them call me Sahib. They did not believe that there could be such a little Sahib and they will stand there and stare for all they are worth. It makes you feel quite important.[866]

Donald worked with the local workers and played with the local boys—as Leroy Waterman wrote of his son to his wife, Donald "is learning a lot by contact with the staff & the workers."[867] Donald's letters home record his interactions with the workers and neighbors:

> The Arabs are beginning to ask when we go and say that when we go they have no money. I told them I would send them a letter from American and they like that a lot. It is fun to be able to talk to them. I certainly have picked up a lot of words just from hearing them talk. There is a very nice family of Arabs that live near us and the boys are very intelligent and quick to learn the different games we teach them and we had good times after the days work.[868]

This familiarity and apparently positive relations do not mean that a status differentiation disappeared. On another occasion, he wrote to his mother and sister that "Everything is so different out here. We just call on our servants to do something for us and so on."[869]

I noted above the fluctuating workforce size as an indication of precarity, as well as an instance during Season A in which, through the go-between work of Idhureb and cooperation of

[866] Letter, Donald Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, September 2, 1930 [date probably wrong, after September 12], Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.
[867] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 17, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.
[868] Letter, Donald Waterman to Mabelle and Dorothea Waterman, January 15, 1931, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence 1931-1934.
[869] Letter, Donald Waterman to Mabelle and Dorothea Waterman, December 17, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.

a local notable, Khudhur Effendi, the workforce's wages were reduced.[870] As this section details, the Michigan project leveraged its resources at times for its workers or neighbors, such as for medical care or education, though not without a paternalistic tenor. At the same time, one indication of physical violence is present in the archive. An entry in Waterman's journal records a bad day:

> Wind rose early & dust storm became so bad we stopped field work at noon. I went out. Had 1 set work on well all day. I recorded about all day lost temper & beat a shoveller & some boys at well! In Pm it rained a little & so cleared dust some"[871]

This entry is exceptional but offers a reminder of the violence that lay potential in the inequitable relationships at the excavation.

Inoculating the Workforce

Medical concerns punctuated the expedition's relationship with the workforce and the broader community. The project provided for medical attention to workers and neighbors out of the excavation house (noted incidentally in Waterman's journals and letters) as well as facilitation of visits to the hospital in Baghdad. In a letter to Dorothea, Waterman communicated being somewhat overwhelmed by all the non-archaeological responsibilities of excavation directorship, including that "[t]he workers get sick and sore all the way from a sore toe to headache and from indigestion to leprosy and we are supposed to cure them."[872] Beyond daily medical attention needs, and as noted above in reference to the foreman Idhureb, Waterman provided for—indeed, required—vaccination of the workforce against smallpox during Season

[870] I am also uncertain about this man's name. The honorific "Effendi" is clearly written, but the letters of his name are not entirely clear.
[871] Waterman Notebook 5, November 27, 1929.
[872] Letter, Donald and Leroy Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, October 20, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.

B. Over the course of the expedition's seasons, smallpox and cholera caused particular concern, as did typhoid and plague to a lesser degree.

During both Seasons B[873] and C, smallpox reached the environs of the excavation. Waterman thus arranged for the Health Department in Baghdad to send a vaccinator to the excavation. During Season B, Waterman assembled the excavation workforce on a cold, windy December morning for surprise, requisite smallpox vaccination clinic: in his letter to Godwin, he states that "we took them by surprise and without warning."[874] Waterman wrote to his family that "we called them all together told them we wished to take their picture and so got them in good humor," Manasseh and Idhureb, the foreman, then told the workforce it was "vaccination or no work," and the two men were vaccinated in front of the workforce, to "set the example by having it done first."[875] Waterman continued his epistolary accounts to note that no adult workers refused the vaccine, but that smaller boys were afraid, with the result that two boys ran away before receiving the vaccine, and only one returned. In all, more than a hundred workers were vaccinated that day, and any new workers were required to be vaccinated at the dig house prior to joining the project. The staff were also vaccinated, even those (such as Waterman) who had already been inoculated against smallpox in the past.[876]

This smallpox vaccination initiative extended to the expedition's neighbors as well: the Health Department vaccinator left vaccine and a lancet for their use, and Sophia (Sophie, Sophy), Olga McDowell's 13-year-old sister, vaccinated whomever came for it. As Waterman

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[873] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 16, 1928, TMA/Mesopotamian; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 21, 1928, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[874] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, January 1, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[875] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle, Dorothea, and Donald Waterman, December 25, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928. The photograph he mentions is not evident in the extant photologs (which are inconsistent for Season B) nor among the extant photographs themselves. See also Waterman Notebook 3, December 22, 23, 1928.
[876] Leroy Waterman to Mabelle, Dorothea, and Donald Waterman, December 30, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.

wrote to his family, "the fun of it is that Sophia has done all the vaccinating at the house. She wants to be a physician, and she even vaccinated herself."[877] A month after the mass vaccination of the workforce, Waterman wrote to Mabelle that nearby, a local man died of smallpox, causing an uptick in women and children seeking vaccination from Sophia, who by that point had vaccinated 160 people.[878]

During Season C, Waterman records that staff members, including the cook's wife, traveled at various times to Baghdad to receive the typhoid vaccine.[879] But the primary threat was smallpox: in late November 1929, smallpox returned to the environs of Seleucia, so Waterman once again arranged for a government vaccinator to vaccinate the workforce—155 people—and once again, the staff used government-provided supplies to vaccinate their neighbors: Waterman wrote to Godwin that "the women and children are coming in droves to our house" for vaccination. This season, however, Olga McDowell was the vaccinator, as Sophie had been sent to a boarding school in Beirut and was, accordingly, not present.[880]

Waterman's notebooks and letters do not indicate any urgent public health threats during Season D: the only reference to vaccination finds Harry Dorman receiving a plague vaccination at the hospital in Baghdad.[881]

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[877] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle, Dorothea, and Donald Waterman, December 25, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928. Waterman's diary tracks Sophia's vaccine administrations, noting how many people she vaccinated on a given day. Waterman Notebook 3, December 24-26, 28-31, 1928, January 7, 24 or 25, 1929.
[878] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 29, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1929.
[879] Waterman Notebook 5, October 14, 22, November 15, 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald Waterman, (?) October 15, 1929 (letter was later dated c. Sept. 23, 1929, but that date, given the contents is incorrect), Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, October 20, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 16, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929.
[880] Waterman Notebook 5, November 30, 1929; Waterman Notebook 6, December 1, 2, 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 22, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 3, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[881] Waterman Notebook 8, October 22, 1930.

During Season E, cholera, rather than smallpox, was of concern. Waterman records the multiple visits from the cholera vaccinator to inoculate the workforce and neighbors,[882] as well as his family's own cholera inoculations in Beirut prior to travel to Iraq.[883]

Such disease risks impacted the travel of the staff and the logistics of the excavation, causing, for example, ten days of delays in travel and the commencement of Season E due to the length of time to vaccinate staff members in Syria prior to arrival in Iraq.[884] These real threats resulted in health scares and actual infection among staff[885] and the workforce and neighbors[886] over the years. Vaccination, as a public health mitigation measure, in particular involved a combination of community concern and self-interest for Waterman and the excavation team, and it is unsurprising that his discussion of his efforts to get neighbors vaccinated take on a paternalistic tone. As he wrote to Blake-More Godwin,

> The Arabs are very fatalistic about it and regard it as something everybody has to have (smallpox). We are trying to enlighten them that the thing Allah insists on is not smallpox but vaccination. I am planning to take down some vaccine for myself and scratch every native who comes within range of the bungalow.[887]

[882] Waterman Notebook 9, October 7, 14, November 5, 12, 1931.
[883] Waterman Notebook 9, September 10, 15, 1931. Waterman faced travel challenges related to cholera inoculation before and during Season A: his own travel was constrained by and scheduled around receiving the second dose in Jerusalem; Manasseh also arrived late to Season A due to his cholera inoculation. (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 16, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 22, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 28. 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 31, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 3, 1927, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 12, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928).
[884] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank Robbins, October 20, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Robbins, January 12, 1932, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2.
[885] During Season B, Waterman feared that Robert McDowell might have contracted smallpox, but his illness turned out to be malaria and a cold. Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 30, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, January 1, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[886] E.g., during Season B several workers contracted smallpox prior to the mass vaccination (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle, Donald, and Dorothea Waterman, December 25, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928) and a local man died of smallpox (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 29, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1929).
[887] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 21, 1928, TMA/Mesopotamian.

The language of "enlightenment" offers a current of condescension to the attempt to take public health safety measures.

The Boys' School

In Seasons D and E, the excavation staff ran a "school" for a small number of local boys (eight to twelve pupils) on the excavation's day off, two to three hours on Fridays during Season D (with the addition of two short weekly sessions during the noon break on the excavation) and Sundays during Season E. In Season D, Harry Dorman seems to have been the point person; he was an instructor ("staffite") at American University of Beirut's International College, the university's feeder prep school.[888] Dorman and Manasseh seem to have been the primary instructors, with other staff members stepping in at various times; 15-year-old Donald Waterman organized athletics (and joined the lessons to learn some Arabic).[889] Instruction seems to have focused on reading and writing in Arabic; lacking a proper classroom, they held classes sitting on the ground and wrote in piles of sand in lieu of sufficient slates. In describing the school to family and to Blake-More Godwin, both Leroy and Donald Waterman highlighted the boys' enthusiasm.[890] Leroy Waterman further justified the effort to Godwin, writing of illiteracy in the local community and workforce,

> I must tell you of another enterprise we have started that is not exactly archaeological, and yet we feel that it is very much worthwhile. We employ over two hundred boys this season, many of them have very bright faces but practically all of them are illiterate […] They are intensely interested and our chief difficulty

[888] Pers. Comm., Peter Dorman; Carrington and Ludvigsen 2011, 10-11. See Appendix for further information.
[889] Waterman Notebook 9, September 25-26, October 3, 10, 17, November 7, 14, 21, 28, December 5, 12, 19, 1931, January 2, 6, 1932.
[890] Letter, Donald Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, September 27, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930; Letter, Donald and Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, September 29, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 3, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930; Letter, Donald Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 10, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 17, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, December 16, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, November 25, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian.

> with them is to get them stopped at the close of the lesson […] This is not a mere fad nor simply a bit of philanthropy. Of all our 300 men and boys there are none who can read or write their own language. We have already taught our skilled workers to be skilful [sic] with their hands, but we need native assistants who can use numbers and read at least a little. We have legitimate hopes, therefore, that some of these may be stimulated enough to be able to serve us in some such capacity. Apart from this, the value of the mental stimulus and a new sense of loyalty on their part, much more than repays our efforts.[891]

For Waterman, this school initiative supported the great value he placed on education[892] as well as his sense of pragmatic excavation management: the workforce's illiteracy limited their capacity to assist, whether with recording or reading survey instruments. He wrote to Dorothea,

> You see if we make them more intelligent they become more useful workers to say nothing of the possible stimulus to them to go on and get a real education. Oh well I suppose I am like an old hen that just can't get along without chickens. I can't be away from something called a school and students even for six months in a year.[893]

Dorman also wrote an article about the excavation, including the school initiative, for the alumni association magazine of American University of Beirut, *Al-Kulliyah*.[894]

In Season E, Manasseh seems to have been the primary instructor of twelve pupils, with Mabelle Waterman and William Bellingham also participating; Bellingham seems to have taught English on at least one occasion.[895]

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[891] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, November 25, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian.
[892] Waterman's own biography—indeed, his Horatio Alger-hero-like autobiography—convey his great belief in the transformative power of education. One need not doubt his earnestness about education, which is not mutually exclusive with paternalism (Biography, 1972, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Biography of Leroy Waterman, by his daughter Mrs. Dorothea Ragland).
[893] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, December 16, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.
[894] A typed manuscript is in the TMA Archive, enclosed in correspondence to Godwin (of the TMA) and Milliken (of the CMA). I have not found it published in English in *Al-Kulliyah*, but it may have appeared in the Arabic version; Waterman's cover letter enclosing the article notes that it was to be translated into Arabic. (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 9, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian; Letter, Leroy Waterman William M. Milliken December 8, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian.)
[895] Waterman Notebook 9, October 18, 25, November 1, 29, December 13, 1931.

Theft and Suspicion

I have already discussed a Season B incident of brick theft as it pertained to Ferhan Dihli. I have also already noted above an instance of *bakhshish* slip forgery and subsequent arrest,[896] as well as Waterman's brief reference to suspicion of Khalaf regarding missing rupees in his Season E notebook [897] A few other instances recorded in the archival sources suggest an undercurrent of staff distrust of the local residents.

During Season C, Waterman recorded a potential incident, in which Hajji, the Season C guard, apprehended a man whose nighttime travel across the site—but not on the usual paths—was viewed with suspicion.[898] As he wrote to Donald,

> It seems the guard saw him skulking across the mounds and was not following the usual paths so he challenged him & when he started to run the guard fired in the air & the man stopped & gave himself up. The man claimed he was just going home but it wasn't a very good story at that time of night in this country. But having got our man what should he do with him, with no police within fifteen miles. We decided to tie him up for the night So the cook brought a rope tied his hands, around the wrists together, then tied his feet & attached both to a long heavy plank so he could lie down so he rested till morning. We sent out of our men to the nearest police & after lunch a mounted policeman armed to the teeth arrived and after due formalities marched him off. Such is the story of our first robber. Of course he may have been innocent and we made no charges against him directly, but it may also be he was on the way to rob some one else. What made us suspicious was that the day before we had found gold leaf in three different places and the workers knew it.[899]

This sense of suspicion or threat of theft of finds is further visible in Donald Waterman's letters home during Season D. He wrote to his mother that

> Dad and Mr. Doorman [sic: Dorman] and I went to see the Government officials about 26 miles from here. We think that the workmen are stealing things when they dig the up and so we got the mounted police to come to the dig every

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[896] Waterman Notebook 8, December 26, 28, 1930.
[897] Waterman Notebook 9, November 23, 1931.
[898] "At 1 am. Hajji the guard hailed a man & fired, brought him in because [not?] on the path. We tired him up & kept him. In morning sent note to Police of Mahmoudiyah thro [sic] Manasseh's Arabic […] Police from Mahandiyah arrived in early P.M. Sent note to police with prisoner" (Waterman Notebook 5, October 14-15, 1929).
[899] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald Waterman, (?) October 15, 1929 (letter was later dated c. Sept. 23, 1929, but that date, given the contents is incorrect), Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929.

> Monday just to let the Arabs know that the police are watching them.[900]

This increased surveillance due to fear of theft focused on the dig house as well. Donald wrote to his sister that,

> Dad says that we have found enough already this year to pay for the whole expedition this season. Therefore we are having to keep a double watch on the house because the Arabs know we have things.[901]

Further, anticipation of such theft put the guard (likely either Hamza or Abd el Dhahi) on particular lookout, which led to the capture of a dog one night. As Donald wrote to his mother and sister, "The other night our guard thought he saw a man silhouted [sic] on top of a rise near the house and fired his rifle. He ran over there and it turned out to be a strange dog [...] The guard finally caught him and that was that."[902]

As these incidents show, the excavation staff was suited to suspect theft, and they turned to the local policing apparatus to surveil and arrest when their suspicions were piqued. They were, of course, held legally responsible, as concession holders, for the site's security, as Sidney Smith reminded them during Season B (discussed above). While the market for antiquities was by no means new, the project also stimulated the market through their use of a *bakhshish* system, which granted financial value to recovery of finds, and their purchases of surface finds from the site's environs from locals. Moreover, their suspicions evince a specific lack of trust of the locally-hired workforce, with an undercurrent of stereotyped cupidity, and thus a gap in how interests and stakes in the excavation were perceived.

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[900] Letter, Donald Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 10, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.

[901] Letter, Donald and Leroy Waterman to Dorothea Waterman, October 20, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.

[902] Letter, Donald Waterman to Mabelle and Dorothea Waterman, December 17, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.

Local land cultivation

The project's relations with local residents beyond those who worked on the excavation are not particularly visible. Waterman's archived records offer the narrowest glimpse into one domain in which the project intersected with broader communities: land cultivation. In his *Al-Kulliyah* article manuscript, Harry Dorman states that the Tel Umar mound complex was not cultivated prior to the excavation, as the ground was too high for irrigation, particularly when compared to the lower cultivatable plain between the site and the Tigris.[903] Nevertheless, the cultivation at the boundaries of the mound complex occasionally became an issue for negotiation, visible particularly once in Waterman's notebook entries for Season C and once for Season D.

During Season C, Iraqi bigwig Fakri (Fakhri) Jamil,[904] summoned Manasseh to discuss land use in the mound complex, setting off a series of meetings to set boundaries for the archaeological concession (and consultation with director of antiquities Sidney Smith).[905] When a local sheikh named Moh. Fuyad inquired about cultivation, Waterman wrote, unceremoniously, to Mabelle that "a local sheik called who wanted to cultivate land that runs into our mounds so

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[903] MS enclosed in Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 9, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian and Letter, Leroy Waterman William M. Milliken December 8, 1930, TMA/Mesopotamian.

[904] As noted in Chapter 2, he was a friend of Gertrude Bell's and owned a large estate (among others) on the Seleucia-side of the river. (Letter from Gertrude Bell to Hugh Bell, August 6, 1921. Bell Archive, Newcastle University. http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=496 (Accessed August 9, 2019).) As she wrote to her stepmother, following a dinner hosted by Fakhri Jamil, "You know about the Jamil […] They're the biggest swells here." (Letter, Gertrude Bell to Dame Florence Bell, February 23, 1920. Bell Archive, Newcastle University. http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=378 (Accessed November 8, 2021).)

[905] "Messenger from Fakri Jamil called and asked Manasseh to come to his house to meet him about his use of land within our complex." (Waterman Notebook 5, November 6, 1929); "In a.m. also wrote letter to Fakri Jamil at request about cultivation within mounds. Manasseh translated & we sent it by Abd el Dhaki" (Waterman Notebook 5, November 7, 1929); "Then went to dig & to cultivation with Manasseh & set [bonds? bounds?] on NW. […] prepared lines on concession for Smith" (Waterman Notebook 5, November 19, 1929); "Sidney Smith & Mr Royd came at 9:15 […] I showed them around the cultivation within the mounds. Then to S. Gate & excav. Lunch discussed cultivation showed them finds, & tomb" (Waterman Notebook 5, November 12, 1929).

we had to take the car and spend an hour showing him 'where to get off.'"[906]

The following season, Season D, cultivation boundaries seem to be at issue again. Subsequent to an entry recording that "Manasseh & Donald drove around the entire Xsaf with the [illegible] shoveler to see about cultivation limits,"[907] Waterman's notebook includes the following statement, written neatly in someone else's handwriting:

> 5th Jan, 1931
>
> The Revenue office of Mahmudiah [sic] came today to fix the boundaries of the mounds. He had with him * representatives of the surrounding landlords. Only the Nakih family wasn't represented because they haven't yet appointed an agent for this year.
>
> Landmarks were put on the eastern & northern limits of the mounds and the land near P.P. 2 which was cultivated this year was included and those who did it acknowledged that they have no right to it.
>
> Nothing was done to the large tract of land inside the western end of the mounds because the Nakihs who used it previously and own the land near it were not present, but the officer, after seeing the map, was convinced that it belongs to the mounds and considered it provisionally that way and promised to take up the matter with the Kermakam. He didn't have time to go around the rest of the mounds but he autorized [sic] us to take the present water canal as the boundary.[908]

The following season, Waterman, with Manasseh's ("NM") help, goes straight to the authorities about the boundaries,[909] but nevertheless records later that "NM drove farmers off Xsaf."[910]

The evidence in the Seleucia archives about negotiations over land cultivation is insufficient to make any large claims about the specifics in the environs of Seleucia. However, as I noted in discussion of the brick theft incident (above, under discussion of Ferhan Dihli), these references are suggestive of the project's need to be contextualized in the broader landscape of

[906] "Sheickh Moh. Fuyad called & we met & settled boundaries about cultivation." Waterman Notebook 5, November 22, 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 22, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929.

[907] Waterman Notebook 8, December 6, 1930. Xsaf (Ksaf, Aksaf, Khessaf) is the mound complex.

[908] Waterman Notebook 8, January 5, 1931, pp. 277-278.

[909] Waterman Notebook 9, December 13, 1931: "Decided to visit Karmekan of Mahumidiyah […] Saw K & NM interp. Spoke of boundaries of Xsaf."

[910] Waterman Notebook 9, January 10, 1931.

changing land tenure, taxation, and administration practices in Mandate Iraq.

6.3 The Excavation Workforce in the Season F Archives

6.3.1 Season F Archival Sources

Clark Hopkins, 1936 (Season F)

One Seleucia excavation notebook written by Clark Hopkins is extant in the KMA Seleucia Expedition archive. It covers the period of October 10 to December 30, 1936: work had commenced prior to Hopkins' arrival on October 10th, and he departed the site on January 4, 1937, to return to the U.S. for the spring academic term.[911] Like the other site's other excavation diarists, he tended to record who is working where, who is visiting Baghdad, visitors to the dig, weather, as well as minimal comments on finds. He includes no lists of finds, contra Waterman's habit. As noted in Chapter 3, he frequently records that there are "no special finds" in his daily entries. Hopkins includes more musings about the site than did Waterman, noting, for example, his thoughts about a "minor" harbor[912] and his belief in the Parthian origin of the *liwan* architectural feature[913]; his entries are still quite short. His entries give the impression of someone gaining familiarity with the site (and trusting the site's field director, McDowell) with the expectation, ultimately unfulfilled, of return for future seasons of work.

His comments about the workforce are extremely minimal. Work weeks for the 1936 season ran from Monday through Saturday, with Sunday, rather than Friday, as the day off (except for one week, presumably on account of weather). Payday, thus, was Saturday. Hopkins does not record the payroll total in his director's diary, instead writing each week only that "[t]he

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[911] Copies of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank Robbins, January 8, 1936[7], Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14 and 6.17.
[912] Hopkins Notebook, October 12, 1936.
[913] Hopkins Notebook, October 18, 1936.

men were paid" in the afternoon (at times ranging from 3:00, 3:15, or 3:30).[914] Beyond this weekly occurrence, Hopkins mentions the workforce in this journal only four other times. He reports that "[a] new group of workmen & boys were taken on"; he writes that "McDowell & I decided that best for the year would be to keep 100 men on Yeivin's block; a good group on Matsons & a third surveying & then working around Tell Omar"; he notes that "[o]ne of the workmen was injured in the hand with a pick & Debevoise took him into town"; and he records once that "[o]nly a handful of men were taken on to allow us to catch up with the work."[915] Hopkins' journal thus contributes few specifics to our view of the excavating workforce, save the general impression that workforce specifics continued to be fairly unremarkable—and unremarked upon—to the site's directors.

Frederick Matson, 1936-1937 (Season F)

Four spiral-bound field notebooks written by Frederick Matson are extant in the Kelsey Museum archives.[916] These were likely brought to the Kelsey in the late 1980s/early 1990s, when Matson sent Seleucia terracotta figurines in his possession to the Kelsey for reintegration into the Kelsey corpus; contained among other papers of Matson's, they have not been formally archived. All notebooks are written in pencil and are thus challenging to read in places due to faint and fading graphite. A larger notebook (8 by 10 inches) contains observations, descriptions, and sketches of various features (principally graves) in the I-J excavation area. The other, a medium-sized spiral notebook (5 by 8 inches), records daily activities. There are also two additional small spiral notebooks (3 ½ by 6 inches), which contain notes from museum visits in

[914] Hopkins Notebook, October 24, 31, November 7, 14, 21, 27, December 6, 11, 24, 1936.
[915] Quotes from entries, in order: Hopkins Notebook, October 12, 15, 28, November 16, 1936.
[916] Frederick Matson material, Box "N," Seleucia Expedition Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan. See Appendix for more details about Matson.

the Levant and Europe and some budget/expenditure tracking for the trip. One of these notebooks opens with notes from Beyrouth, March 9, 1937, suggesting that Matson made these museum visits in the course of travel following the close of the 1936/1937 field season (Season F).

The “medium-sized” notebook contains information about the workforce. A few pages in the notebook—the first page and the final pages—include lists of workers, some with check marks by their names or other annotations (“absent” or “Deb,” referring to Debevoise), recorded among other notes. Their location (including after many blank pages at the end of the notebook) suggests that they were jotted down; they are not tied with entries for any particular days of work. It is not quite clear what these lists represent: they may track attendance (but only for only a few days of work: the second to last page of the notebook (Figure 6-2) records “absent” next to three names), record to what roles individual workers were assigned (one list on the final page is entitled “*Foss*”—i.e., “pick or pickaxe”), or were just entries for Matson to remember the names of the men he was working with.

Matson also refers to workers in his daily excavation notes, occasionally by name, sometimes by role, as he records the excavation’s progress under his supervision, often charting the movement of individual workers, groups, or number of workers in a given excavation role undertaking specific excavation activities across the site.

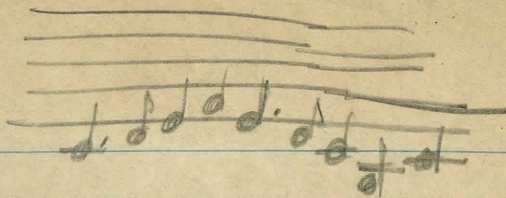

Figure 6-2 Scan of page containing lists of workers, Matson Medium Notebook, second-to-last page.

Robert H. McDowell, 1936-1937 (Season F)

A notebook archived in the Sepphoris Expedition archive in the Kelsey appears have been written at Seleucia during Season F (1936-1937), rather than at Sepphoris during 1931. The internal evidence that it pertains to Seleucia, Season F, includes the following: the first page is labeled "1936," though faintly, and details a slipper coffin found on the site by Bellingham during the excavation hiatus (his horse stepped through it); notes on this coffin are recorded by Matson (only present for Season F) as well.[917] Expenses are recorded in Iraqi dinars (primarily the subunit of the dinar, fils),[918] which replaced the Indian rupee (and its smaller denomination, the anna) as the Iraqi currency in spring 1932.[919] There is a list labeled "To Buy for 1937-38," with the years much more legible than the "1936" on the first page.

Furthermore, some entries are corroborated by entries in the object register: the entry, "16/10 [October 16th] Bayal Mohamed Musl found tablet fragment in wall between diagonals Rs 42 & 144, II/ Pot cover E Wall R12," corresponds to the entries in the F Season object register for F00496 (cuneiform tablet fragment) and F00501 (KM 3.0803: incomplete pot cover), both with recorded findspots in the east wall brickwork of Room 42, level III. Other entries, further, match Matson's: for example, Matson recorded on January 13th, that he (in his excavation area, so-called Temple A) "[t]ook on 2 more Beyals, 2 libans, 1 Rbosch & Ali Jasim from the Block."[920] The corresponding January 13 entry in this notebook (Figure 6-3) confirms the

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[917] Matson Medium Notebook, October 12, 1936.
[918] McDowell Notebook, Season F. One and a half pages toward the beginning of the notebook record wage totals in rupees. These appear to be notes from Season D. Dated September 13-18, September 20-25, and September 17 - October 2, this accounting of different roles and wage calculations matches those recorded in Waterman Notebook 8 (September 19, 25, October 2, 1930). The excavation did not start as early as September 13 in 1936, but September 13 was the first day of work for Season D. Subsequent recorded wages, however, are recorded in quantities that cannot be rupees, even when the currency is not indicated: they must be fils (1/1000 dinar), and the third page of the notebook (dated October 13) offers an accounting of cash on hand in dinars and fils. The notebook is a small 6-ring binder: pages can be added and removed.
[919] Kalian 1966; Sassoon 1987, 103.
[920] Matson Medium Notebook, January 13, 1937.

movement of these workers, including Ali Jasim, with the note:

> To J16
> 13/1—Ali Jasim, Hussein Wayal, Leufti
> 1 rebosch, 3 bayal[921]

The handwriting matches that of Robert McDowell, as archived in the Bentley.[922] Written largely in smudged pencil, it is difficult to read. It is not strictly a daily diary but, rather, a notebook of notes and jottings: it contains various notes on archaeological contexts, "to buy" lists, notes about finds, and some lists of workers. These lists sometimes include payments, wages (and raises), roles, or names of workers active in a certain excavation area (on which, see below).

[921] McDowell Notebook, Season F, January 13, 1937. This is page 34 by my count; the notebook is unpaginated and entries not consistently dated.
[922] Bentley/KMA/McDowell 1.

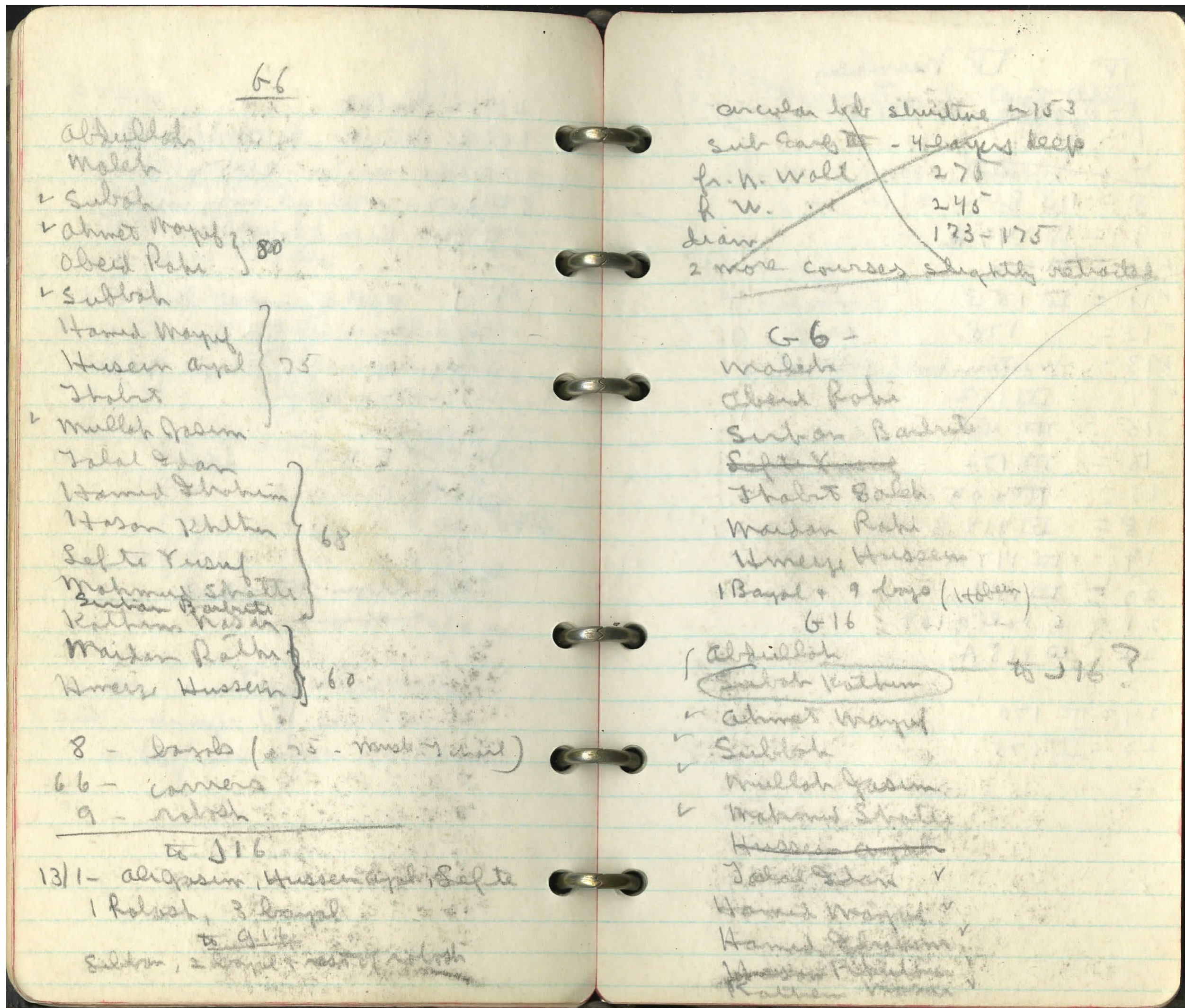

Figure 6-3 Scan of pages containing lists of workers (McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 34-35).

Letters-as-Reports to the I.A.R.

Several letters serving as reports and updates from the field in 1936/37 sent by Hopkins, McDowell, and Matson to Campbell Bonner and Frank Robbins are archived in the Bentley, mostly extant as typed copies for the file.[923] These letters do not discuss the workforce or labor

[923] Typed excerpts of letter for file, Clark Hopkins to Campbell Bonner, November 24, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14; Typed copy of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank E. Robbins, December 7, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17; Typed copy of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank E. Robbins, December 7, 1936, Bentley/KMA/McDowell 1.1; Typed copy of letter, Clark Hopkins to Frank E. Robbins, December 20, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17; Letter, Clark Hopkins to Frank E. Robbins, December 20, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14; Typed copy of letter, Clark Hopkins to Frank E. Robbins, December 20, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14; Typed copy of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank E. Robbins, January 8, 1937, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17; Typed copy of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank E.

organization, except for a single reference in a letter from McDowell to Robbins to redeployment of "[a]ll of the railway equipment and most of the shovel men" from the excavation of so-called Temple A to so-called Temple B for "stripping of the surface debris."[924]

6.3.2 Workers' Roles and Organization, Season F

McDowell and Matson both occasionally recorded lists quantifying the number of workers in different roles working in a given area at a given time in their notebooks; the area and the date(s), however, were not always indicated. The terminology of roles changed slightly from that used in the seasons directed by Waterman. I have not been able to clarify all roles.

Matson recorded lists (labeled variously "working force" or "staff") for a period in late November through December 1936. I have included these in Table 6. Outside of these lists, his accounting of different excavation roles takes places in narrative form (e.g., "Took on another Beyal, making 10"[925]) as part of his account of progress of work in areas under his supervision. This practice makes it difficult to track the total amount of workers as only changes (and likely not all) in numbers of workers per role or per excavation area were charted.

Table 6 Matson's "Working Force" Lists

November 23, 1936	54 Rhebosch; 7 Libans; 5 Beyals ~ 8 boys each; 8 arabancheeas
November 30, 1936	Foremen, 2 subs; 8 libans; 54 Rhebosch; 5 Beyals; 39 Hizzahs
December 8, 1936	3 Foreman 2 subforemen; 9 libans; 6 foss; 6 arabanchee; 5 beyals; 45 rebosch; 39 boys (one was fired this A.M.)
December 17, 1936	3 foremen, 9 libans, 6 foss, 45 mischa, 5 beyal, 38 hizzas

McDowell recorded some similar lists, but, similarly, it is not always clear what they

Robbins, January 8, 1937, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14; Typed copy of letter, Frederick Matson to Frank E. Robbins, January 25, 1937, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17; Typed copy of letter, Frederick Matson to Frank E. Robbins, January 25, 1937, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14; Typed copy of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank E. Robbins, January 25, 1937, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17; Typed copy of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank E. Robbins, January 25, 1937, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14.

[924] Copies of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank Robbins, January 8, 1936[7], Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14 and 6.17.

[925] Matson Medium Notebook, January 14, 1937.

represent. For example, under the date October 27th ("27/10"[926]), McDowell recorded the following lists of quantities of workers, but without an indication of what (or where at the excavation, if per area) the different groupings signify:

		98
12 gangs all (2 of 9)		12
14 shovels		14
9 libban		9
		133
beyal (8)		9
carriers (65)		73
[misshai?] (8)	10	
libban (8)		5
[Boy?] (4)		
Bayal		4
carriers	32	
libban	3	
Robash		3
		42

McDowell's lists sometimes include wage totals, such as the list dated December 22: [927]

9 bayal (1 @ 75)	619
72 carriers	2880
2 special [boys?]	100
7 shovelers	420
2 trial libban	120
13 libban	943

Sums above that list show that 8 beyals were each paid 68 and one was paid 75; sums below show that the liban workers also had a variable scale: two at a rate of 80, five at 75, and six at 68.

I have not been able to determine what every role is. Specifically, I have not been able to identity the excavation roles indicated "beyal," "rhebosch," or "mischa," role names that do not

[926] McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 27, 1936. This is page 13 by my count; the notebook is unpaginated and entries not consistently dated.
[927] McDowell Notebook, Season F, December 22, 1936. This is page 32 by my count; the notebook is unpaginated and entries not consistently dated.

appear to be the usual Arabic terminology for excavation roles. Other identifiable excavation roles are recorded according to the Arabic terminology. "*Liban*" or "*libban*" again refers to mudbrick-tracers;[928] *hizzah* refers to sack carriers; *foss* to picks; and *arabanchee* to carts or wheelbarrows—and, most likely, dump carts on the installed light railroad tracks.

6.3.3 Individual Workers in the Archives, Season F

Table 7 (below) combines names and roles, when identifiable, extracted and interpreted from Matson's and McDowell's Season F notebooks. Including single names (that may refer to other individuals whose names are more fully recorded elsewhere) each counted as one, this table includes 108 names.

I have chosen to include these workers' names as a table rather than explicate them individually as I have done for Seasons A to E for several reasons. The number of lists in the notebooks means that there are simply more names available for Season F than in the previous seasons. At the same time, the fact that the evidence is lists of names means that the character of the evidence is different than references in the Season A to E archival sources: there is both less (in quantity) and more standardized information available attached to each name. For example, records in the form of lists of individuals in a given role (e.g., "liban," or mudbrick-tracer), the kind of information attached to a given name is less varied then offered by the incidental references in Waterman's daily journal entries. This means not only that less triangulation between various references is necessary to identify named workers' roles, but that such triangulation with incidental information is less possible.

[928] These workers were trained by the staff, rather than hired as specialists from elsewhere. For example, Matson records that he "[t]ook the libans working on the theater over to Deb's dig where he gave them a lecture on his theater. This should help them visualize what they are doing in tracing the seats" (Matson Medium Notebook, January 14, 1937).

As with the Season A to E evidence for the workforce, robust caveats apply to the following list of names. The way workers' names were recorded is inconsistently. The names as recorded appear to consist largely of personal/given names (*ism*, in Arabic) but also include names with multiple components, whether a patronymic (e.g., the *nasab*) or a family name (e.g., the *nisba*). I have sought to transcribe, to the best of my ability, the names as recorded in these notebooks, following their spelling as closely as possible, in order to maintain the original form of the evidence—mangled as these original transcriptions by McDowell and Matson into English may have been. I also have attempted to group what I interpret as repeated references to the same name/individual into single entries. For individuals referenced in the texts by only one name (presumably—but not certainly—a personal name), but when the single name also appears in multiple fuller names, I have let the "one name" references stand alone unless I was able to assign the name more specifically based on context. For example, I grouped one reference to an "Abbas" with references to "Mohamed Abbas," as the relevant references to involve renting horses (the same activity suggesting that Abbas and Mohamed Abbas were the same individual), but I kept separate—as "Abbas (one name)"—references to Abbas which were not clearly to the same individual.

These two notebooks are challenging to cite, as they are unpaginated and inconsistently dated. Further, various blank page make numbering a challenge. Entries are cited by date when discernable. Both Matson and McDowell offered dates in a "day/month" form; I have converted these to fully written-out dates for clarity. For undated pages, I have offered page numbers, by my count, or through descriptive locations in the notebook ("second-to-last page," "final page," etc). For the Matson Medium Notebook, "quarter page" refers to a torn page (about one-fourth of the length of a page) that is the third from the end of the notebook.

Table 7 Individual Workers' Names in Season F

Name	**Roles or activities if known**	**# of ref.s**	**References**
Ab[illegible] Beyas			Matson Medium Notebook, quarter page.
Abayd il Jasim			Matson Medium Notebook, quarter page.
Abbas (one name)		3	McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 24, 1936, page 20.[929]
Abbas Hamd, Abbas I Hamid	robosch? Arabana	2	Matson Medium Notebook, final page; McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 37.
Abbas il Kathina			Matson Medium Notebook, page 2.
Abd Ali [Hamadi?], Abd Ali	Liban	2	Matson Medium Notebook, November 4, 1936; McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, 1936.
Abdel Musli	Mischa		Matson Medium Notebook, page 1.
Abdul Rutha		3	Matson Medium Notebook, quarter page, second-to-last page (Figure 6-2).
Abdullah (one name)	Liban	5	Matson Medium Notebook, January 13, 1937; McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 26, 1936, pp. 20, 34, 35 (Figure 6-3).
Abdullah Abid	liban		Matson Medium Notebook, final page.
Abdullah Khalaf	boys?		Matson Medium Notebook second-to-last page; McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 17.
Abdullah Subuan			Matson Medium Notebook, second-to-last page.
Abood Jasim			Matson Medium Notebook, page 1.
Aboud [illegible]	boy		McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 20.
Abwan Sulan	sherd sorting		Matson Medium Notebook,

[929] This is page 20 by my count; it is labeled “13/13” at the top of the page but there is no thirteenth month.

Name	Roles or activities if known	# of ref.s	References
			December 1, 1936.
Achmed, Ahmet (one name)	Liban	2	Matson Medium Notebook January 13, 1937; McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 29.
Adai Mush	Mischa		Matson Medium Notebook, page 1.
Ahmet [Diklimi?]	boys?		McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 17.
Ahmet Kasim	boy		McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 20.
Ahmet Khalaf			McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 20.
Ahmet Mayuf, Ahmed Mayuf	Liban	5	McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, November 7, 1936, pp. 20, 34, 35.
Alee Mujilee			Matson Medium Notebook, page 1.
Ali Jasim		4	Matson Medium Notebook, January 13, 1937; McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 24, 1936, pp. 20, 34. 2
Ali Misla	Arabana		Matson Medium Notebook, final page.
Alwan Sulman			McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 20.
Aman Jeddah [?]			McDowell Notebook, Season F, November 21, 1936.
Atia Hasan, Ateeyah Hassan	boys? Beyal	2	McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 27, 1936; Matson Medium Notebook, final page.
Aybal Khaleed	Foss		Matson Medium Notebook, final page.
Baida Sali, Baidi Sali	Arabana		Matson Medium Notebook, second-to-last page, final page.
Breesan il Abbas			Matson Medium Notebook, half page.
Darub i Jassim			Matson Medium Notebook, second-to-last page.
Daud Suliman, Doud Sulman		2	Matson Medium Notebook, page 1; McDowell Notebook, Season F,

Name	Roles or activities if known	# of ref.s	References
			November 7, 1936.
Doud Ibrahim	Foss	3	Matson Medium Notebook, page 1, quarter page, final page.
Farhan Sayli			Matson Medium Notebook, second-to-last page.
Haide Nasar	Foss		Matson Medium Notebook, final page.
Hamam Alwan			Matson Medium Notebook, second-to-last page.
Hamed [Nasar?]	Liban		McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, 1936.
Hamid [illegible]		2	McDowell Notebook, Season F, November 21, 1936.
Hamid Ibrahim, Hamid Ihahim, Hamed Ibrahim	Liban	3	McDowell Notebook, Season F, November 7, 1936, pp. 34, 35.
Hamid Mayuf, Hamed Mayuf	Liban	4	McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, November 7, 1936, pp. 34, 35.
Hamid Sulman			Matson Medium Notebook, half page.
Hamoud Dlim [?], Hamoud Dh[?]	finder		Matson Medium Notebook, page 1, second-to-last page.
Hamoud i Najum, Hamoud i Nejim, Hamoud Nejim (Nejun?), Hamid i Najim—[war?]. Hamid i Neijun	Foss, finder, (“returned from soldiering”)	5	Matson Medium Notebook, page 1, January 1, 1937, quarter page, second-to-last page, final page.
Hamsa, Hamze, Hamzi	Foss?, liban	7	Matson Medium Notebook January 26, 1937; McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, 24, 1936, page 20.
Hamze Hussein		2	McDowell Notebook, Season F, pp. 34, 35.
Hashim il Yusif			Matson Medium Notebook. second-to-last page.
Hasin Khlthen			McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 34.
Hassail Alwan			Matson Medium Notebook, final page.
Hassain I Sali	Arabana		Matson Medium Notebook, final page.

Name	Roles or activities if known	# of ref.s	References
Hawad			Matson Medium Notebook, second-to-last page.
Hawail a Sahi			Matson Medium Notebook, second-to-last page.
Herbuta Shiman, Khrebut i Shiman	Arabana		Matson Medium Notebook, page 1, final page.
Hessein, Hussein (one name)	Liban		Matson Medium Notebook, November 4, December 8, 1936.
Husein [Nasar or Hasar?]	Liban		McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, 1936.
Hussan Hassan, Hussein Hassan, Hasan Hassien	mischa?, beyal	3	Matson Medium Notebook, page 1, final page; McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 20.
Hussein Ayal, Hussein Wayal, Husein Ayal	Liban	4	McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, 1936, pp. 34, 35.
Jasim	guard		McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 26, 1936.
Jasim [R—?]			Matson Medium Notebook, page 1.
Jasim Abayes il Abbas			Matson Medium Notebook, quarter page.
Jasim Mohamed, Jasim Mohmed	construction?	2	McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 25, 26, 1936.
Jasim Nabayis	Liban		Matson Medium Notebook, December 1, 1936.
Kathem			McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 29.
Kathem Nasar		3	McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 26, 1936, pp. 34, 35.
Kathin Alayah			Matson Medium Notebook, second-to-last page.
Kathun Ali	Foss		Matson Medium Notebook, final page.
Kh[?] Shaman	construction?		McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 25, 1936.
Khaidal i Kareem	Arabana		Matson Medium Notebook, final page.
Khalaf Zeydan, Kahlaf Zeydan		2	Matson Medium Notebook, second-to-last page.

Name	Roles or activities if known	# of ref.s	References
Lefti Yusuf, Lefti		2	McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 34.
Loshee Hamid	Mischa		Matson Medium Notebook, page 1.
Lurki Rathi			McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 26, 1936.
Mahmud Shtati, Mahmud Shtti		2	McDowell Notebook, Season F, pp. 34, 35.
Maidan Rathi, Maiden Rahi		2	McDowell Notebook, Season F, pp. 34, 35.
Maleh (one name)		3	McDowell Notebook, Season F, pp. 20, 34, 35.
Maleh Salal, Maley Salal	Liban	2	McD 23/10, Matson 14/1
Matar Naboyes	beyal		Matson Medium Notebook, final page.
Meda Saila	Mischa		Matson Medium Notebook, page 1.
Merdas il Kathin			Matson Medium Notebook, quarter page.
Mihusin	guard		McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 26, 1936.
Mizai Adiai [?]			Matson Medium Notebook, quarter page.
Moh. Abbas, Mohamed Abbas, Abbas (in reference to horses?)	horse rental, construction?	3	McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 25, 26, 1936, page 20.
Mohaed [Musl?]	Bayal		McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 16, 1936.
Mohamed Abdullah	Liban		McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, 1936.
Mohamed Nefar [?]			McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 17, 1936.
Mullah Jasim		2	McDowell Notebook, Season F, pp. 34, 35.
Mustaf Jasim	Liban		McDowell Notebook, Season F, November 7, 1936.
Mutar Abur	boys?		McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 27, 1936.
Naif Abbas	Guard, construction?, Arabana	3	McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 25, 1936, page 12; Matson Medium Notebook, final page.

Name	Roles or activities if known	# of ref.s	References
Obeid Rahi, Ubeed Rathi	Liban	5	McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, November 7, 1936, pp. 20, 24, 25.
Ratham [?] Ali	boys?		McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 17.
Saleh Khalili			McDowell Notebook, Season F, November 21, 1936.
Salhenna Sa	Mischa		Matson Medium Notebook, page 1.
Sali Nasar	Foss		Matson Medium Notebook, final page.
Salman (one name)			McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 29.
Salman Dakhil, Sol. Dakhil, Sulman Dhakhed	boys?, beyal	2	Matson Medium Notebook, final page; McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 27, 1936, page 20.
Salman Khalaf	Liban	4	Matson Medium Notebook, January 13, 1927; McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, 1936, page 20.
Salman Mansur	boys?, beyal	2	Matson Medium Notebook, final page; McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 27, 1936.
Sefte Yusuf			McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, 1936.
Sheyal Ali			Matson Medium Notebook, second-to-last page.
Subah, Subbah, Sublah (one name)		4	McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 17, 1936, pp. 34, 35.
Subbah Kathem, Sublah Kathan, Subbeh Katha[?], Suba il Kathim	Liban	4	Matson Medium Notebook, page 1; McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, 1936, pp. 20, 25.
Sulman i Sayal	Arabana		Matson Medium Notebook, final page.
Surhan Barbuti, Serhan Barbuti			McDowell Notebook, Season F, pp. 34, 35.
Talal Idan			McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 34.
Thabit (one name)		2	McDowell Notebook, Season F, January 19, 1937, page 34.

Name	Roles or activities if known	# of ref.s	References
Thabit Nasar	Liban		McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 23, 1936.
Thabit Saleh			McDowell Notebook, Season F, page 35.
Ubeid Jasim			McDowell Notebook, Season F, October 26, 1936.

Several workers' names are familiar from the archives pertaining to Seasons A to E, suggesting that, despite the hiatus of four years, that at least a portion of the workforce was rehired on the excavation. Two men, Mali Salal and Ahmed Mayaf, whom I have posited were foremen of mudbrick tracers during the Waterman campaign, appear to be employed for the same job in Season F (with their personal names transcribed slightly differently in this later season, as "Maleh" or "Maley" and "Ahmet," respectively). Two others, Serhan Berberti, and Mahmud Shertii, whose names appear in Waterman's notebooks as "finders" are referenced, though without stated excavation positions, in Season F. Their names, too, are transcribed differently (Surhan Barbuti, Serhan Barbuti; Mahmud Shtati, Mahmud Shtti) but can be reasonably recognized on phonetically grounds. Finally, the work of a Salman Khalaf as a mudbrick tracer during Season F is clear from both Matson's and McDowell's notebooks. He is probably the same worker whose name, in various spellings, is recorded (in an indeterminate role) during Seasons A, B, and C (see above).

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have engaged the textual sources extant in archives in order to discuss the locally-hired workforce at Michigan's Seleucia excavation. I have mined notebooks and correspondence for information about the organization of excavation labor as well as individual workers, while observing the attitudes inflecting and practices that produced the sources I draw

on. The picture that has emerged is one of multiple individual actors whose work enabled the practice of archaeology at Seleucia, as well as a characteristically unequal relationship between excavation staff and the broader workforce.

I hope to have shown that looking for individual workers even in archives lacking payroll lists with hundreds of individuals can be a productive endeavor. Nevertheless, I was only able to discuss about 25 individual workers in any detail; furthermore, the information available about them in the archive is limited. One can observe the archival grain that excluded—and continues to exclude them. Most of the workforce remains textually invisible. As such, I turn next to the archival photographs, in which, if anywhere, the locally-hired workforce is literally visible.

Chapter 7 : Working on Seleucia in Iraq: The Photographed Workforce

The bottom half of photograph C170 (Figure 7-1) is devoid of people, save the suggestion of a presence in the photographer's shadow at the bottom right corner.[930] A wide, shadow cuts through the photograph's center, cast by an unexcavated baulk (at the left of the image) over what appears to be an excavated room. On the baulk is a large sherd of a storage jar, painted with a room number that begins with "10." In the middle and background of the photograph, set farther away from the camera, however, the scene bustles with the activity of

[930] On photographed shadows of archaeologists, see Baird 2011, 433-34; Bohrer 2011, 23-25.

moving bodies, moving dirt, and moving tools.

Taken December 29, 1929, during the third season of excavation (Season C), the photograph is captioned “Excavations and workmen” (Figure 7-2) and additionally labeled with the location, Room 205, level sub-II. Archived as photograph C170, it survives as three prints at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, two of which are affixed to catalogue cards.

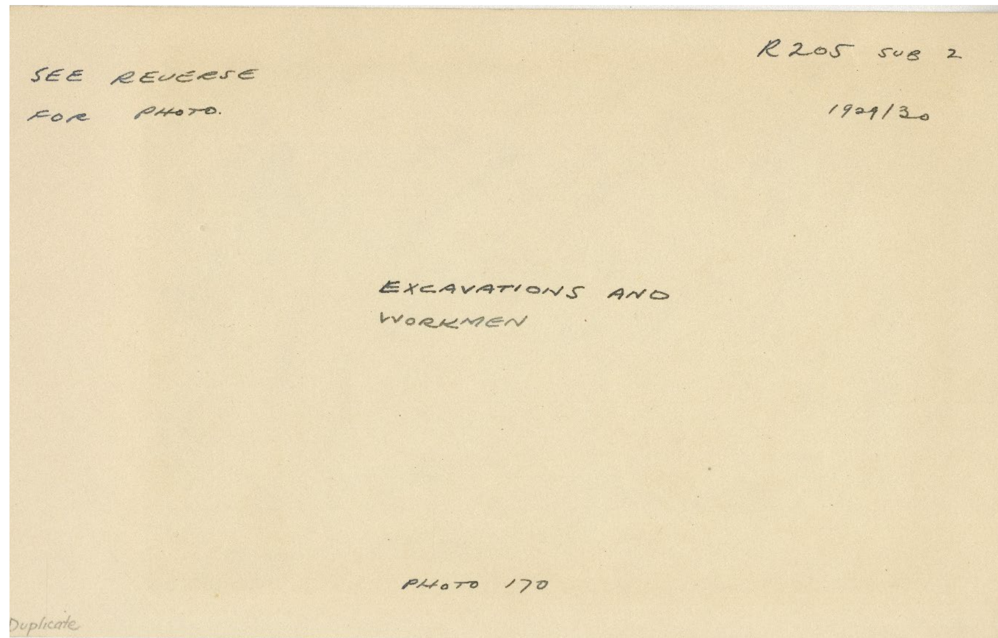

Figure 7-2 Card for photograph C170, KMA (back of Figure 7-1)

This is a scene of work, of excavation in progress (Figure 7-3). Either ignoring or unaware of the camera, most of the boys and men are not oriented toward it. They move, with shovels and picks and sacks. There are many people, mostly Iraqis, and they are all busy.

Figure 7-3 Cropped detail of print (Figure 7-1) of photograph C170, KMA

Except one. Barely visible among all the other people in motion, one figure in the upper center of the photograph stands still. He appears to stare straight into the camera (Figure 7-4).

Figure 7-4 Cropped detail (center) of print (Figure 7-1) of photograph C170, KMA

He is difficult to make out: the print is not large (about 4 by 6.5 inches); he is easier to spot by zooming in on the digital scan of the print I made in order to make my research more portable in a pandemic. But once I spotted him, I began to wonder. Why was he stopped still? Was he indeed looking right at the camera? Who was he? Did the photographer, likely Charles Spicer, see him specifically? This man, a *punctum*, the "'detail' that attracts me,"[931] brings into focus — or, if not into focus or clarity, into mind—the specific experience of that individual and, consequently, that of all the other individuals on the excavation. And, as he looked back at me, he reminded me of my own spectatorship as I looked through photographs.

Roland Barthes asserts, "Every photograph is a certificate of presence."[932] Visual anthropologist Elizabeth Edward expands:

> photographs are not merely depicted and appropriated occurrences and scenes, but an inscription of the moment which is that "experience someone lived through", then photographs mark not only the photographer's standpoint but a point of view of those in front of the camera, even if that moment is asymmetrical. Subjects are never passive — they think, they experience […] Presence within the trace of the photograph is profoundly subjective and profoundly personal, a reclaiming of a moment.[933]

Indeed, photographs are another key archival locus for excavation workers at Seleucia, as they are for locally-hired workers at other contemporary excavations. People working on the Seleucia dig—both excavation workers and staff members—are visible in 215 of the approximately 1100 site and object photographs extant as prints in Seleucia Expedition Archive in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Only eleven captions refer to "workmen" or "workers"; the other captions take no notice of them.

Finding workers in the Seleucia photographs is far less onerous work than attempting to

[931] Barthes 2010, 26-27, 42-43.
[932] Barthes 2010, 87.
[933] Edwards 2015, 241.

locate them in the textual components of the KMA Seleucia archive. The task primarily involves refocusing one's gaze, for they are present, if typically unnoticed and unmentioned. The photographs depicting workers offer many possibilities. At their most basic, they do provide visual evidence for the presence and physical labor of locally-hired Iraqis: for who they were, for what they did, where, and with what tools.

But, as others have suggested, they offer more, or something different, than positivistic documentation of the workforce. As Michael Shanks notes, "looking, and the means of its record, are always *situated*."[934] J.A. Baird, in examining photographs from Dura-Europos, finds that the archaeological truth constructed in that site's excavation photographs places the photographed Syrian workers in temporal limbo, marking them as analogous with ancient inhabitants but also rendering them as passive visual props that denied them any active inheritance in modernity. As such, the Dura photographs further capture and reify colonial relationships between the Euro-American archaeologists and the locally-hired workforce, including, for example, through the differential ways either group is present or absent in the images and the omission of the names of the workers in the photographs.[935] As Christina Riggs has written regarding photography in Egyptology,

> the representation of fieldwork through photography makes a strong case for theorizing colonial archaeology as a collective activity undertaken by foreign and indigenous actors, even as the photographs themselves speak to asymmetrical power relationships, age-old tropes of the Orientalized Other, and the complexities of identity and subjectivity in Egypt's emergent, notionally independent nation-state.[936]

Frederick Bohrer's succinct characterization of the usual archaeological treatment of photographs as objective document, that "[a]t its most scientific, archaeology seeks to approach

[934] Shanks 1997, 76.
[935] Baird 2011.
[936] Riggs 2017b, 339-40.

the photographic image as document, not to look *at* the photograph so much as to look *through* it to the object pictured," does not characterize this more self-reflexive scholarship on archaeological photography.[937] I suggest that, as part of critically examining the disciplinary practice of "look[ing] *through*" photographs, we must consider who is looked *past* in seeking the archaeological object. I am not alone in asking this. Particularly pertinent is the scholarship of Christina Riggs and J.A. Baird.[938] I do not attempt a comprehensive review of work concerned with photography in archaeology in this dissertation; that corpus is too extensive for a brief review here, entangled as it is with visual anthropology, archaeological epistemology and representation, and many other domains.[939] Rather, I will invoke scholarship most relevant to investigating the presence of and visual discourse concerning local workforces in excavation photography throughout the chapter, rather than as in introductory summary. First, however, I introduce the corpus of photographs and its current state.

The Michigan project at Seleucia had multiple photographers over its six seasons. For Season A, the traveling UC Berkeley student F.H. Sproule (who had first joined the project as a temporary cook) acted as photographer. In Season B, a Mr. Messick was intended to come as the photographer, but he turned back to the U.S. after arriving at Beirut; thus, Robert McDowell stepped in and took photographs.[940] Recent University of Michigan graduate Charles P. Spicer, Jr., was the photographer for Season C, while Franklin P. Johnson occasionally took

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[937] Bohrer 2011, 26.
[938] Baird 2011; Riggs 2016; Baird 2017; Riggs 2017a, 2017b, 2019a, 2021.
[939] See, among many others, Gero and Root 1994; Shanks 1997; Smiles and Moser 2005; Bohrer 2011; Green et al. 2012; Riggs 2019a; McFadyen and Hicks 2020.
[940] Letters, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 26, December 4, and December 16, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald and Dorothea Waterman, December 7, 1928, Bentley/Waterman, Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928; Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 5, 1929, Bentley/Waterman, Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1929; Letter, Leroy Waterman to J. Arthur MacLean, December 5, 1928, TMA/Mesopotamian; Letters, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, December 16, 1928, and January 4, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian.

supplemental photographs. Neilson C. Debevoise was the photographer for Season D; William C. Bellingham was photographer for Season E. In Season F, Bellingham and Debevoise were the photographers, assisted by Olga McDowell.[941] None, to my knowledge, were professional photographers, with the possible exception of Bellingham, whom McDowell described in a letter as "an expert photographer,"[942] and each undertook other duties on the excavation as well; other staff members may have stepped in from time to time.

The extant corpus of photographs from the Seleucia expedition, comprised of both excavation photography and object photography (both taken in the field and in the U.S.), is a little bit messy in its current state. Most of the extant images exist in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology's archive only as photographic prints, although a small portion of the photographs also exist as glass negatives. The latter were inaccessible to me.

Figure 7-5 Drawer of Seleucia Expedition Photographs, KMA Archive. Photograph by the author.

The photographic prints in the Kelsey's archive are organized (Figure 7-5), just as they are named, by season, with season-designating letters A to F preceding numbers (e.g., photograph C170 was taken during Season C, 1929-30). It is not clear when the various

[941] See Appendix for details about these individuals.
[942] Copies of Letter, Robert McDowell to Frank Robbins, December 7, 1937, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17 and Bentley/KMA/McDowell 1.1.

photographic prints were produced: a given photograph often has multiple prints, with slightly different physical cropping, different levels of contrast or tones, different handwriting offering labels or captions. For example, Waterman's notebooks record that they had photographs developed in Baghdad during the excavation season and had a darkroom at the dig house by Season C, but it is unlikely that all the extant prints originated there.[943]

Many, but not all, prints have been mounted to a large index card with identifying information, written in pen either on the same side as the attached photograph or on the other side. For the latter arrangement, typical of the larger prints, the annotations refer a viewer to the "reverse" for the photograph: the side with the photograph number and caption is apparently the obverse of the card, the image secondary to the textual content for filing and reference purposes. For many of these photograph cards, the glue's bond has failed: the no-longer bonded print often carries the same identifiers or captions penciled in on its reverse. The photographs and cards have been placed together in paper or mylar photo slipcovers labeled with their photograph numbers, making disassociation of the photographs and cards more difficult.

There are extant logs of photographs, though the origin of all is not clear. Nor are all copies complete; some bear discrepancies with the prints themselves. There are non-comprehensive computer-typed photo logs for Season A, C, D, E, and F; a typewriter-typed list of negatives for Season C of graves and grave goods; a few handwritten lists of photographs of objects from various seasons; lists of missing photographs; a typewritten log for Season B and a photocopy of a handwritten version archived in Waterman's papers in the Bentley historical Library[944]; a typewritten record of negatives of Season C recording information such as time of

[943] Developing film in Baghdad: e.g., Waterman Notebook 1, February 24, 1928. Darkroom: e.g., Waterman Notebook 7, January 27, 1930.
[944] Bentley/Waterman Box 4, Seleucia Expedition Files 1927-1936 subseries, Photo Logs.

day and camera information (Figure 7-6); and a small notebook from Season E entitled "Details of Photographs and No.s of Negatives Taken Season 1931-2 Tel Omar." As of Fall 2020, these could be found as loose content in drawer AS-3.4 of the Kelsey Museum's archive, in a filing cabinet unit of photographs and negatives at the far back of the archive room. The same filing cabinet also contains Seleucia object photographs, as well as some "problem" photos from Seleucia, unlabeled and unable to be connected with certainty to specific photograph numbers and captions in the photo logs or even to specific seasons. The various photograph logs (or their originals) seem to be the sources of an Excel spreadsheet collating photo numbers, captions, and formats kindly provided to me by the KMA Registry. Many of these photograph numbers with subjects are also corroborated by Waterman's journal entries, though he did not consistently record photographs as part of his daily journaling practice.

Column Headings

1 - negative number
2 - hour of day
3 - lens aperture
4 - exposure
5 - lens used
6 - light condition

Symbols Used Below

1 - Turner-Reich lens
2 - Turner-Reich (14")
3 - Turner-Reich (20")
4 - Wollensak Wide Angle
G - Graflex (2¼x3¼)
5 - Sunny
6 - Faint Sun
7 - Cloudy
8 - Shaded

date	subject	NEG 1	2	3	4	5	6
10-1-1929	T.T. 18 - house in background	1	3:30	22	1/50	1	5
	house	2	3:30	22	1/50	2	5
	excavations (no. 4) from Ziggurat	3	3:45	22	1/50	3	5
10-3-1929	stone door socket (no. 1375)	4	10:30	22	1/50	3	5
	T.T. 18 - few bricks of vault	5	12:00	32	1/5	4	5
10-4-1929	house and no. 4 from Ziggurat	6	4:00	32	1/25	1	5
10-5-1929	T.T. in no. 4	7	11:00	32	1/10	4	5
10-8-1929	individual objects taken in court						
	bronze instrument (file?)	8	9:00	16	1/25	G	5
	pottery duck	9	9:00	16	1/25	G.	5
	pottery jar with handle	10	9:00	16	1/25	G.	5
	veiled woman statuette - pottery	11	9:00	16	1/25	G.	5
	mounted horseman - pottery	12	9:00	16	1/25	G.	5
	mother and child - pottery	13	9:00	16	1/25	G.	5
	T.T. 18 - top of vault	14	10:00	32	1/10	4	5
	circuler drain in T.T. in no. 4	15	10:30	22	1/10	1	5
	ash strata s. end T.T. 18	16	3:30	22	1/10	1	5
10-11-1929	grave no.1 s. end T.T. 18	17	10:30	32	1/2	1	8
10-13-1929	grave no.1 - large jar in background	18	10:00	22	1/2	1	8
	copy of airplane photograph	19	11:00	45	1/10	1	5
	skeleton in grave no. 1 - T.T. 18	20	3:00	32	1 sec.	1	8

Figure 7-6 Scan of Record of Negatives, Season C, first page.

In this chapter, I am interested in the photographs (their content, imagery, etc.) together with, when they exist, their "original" captions, i.e., the descriptions given to the photographs in the photograph logs, on their catalogue cards, and in the KMA registry Excel spreadsheet that collates them. These descriptions indicate what their subject was perceived to be by the photographer, another staff member, or subsequent cataloguer or researcher. Bohrer discusses the diverse labeling (and thus interpretive) practices of photographs within a single, example archaeological archive, that of the University of Pennsylvania Nippur excavation: he juxtaposes an object description ("Primitive burnt brick showing impression of a palm leaf") penciled on the back of one photograph with a less descriptive, more interpretive label on the back another ("Temple Library, Time of Abraham").[945] In that light, we may compare that difference to the potential gap between the "original" captions of the Seleucia photographs and different descriptions that might be written if a different interpretive eye were on the same photographs. Here, specifically, I note that rarely was a photographic subject at Seleucia imagined in accompanying labels to include the workers who are nevertheless visible in it: in the photographs' "original" captions, no individual workers' names are offered (with the possible exception of a single photograph, discussed below), and even as a monolithic mass, the workforce is rarely mentioned. In an excavation in which sampling strategies were unsystematic, and *recorded* presence speaks more loudly than absence, the weight of such elisions falls more heavily. Furthermore, though not publicly accessible (online, for example) but still searchable in digital form, the Excel spreadsheet, lacking images, means one must search by a photograph number, a date, or a word: these descriptions thus dictate how one may discover photographs when not physically pulling out every single photograph from the archive's drawer and removing

[945] Bohrer 2011, 111-13.

its sleeve to examine it.[946] Thus, excluded from subject descriptions, individual workers and the workforce are largely invisible to without physical access to the photographs.

Descriptive labels are very important in archaeological photography, as they link an image taken for evidentiary value to that which is no longer there and cannot be independently verified. John Berger writes about captions that

> The photograph, irrefutable as evidence but weak in meaning, is given a meaning by the words. And the words, which by themselves remain at the level of generalisation, are given specific authenticity by the irrefutability of the photograph. Together the two then become very powerful; an open question appears to have been fully answered.[947]

As Berger notes: "*appears*." [948] Sontag suggests that "even an entirely accurate caption is only one interpretation, necessarily a limiting one, of the photograph to which it is attached."[949] Here, as I did in a limited way concerning the photographs that were published, I seek to query the meaning of the "necessarily […] limiting" interpretation of the caption against potential meanings not included in the "original" captions.

But even without captions, the imagery of the photographs, their content and visual forms matter. I have categorized the Seleucia photograph of workers into seven categories based on their subject matter and their imagery (specifically, how workers appear in the photographs). These are not exclusive categories. Rather, these groupings seek to enable analysis of common features of their photographs, with the goal of advancing understanding of the photographic practices at Seleucia and their consequence for how we may understand the discourse around the excavation workforce. Other groupings and categorizations divisions could certainly refocus an

[946] For a discussion of how description and cataloguing practices, including those that "update" records, reproduce ideologies and perpetuate "practices of erasure [that] make it much more challenging for scholars querying online databases for documents," see Flewellen 2019, 58-61.
[947] Berger 1982, 92.
[948] Berger 1982, 92. My emphasis.
[949] Sontag 2001, 109.

analytical eye in different ways than I have suggested.

7.1 Worker as subject

There are ten extant photographs in the expedition archives in which the project's staff members or excavation workers are the subject of the photograph, plus one additional photograph among Waterman's papers at the Bentley. These are group photographs of people having their photograph taken, rather than photographs of people working. This group is numerically weighted toward the staff: only two group photographs of the Iraqi workforce are extant in the Kelsey's Seleucia archive.

These ten photographs were, however, not the only ones taken of either the staff or workforce. References to group photographs that are not among the archived prints or photologs occasionally appear in the press (as noted in Chapter 5) or in archival texts. For example, as noted in Chapter 6, Waterman described taking a group photograph of the workforce prior to his first, mandatory on-site vaccination clinic during Season B.[950] This photograph is not present in the KMA Seleucia archives, not is it recorded in the extant copies of the Season B photo log.[951] I have found one additional staff photograph in the Waterman papers at the Bentley (discussed below), bringing the total number of prints of group photographs available to me to eleven.

[950] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle, Dorothea, and Donald Waterman, December 25, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.
[951] KMA Archive, Drawer AS-3.4; Bentley/Waterman Box 4, Seleucia Expedition Files 1927-1936 subseries, Photographs from Archaeological Expeditions.

Figure 7-7 First print of photograph C083, KMA

Five of the group photographs were taken during Season C: two depict the excavation workforce and three show staff members (with non-staff visitors). Photograph C083, taken December 5, 1929, is a group photograph of the workforce (Figure 7-7, Figure 7-8).

Figure 7-8 Second print of photograph C083, KMA

Waterman noted the photograph in a daily list of photographs in his journal, described as "Group of workers (83)."[952] In the typed Season C photolog (and reflected in the KMA spreadsheet record), the photograph's subject is given as "All workmen on dump pile." A caption (Figure 7-9) written on the back of one print in Hebrew, presumably by Samuel Yeivin, translates, literally, in English to "gathering (of) the workers sent."[953]

[952] Waterman Notebook 6, December 5, 1930.
[953] My thanks to Dr. Amy Marie Fisher for the translation.

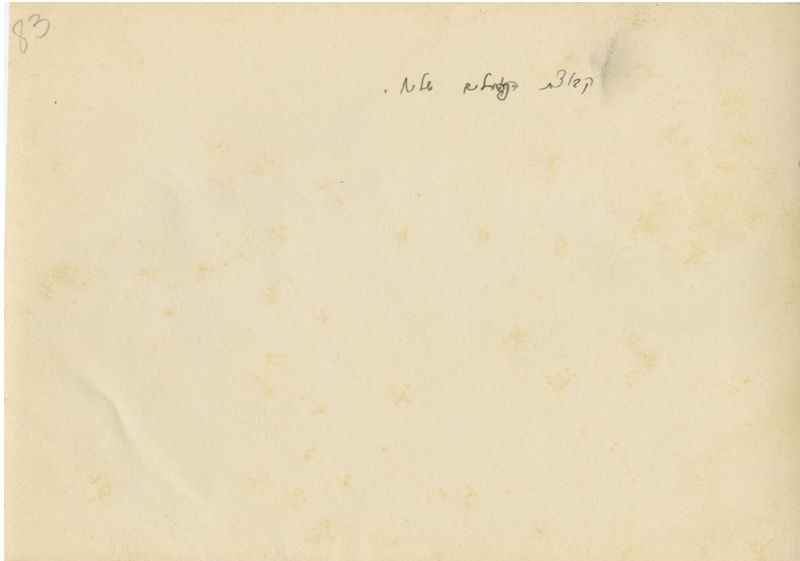

Figure 7-9 Back of second print (Figure 7-8) of photograph C083, KMA

Photograph C083 does not depict any “staff” members. The combination of the photographic subject—a group of Iraqi men and boys—and the “original” descriptors—identifying the group as “workers” or “workmen” confirm a conceptual and hierarchical division between “staff” and “worker.” Tightly packed to fit into one photographic frame, the workforce is made into a singular body, a mass of laborers, by their grouping and by their labeling. And the boys rise above the ground level, giving the group a towering appearance. Moreover, according to the caption, they stand on the dump pile: that is, they are supported by their own labor, elevated by the mass of earth that they created by carrying excavated dirt to a new location.

Figure 7-10 Cropped detail from first print (Figure 7-7) of photograph C083, KMA

A further hierarchy is discernable on closer inspection of the photograph. Figure 7-10 offers a closer look at the group photograph: I have excerpted a detail from the center right of the photograph as an example. Viewed in detail, one can see that the men and boys display their excavation tools in this photograph. The man in the trousers kneeling at the front center appears to be a foreman of some kind. A man in a similar outfit (his face is not clear) is visible in the photograph discussed in the opening of this chapter, C170 (Figure 7-11), hands in pockets,

looking over the shoulder of Waterman (in the flat cap). Flanking the probable foreman in the front row must be the mudbrick-tracers: the men have knives, brushes, and handpicks, tools appropriate to the task. The men in the second row hold shovels upright, their handles vertically punctuating the photograph; a shovel blade can be seen just behind the left elbow of the man in pants at the bottom left of the detail. Behind them stand many boys, with the sacks used for toting excavated dirt slung across their bodies. The individuals are thus visually marked by their tools, which indicate their jobs on the project. And the order—foreman at front center, mudbrick tracers closest to the camera, shovelers next, and boys furthest away—replicates the hierarchy of specialized skill and, consequently, wages that is clear in the textual evidence (e.g., Table 4).

Figure 7-11 Cropped detail (2) of print of photograph C170 (Figure 7-1), KMA

Another photograph of the workforce was taken at the end of the season (Figure 7-12); it is labeled with the date January 22, 1930, and the description, "Workmen in front of house." The many men and boys here are in motion, blurred. Men loft shovels, blades in the air; some lift an arm in the air, palm open. The mood seems celebratory.

Figure 7-12 Print of photograph C277, KMA

A man at the front of the group looks at the camera, perhaps waving, as do others (Figure 7-13). No longer neatly lined up, no longer still, many workers do not look at the camera; with members of the group no longer all elevated on the dump (though some small boys stand, at upper left, on mounds of earth), the camera cannot achieve an angle that neatly captures and differentiates the individuals in the crowd.

Figure 7-13 Cropped detail of print (Figure 7-12) of photograph C277, KMA

This is no longer the image of an orderly workforce. The individuals are now spatially mixed up, unable to be distinguished according to their tools. Even with the shovels lifted, it is hard to connect them to individuals in the photograph: their blurred motion prevents it. The date, January 22, 1930, given to the photograph in the KMA spreadsheet corresponds to the Season C photolog dates, which is likely its source. Waterman does not refer to anyone taking this specific photograph in his notebook; he did record, on January 25, 1930, that “[t]he Arabs came in masse

for their pay & held a general song & dance [first?] near the house."[954] Is this a photograph of that event, with the date recorded incorrectly in one place or the other? Does this image represent the workforce celebrating the end of the season, with their duties and specific excavation roles discharged? Was the end of the season a cause for celebration? A successful endeavor, a huge amount of work accomplished, to be proud of; the end of a hierarchical employment scheme; or the end of a financial injection into the community?

In addition to the two photographs of the workforce, there are three (perhaps four) group photographs of the staff (with visitors) extant from Season C. Two staff photographs taken on October 20, 1929, are extant; Tel Umar rises in the background, and a dog sits behind the staff.

Figure 7-14 Print of photograph C029, KMA

[954] Waterman Notebook 7, January 25, 1930.

I believe that, from left to right, the staff members in photograph C029 (Figure 7-14) are Leroy Waterman, Franklin P. Johnson, Olga McDowell, Arthur M. Mintier, Nicola Manasseh, Samuel Yeivin, Robert McDowell, and Charles P. Spicer, Jr. They shuffled their order for photograph C030 (Figure 7-15); if my identifications are correct, there they stand, from left to right: Spicer, Johnson, Mintier, Olga McDowell, Waterman, Manasseh, Yeivin, Robert McDowell.

Figure 7-15 Print of photograph C030, KMA

Four staff members stand with three unidentified individuals in another photograph (Figure 7-16). The photograph was taken in the same location as that of the preceding two staff photographs. This photograph was tentatively identified in 2005 as photograph E84 (i.e., belonging to Season E), due to the apparent match between its photographic subject (staff) and

the stated subject of a missing photograph, E84, as a group staff photograph.[955] However, I posit that this photograph instead belongs to Season C, based on the presence of the same young man, standing at the photograph's far right, who also appears in the other two Season C staff photographs (Figure 7-14, Figure 7-15). I believe that this man is A.M. Mintier. Even if my identification is incorrect, Mintier, Johnson, and Spicer all only participated in Season C: one of the three men whose visual identification is less certain but who were only on staff for a single season appears in this photograph. (The identification of Waterman, Manasseh, Yeivin, and Olga and Robert McDowell in the photographs C029 and C030 are all certain.) Additionally, the presence of Olga McDowell at the photograph's center makes an attribution to Season E unlikely, as she was not at Seleucia for Season E (she wears the same shoes in all three photographs, as well as C056, discussed below). I have not been able to identify the women and man (with the small dog's lead) who stand second and third, respectively, from the left (between Waterman and Olga McDowell), nor the man with the pipe, third from the right, between Olga McDowell and Manasseh. It does not appear to be a workday: in this photograph, all parties are in their "clean clothes." The young man I have identified as Mintier has pressed pants, with a neat crease running down the front of the legs; Waterman wears a bowtie.

[955] According to the KMA Seleucia photo spreadsheet, "An existing unnumbered photograph in the archive files matches this description and format, and has been reunited with this negative number. RM-W, 11-2005."

Figure 7-16 Print of photograph tentatively labeled E084, KMA

That group photographs were taken with visitors is clear from another photograph, photograph C056 (Figure 7-17). Here, from left to right, Sidney Smith, then-director of antiquities, stands in line with Waterman, Olga McDowell, and a Mr. Royd. Waterman recorded the taking of this photograph when Smith and Royd visited from Baghdad:

> Sidney Smith & Mr Royd came at 9:15 I recorded till then got to Oct 27
> I showed them around the cultivation within the mounds. Then to S. Gate & excav.
> Lunch discussed cultivation showed them finds, & tomb
> Spicer took our pictures. They left at 2:30 PM […]
> Group with Smith Mrs McD Royd Self (56)[956]

The Season C photograph log records the same names—Smith, Royd, Waterman, Mrs.

956 Waterman Notebook 5, November 12, 1929.

McDowell—as the subjects of photograph C056. Interestingly, the names are preceded by the label “Staff” in the KMA Excel spreadsheet of photographs: apparently, the appearance of Euro-American individuals qualified them as “staff” to a cataloguer, even when their association with the project was not proven.

Figure 7-17 Print of photograph C056, KMA

One photograph of the whole staff from Season D is extant (D151, Figure 7-18). No date or captions are associated with the photograph. However, Waterman recorded in his journal that Mrs. H.D. Dorman, the mother of Season B and D staff member Harry G. Dorman, took a photograph of the staff at noon on Sunday, November 16, 1930, during a visit from Beirut.

Absent evidence of other Season D staff photographs, this is likely that photograph.

Figure 7-18 Print of photograph D151, KMA

Gathered in the shade of the excavation house's courtyard, the staff members standing in the top row, from left to right, are Samuel Yeivin, Nicolas Manasseh, Robert Braidwood, Harry Dorman, and Neilson C. Debevoise; seated in the bottom row, from left to right, are Donald Waterman, Leroy Waterman, Olga McDowell, and Robert H. McDowell.

The photographic archive does not contain all photographs known to have been taken of the team. For example, the anonymous notebook from Season B (1928/29) contains references to two photographs of the entire workforce (taken February 7, 1929) and two of the staff (taken February 21, 1929).[957] Waterman, back in Ann Arbor, also recorded receiving a staff photograph

[957] Anonymous Notebook, Season B.

enclosed in a letter from Robert McDowell dated February 22nd: this was likely one of the aforementioned photographs.[958] These photographs do not seem to have made it into the expedition's photographic archive. One of those two staff photographs, however, is likely an undated photograph in the Waterman papers in the Bentley Historical Library.[959]

Figure 7-19 Snapshot of staff photograph, Season B or D, Leroy Waterman Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Box 4, Seleucia Expedition Files 1927-1936 subseries, Photographs from Archaeological Expeditions. Permission to reproduce this image courtesy Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

This photograph (Figure 7-19) may belong to Season B, or it may belong to Season D. Harry Dorman, who was present for the final month of Season B and for the entirety of Season D, stands second from the left: his presence places this photograph in one of those two

[958] Waterman Notebook 4, March 22, 1929.
[959] Bentley/Waterman Box 4, Seleucia Expedition Files 1927-1936 subseries, Photographs from Archaeological Expeditions.

seasons.[960] From left to right are Olga McDowell, Harry Dorman, Nicola Manasseh, an unidentified woman, and Robert McDowell. If this photograph belongs to Season B, the unknown woman may be teenage Sophia (Sophy, Sophia), sister of Olga McDowell. Unlike the other staff photographs, this photograph was taken in the excavation area, evidenced by the wall behind the group and the uneven surfaces below them. Olga McDowell, seated, holds a small Parthian lamp in her hands.

Finally, two staff photographs from Season F are present in the KMA archive (Figure 5-14).[961] In the back row of photographs F015 and F016 are, from left to right, Jawad Saffar, Henry Detweiler, Neilson C. Debevoise, Richard Robinson, and Frederick Matson; seated in the front, from left to right, are Clark Hopkins, Martha K. Debevoise with Tommy Debevoise, Robert McDowell, Olga McDowell, and Samuel Yeivin. They are assembled in the courtyard of the excavation house, their backs to the wall of house. The photograph also attests to the presence at the dig of the toddler, Tommy Debevoise, who is unmentioned elsewhere in the archive.

Together, these eight photographs mark these individuals as a group, as staff members, differentiated from the locally-hired workforce. A number of the same faces reappear, year to year: Waterman, Manasseh, Robert and Olga McDowell, Yeivin. Another team member, however, is visible in the staff photograph from Season D (Figure 7-20).

[960] Identification confirmed by Peter Dorman, son of Harry Dorman (Personal communication, Peter Dorman).
[961] To my eye, they are identical; as such, I have only included an image of F015. The other is F016. Another copy of the photograph is present, accompanied by correspondence, elsewhere in the KMA archive: Letter from H.M. Bell to J.G. Pedley, April 12, 1978, KMA/Gazda 13.46.

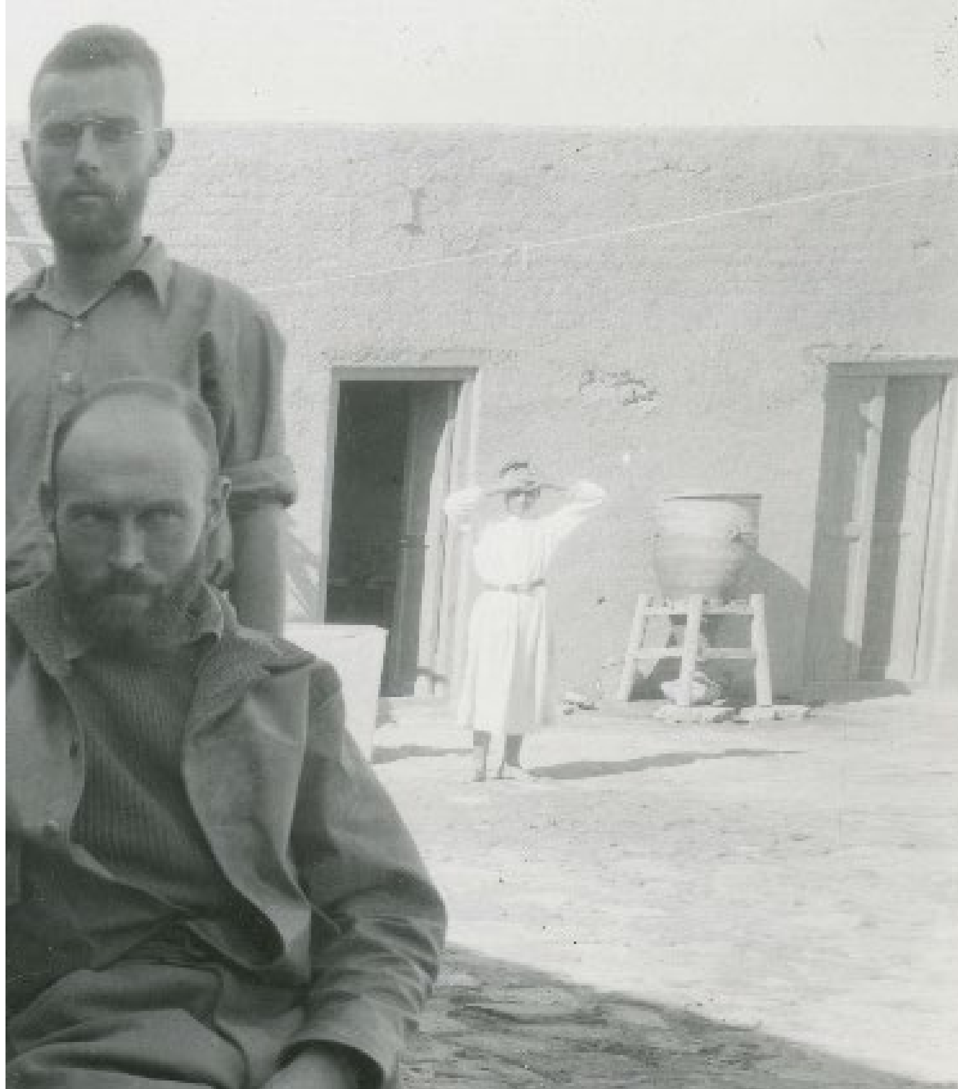

Figure 7-20 Cropped detail of print (Figure 7-18) of photograph D151, KMA

A boy stands in the deep right background of the photograph in front of an open door, shading his eyes from the sun, looking toward the staff members, looking toward the camera. Is this the Khalaf who seems to work in kitchen and dig house in Seasons B to E? He stands apart and back, excluded from those members of the excavation team who "count" as staff. Standing alone in the sun, he is easy to miss: in two more sepia-toned prints of the photograph, he is almost washed out. With his presence, there is "a reclaiming of a moment":[962] this photograph captures the

[962] Edwards 2015, 241.

hierarchical and exclusionary dynamics present in the asymmetrical relationship between those who were "archaeologists" and "staff," and those who were "just" "workers."

7.2 Archaeological work as subject

Archaeological activity is the subject of 57 photographs in the KMA Seleucia photo archive; I have supplemented this group with one additional photograph from the Waterman papers in the Bentley. Photograph C170 discussed at the opening of this chapter, is one such photograph (Figure 7-1, Figure 7-2, Figure 7-3, Figure 7-4, Figure 7-11): the combination of the photograph's visual focus on the excavation work in the photograph's upper half, above a foreground obscured by shade, paired with an original caption of "Excavations and workmen," together put a viewer's focus on the excavation activity underway at a large scale. The camera is distant enough to capture the physical activity of excavation across a very large area, activity undertaken mostly—and most visibly—by Iraqi bodies in non-Western dress, most workers too far away and too turned away from the camera to be identified individually, even if we had their names.[963]

Nine of the eleven captions that refer to the workforce to describe photographs belong to photographs in this group (the other two are the group photographs discussed above).[964] These few captions draw attention to those undertaking the various, physical acts of excavation, but as an anonymous mass. It is worth noting that staff members in the same photographs are also unmentioned in the captions. But they are easy to spot, if not specifically identify, given the difference in their clothing from that of the workforce at large, and their identities can sometimes be triangulated with other existing, identified photographs (including the staff photographs

[963] Mickel discusses how scenes, of large-scale excavation activity by local, Middle Eastern laborers such as these are visually iconic, appearing, for example, as the opening scene of 1973 film *The Exorcist* (Mickel 2019, 182-83.)
[964] Photographs 1B009 Gen9A, C149, C170, C180, C194, C252, E090, E092, and F019.

discussed above).

Figure 7-21 Print of photograph C194, KMA

Like photograph C170, photograph C194 (Figure 7-21) offers a scene of immense activity, signaled by the vertical and horizontal depth captured and the number of individuals who can be glimpsed at work. This photograph bears the caption "Excavations - workers - NW part" (Level II, Rooms 203-205). From the men shoveling in the lower and middle-ground to the lines of boys hauling sacks of excavated dirt up the stairs out of the lowest excavation area on their way to the dump, to the probable foreman in a light-colored headscarf and dark coat looking out in the photograph's lower center, to the staff members in trousers scattered through the center photograph's lower middle plane (perhaps Waterman in the flat cap in the lower middle left; perhaps McDowell with pipe in his mouth and arms akimbo left of center), the

image and caption together communicate large-scale collective activity.[965] Riggs, drawing on the visual anthropological work of Elizabeth Edwards, draws attention to the affective qualities of archaeological fieldwork photography: the physical exertion and sweat; the social bonds, barriers, and asymmetries; the emotions that accompanied the rest; the taking of the photographs and their viewing and use.[966] These are all palpable in photograph C194.

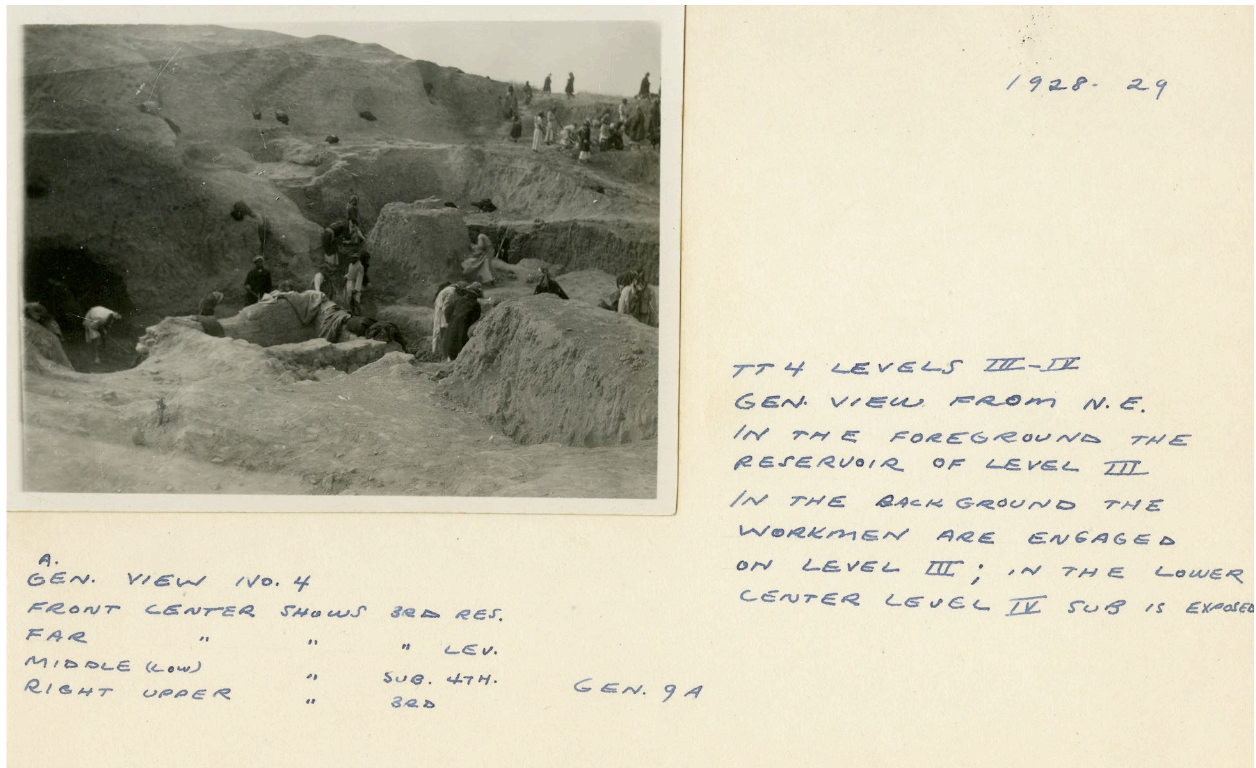

Figure 7-22 Print and card of photograph 1B009 Gen9A, KMA

Even among these "general views" of excavation whose captions take notice of the workmen, these very captions sometimes invite viewers to look past the specific presence of many workers, turning them into orienting features in photographs (as discussed with regards to the publication of Figure 5-11 in the Seleucia pottery volume in Chapter 5) rather than marking the workers themselves as the photograph's subject. The captions thus turn them into objects. For

[965] Riggs 2017b.
[966] Edwards 2015; Riggs 2017b.

example, the unusually long caption of photograph 1B009 Gen9A-1 (Figure 7-22) references the workmen in order to point the viewer toward Level III:

> TT. 4: Levels III-IV, Gen. view from N.E. In the foreground the reservoir of Level III. In the background the workmen are engaged on level III; in the lower center level IV Sub is exposed.

Thus, the place where one sees the workmen in the background is where the excavation of Level III is in-progress. This textual practice objectifies and naturalizes an anonymous mass of workmen as part of an excavation scene: they are framed merely as a feature of excavation.

Other photographs whose visual subject is the activity of excavation lack such captions: they naturalize the workforce in the excavation landscape even further by considering them "unremarkable." Photograph F022 (Figure 5-15, discussed above in reference to its publication in the *Ann Arbor News*), taken November 25, 1936, bears the original caption "View of area I-J from east showing forecourt of temple." While the caption refers to a forecourt, it is not obvious in the photograph.[967] Instead, the activity of the workers, digging with shovels, loading light railway carts with excavated dirt, constitutes the photograph's focus. They are unmentioned but they and their work are what are most visible in the photograph. Nevertheless, the caption asks us to look through the working men to that which is archaeologically interesting or important.

Other photographs, often lacking captions, also offer more intimate images of archaeological labor by depicting individuals or small groups at work, in contrast to the visual indication of "excavation" provided by images of the "cast of thousands" of workers and staff members. Photograph F097 (Figure 7-23), taken in February 1937, lacks a caption.[968] In it, a

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[967] For a discussion of how a photograph by John Henry Haynes for the University of Pennsylvania's Nippur excavation fails to communicate useful archaeological information as "[t]he view glances across the trenches rather than down into them. It does not detail their holdings or features," see Bohrer 2011, 50-51.

[968] N.B. Photograph F156 appears to be the nearly same the photograph (i.e., likely taken at the same time), but is reversed. It is given a date of January 1937 and a caption of "excavation view," with the note on the back of two

man crouches, working with brush in one hand and a blade in his other, gloved hand; he seems to be a mudbrick tracer. Is he working? Is he posing for the camera?

Figure 7-23 Print of photograph F097, KMA

Another such photograph shows an American man in shorts and pith helmet looking through a dumpy level and an Iraqi boy holding umbrella (Figure 7-24). The boy only shades himself—perhaps just catching the dumpy's object glass in shadow—with the umbrella: the man is in the sun. The copy in Waterman's papers at the Bentley is labeled, "Robert J. Braidwood Seleucia" ;[969] a small, high-contrast copy can be found among other loose photographs in the Kelsey archive's drawer AS-5.8.

prints, "for detail see Dr. Debevoise." I have not determined which print faces the "correct" way and which was printed reversed.

[969] Bentley/Waterman, Box 4, Seleucia Expedition Files 1927-1936 subseries, Photographs from Archaeological Expeditions.

Figure 7-24 Snapshot of photograph of Robert Braidwood operating dumpy level and unnamed assistant holding umbrella, Leroy Waterman Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Box 4, Seleucia Expedition Files 1927-1936 subseries, Photographs from Archaeological Expeditions. Permission to reproduce this image courtesy Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

On one hand, this photograph could be read as an image of two individuals working together, but the visual is uncomfortably colonial: an American man, in what could be mistaken for military gear, operates a survey instrument while a small Iraqi boy attends him. The image of a "native" boy creating shade for a white, Euro-American man offers visual echoes of many other images of colonial asymmetry. Regardless of the affective positive or negative character of relationship of Braidwood and the unnamed boy, the image communicates a vast power differential, between the man and the boy, the American and the Iraqi, and the "archaeologist" and the "worker." As Baird writes, photography "mak[es] these relationships material in the resulting print."[970]

7.3 Workers working in the background

52 other photographs depict workers in action but claim, through their captions, to be views of specific archaeological features. For example, Photograph F001 (Figure 7-25) shows a

[970] Baird 2011, 437.

man at the conclusion of a pick swing, the tool's head sunken into the soil. The stated subject of the photograph, however, is the portion of the narrow trench that is closest to the camera: the photograph is captioned, "Area IJ, trench 3 showing outside brick facing."

Figure 7-25 Print of photograph F001, KMA

Such captions guide us to look past the workers and their activities to the archaeological feature of interest, to disregard their presence. The photographed excavation workers are rendered invisible, beyond notice, despite their very literal visibility. In this section, I discuss examples of photographs in which workers work, unnoted and likely unnoticed, in the background of the intended photographic subject.

On the extreme end of this group are photographs in which excavation workers are very distant from the camera, such as in photograph C077 (Figure 7-26), which is captioned "Line of street on e. side of block." Dwarfed by the vastness of the archaeological landscape, the workers whose labor made visible that very landscape are rendered miniscule, ant-like.

Figure 7-26 Print of photograph C077, KMA

Baird, in describing workers at Dura posed at a distance with excavated structures, suggests that "[t]he distance [from the camera] gives the impression of an all-powerful view over the site on the part of the viewer, and over the workers, if they exist at all."[971] Photograph C007, taken November 26, 1929, further communicates the great extent of the archaeologists' (and the viewer's) control, suggesting the inevitability of their exploration of the whole site. The

[971] Baird 2011, 433.

photograph suggests that the work, which is already accomplished in the foreground, will continue infinitely into the distance: the tiny workers at work, as far back as the eye can see, have already moved all that distance, down the vertical line offered by the exposed street into the horizon.

Figure 7-27 Cropped detail (upper portion) of print (Figure 7-26) of photograph C077, KMA

But sometimes the camera is close to the archaeological feature of interest and captures work underway nearby. In photograph 2B003 Det.3A (Figure 7-28), the stated photographic subject is a group of storage jars used as a drain (Level II, A5) that are present in the center left of the image. Labeled a “detail view,” the photograph documents the jars in situ, the surface around them nearly cleaned.

Figure 7-28 Print and card of photograph 2B003, Det.3A, KMA

But seven workers are busy just behind the jars, in the upper right of the photograph (Figure 7-29). Two workers wield shovels, and the others seem to be at various stages of carrying excavated soil away, one young man at the lower right of the group stooped forward with a full sack on his shoulder, another figure walking up the incline with a full sack on his back.

Figure 7-29 Cropped detail of print (Figure 7-28) of photograph 2B003, Det.3A, KMA

This photograph of jars in situ accidentally places them in a different “situ” than documentation-ready clean surfaces imply. In this photograph, except by a great deal of enlarging and cropping, these jars cannot be abstracted from their physical context of laboring bodies and moving dirt. These offer a visual reminder of the recent labor that uncovered them and of the continually changing appearance of the site as the workers continued their work. In this way, the usual attempt to freeze a clear ancient moment in time through a tidy in situ photograph is thwarted by the intrusion of the modern bodies and modern context with its implicit suggestion of temporal change.

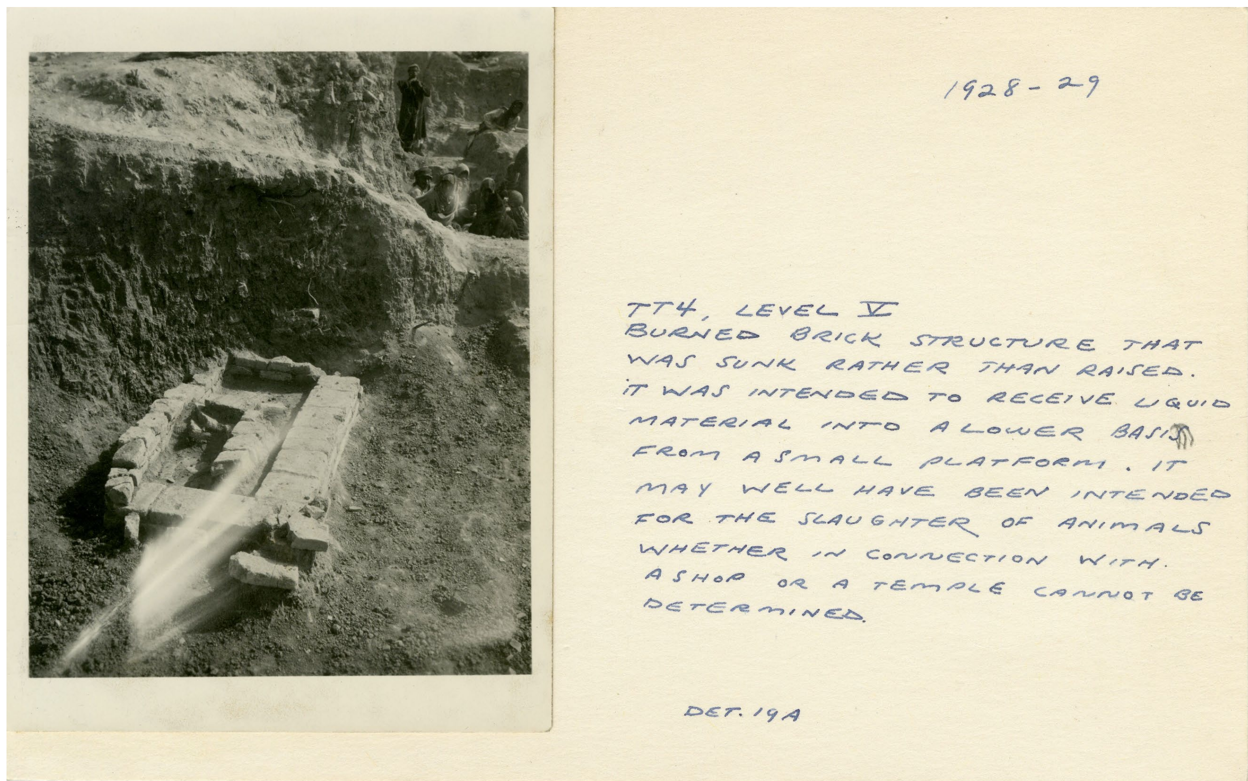
Another typical photograph of this group is C158 (Figure 5-6). The photograph focuses

both visually and in its caption on the "burnt brick pavement" of Room 205, which, like the jars, appears nicely cleaned and prepared for a photographic recording. But men are at work in the photograph's upper margins in the next excavated space. They do not distract visually from the pavement subject: it was not necessary to crop them out to focus the viewer on the excavated floor. Rather, the composition guides the viewer to look at the pavement, by the way the pavement catches the sunlight and fills the photograph's frame at a dynamic diagonal. Nevertheless, once noticed, their presence and activity reify a context for the pavement in the time of excavation rather than of use.

7.4 Workers waiting in background or nearby

Another group of 35 photographs shows excavation workers whose work is paused: the workers stand or sit just beyond the archaeological feature that has been prepared for photography. They wait in the background or on the side, as if they have been deliberately moved out of the excavation area for the photograph; or, perhaps, the photographer takes advantage of a break. These photographs represent a pause in work. While the photographs discussed above, those that depict workers continuing their activities in the background of the photographed archaeological feature, ask a viewer to look past the on-going work, these photographs ask us to look past the *people* whose work has been paused.

In photograph 2B019 Det.19A (Figure 7-30), the viewer's eye is directed to the brick structure in the foreground. In the foreground, it stands out, brushed down and light against the dark, unexcavated baulk behind it. That this is the photograph's intended subject is confirmed by its long interpretive caption.



1928 - 29

TT4, LEVEL V
BURNED BRICK STRUCTURE THAT
WAS SUNK RATHER THAN RAISED.
IT WAS INTENDED TO RECEIVE LIQUID
MATERIAL INTO A LOWER BASIN
FROM A SMALL PLATFORM. IT
MAY WELL HAVE BEEN INTENDED
FOR THE SLAUGHTER OF ANIMALS
WHETHER IN CONNECTION WITH
A SHOP OR A TEMPLE CANNOT BE
DETERMINED.

DET. 19A

Figure 7-30 Print and card of photograph 2B019 Det.19A, KMA.

In the upper right corner of the photograph and on the other side of a low baulk, at least nine workers wait (Figure 7-31). Seven are seated in a group: of them, two stare back at the camera (the others, circled up, seem to be in conversation); an eighth worker stands further back, looking at the camera as he adjusts the neck or collar of his garment; a ninth individual leans on a baulk, craning his neck as he, too, looks at the camera. These workers are thus gathered out of the way of the archaeological shot, but their frank appraisal of the camera injects a sense of spectatorship to the whole image, and, as in the photographs where workers continue work in the background of the shot, yank the excavated feature into the photograph's present, peopled by those who labored to uncover it.

Figure 7-31 Cropped detail (upper right) of print (Figure 7-30) of photograph 2B019 Det.19A, KMA

Photograph C162 (Figure 5-7), the publication of which in the *Second Preliminary Report* was discussed in Chapter 5, can also be considered under this heading. As previously noted, in addition to a small group in the background blurred by their motions of excavating, another trio of workers waits in the photographs upper right corner. All three of the men are oriented toward the camera (the upper body of one man is cut out of the frame); one man holds a

shovel; another holds a tool, perhaps a knife or brush, in his hands. Standing at a distance, at the edge of the excavated area containing the brick structure, they give the appearance of men whose work has been stopped for the photograph: they wait, tools at the ready, to resume excavation, waiting to be allowed back into the excavation area from which they have been vacated.

I am not discussing here the many site photographs which have been completely cleared of people in order to get a "clean" photograph. Nor do I deny that those photographs are analytically useful. But, as Gavin Lucas suggests, quoting and discussing comments by Leslie MacFayden about the "pain" of, for example, pushing a colleague out of the camera's frame for a photograph, there is a "violence" in rendering collaborators invisible in service of such "clean" photographs.[972] These images, by contrast, attest to that process, though it is incomplete in these photographs, for the workers are still present. But the camera does not direct us to take notice of them: one wonders which is worse, to be removed or to be considered too inconsequential to remove? Do these workers assert their presence against their erasure as they wait? Or, does the camera turn them into background features of the archaeological landscape?

The answer, at least for photograph C147 (Figure 5-8), seems to be the former, in light (as discussed in Chapter 5) of the choices made regarding contrast for the photograph's publication. As noted in that chapter, the chosen print is printed in the *Second Preliminary Report* at such high contrast as to obscure the workers waiting in the photograph's upper right corner, in service of focusing a viewer's attention on and increasingly the legibility of the grave in the image's center.

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[972] Lucas 2001a, 13. For a discussion of the absence of human figures in digital models, see Thompson 2017, 166-67.

Figure 7-32 Print and card of photograph C027, KMA

The men sitting beside mudbrick-paved floor in photographs C027 (Figure 7-32) and photograph E033 (Figure 7-33), respectively, are, by contrast, very visible. In the former (Figure 7-32), a man crouches at the edge of a floor; the handle of a flat knife is just visible in his right hand—its blade is perhaps jabbed into the ground. Three people walk up the path, their legs and long garments visible at the upper left margin of the image. Taken October 17, 1929, this photograph bears the "original" caption of "liben floor—R. 7": the man, who likely is responsible for the legibility of the floor, is unmentioned.

Figure 7-33 Print of photograph E033, KMA

In E033 (Figure 7-33), a mudbrick worker sits, knees pulled to chest, a flat knife in his hands, a brush sits at his side. With the photograph captioned, "R. III 87. From street III 32 looking N.W. showing manner of bricklaying," this man, too, is textually invisible. But as the excavated, cleaned floors stretch in front of each man, each man grips his tools and looks into the camera: his appraisal of the camera and his position at the far boundary of the floor imparts an association and sense of ownership over the completed work.

This group of photographs thus offers a tension. In these photographs, workers are both physically removed and textually erased. At the same time, their embodied presences, so close to the results of their labor, quietly testify to their accomplishments.

7.5 Worker as human scale or posing with object/feature

Photograph E033 (Figure 7-33) could also be read as an image of a man posing with an archaeological feature, though the tools in his hand suggest archaeological work suspended. 35 other photographs feature excavation workers either standing next to archaeological features, acting as a human visual scale, or otherwise posing with the feature. Several of these photographs have already been discussed in Chapter 5 with regard to their use in archaeological and press publications: C070 (Figure 5-1), E028 (Figure 5-2), E076 (Figure 5-4), E035 (Figure 5-5), E014 (Figure 5-9), E106 (Figure 5-11), A051(Figure 5-13), F008 (Figure 5-16), and C021 (Figure 5-17). It is notable that so many photographs that included a worker posed as a human scale were reproduced in print.

Figure 7-34 Print and card of photograph E025, KMA

The same boy in photograph E028 (Figure 5-2, Figure 5-3) stands as a human scale in

other photographs, too. In photograph E035 (Figure 7-34), he stands leaning, wedged between a brick door socket threshold and a baulk. In E035, he is impassive. How long has he been waiting for the photograph to be taken? His repeated presence suggests he may have been assisting the photographer, sent to stand in the frame when deemed necessary.

As Jack Green writes,

> In reports of archaeological excavations conducted prior to 1940, the posing of local excavation workers in photographs for scale purposes was fairly common. But as measuring rods were widely available, human scale-models were not strictly necessary. It must therefore be concluded that there was an implicit attempt to bring archaeological space to life using a human figure.[973]

Figure 7-35 Print of photograph C035, KMA

[973] Green 2012, 18.

Contrary to photographic practice at projects like Dura-Europos[974] or Ur,[975] I have found no photographs from Seleucia in which workers were posed to evoke ancient inhabitants by modeling using of ancient objects or similar practice. There is one possible exception: a single photograph in which a boy sits in a large cylindrical tub (C035, Figure 7-35). I do not immediately read the photograph as an attempt at ethnographic analogy. Nowhere, for example, are any claims made that it is a bathtub, the obvious option if the intention was to model its function through the inclusion of a human body. Rather, this photograph, with the boy inside, seems to primarily communicate scale of the tub.

Photograph C035 also may be the only photograph in which a personal name is attached to the image of a locally-hired Iraqi worker, but it is far from certain that the depicted boy is actually named. The photograph is captioned "Large tub containing weled - R. 3."[976] Is this a personal name, "Waled" (also spelled "Walid" or "Waleed")? Or is "*weled*" here the Arabic word for boy, son, or child? (In Arabic the name and the noun are related; it is unlikely that Spicer, the primary photographer during Season C, spoke more than a little Arabic).[977]

Even without active attempts to visually connect locally-hired workers to ancient peoples at Seleucia, Green's suggestion, that the use a human scale-model be understood as an active choice to bring a human concept to the depiction of space, applies. Much has been written about the way the employment of local or native workers as human visual scales in archaeological photography (and broader traditions of photography of monuments) objectifies them.[978] Ashish Chadha (Avikunthak), for example, considers the use of scales in Sir Mortimer Wheeler's visual

[974] Baird 2011, 430-31.
[975] Green 2012, 18-19.
[976] "In R3 large cylindrical tub." (Notebook 5, Oct 28, 1929)
[977] Writing to Mabelle from the ship, the M/N Vulcania, en route to Seleucia in 1929, Waterman described Spicer and Mintier and wrote, "We have begun Arabic lessons, which we plan to keep up every day." (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, August 26, 1929, Bentley/Waterman CITE)
[978] Baird 2011, 432.

production in India in the 1940s, as an "epistemic marker" that transformed a photograph into an piece of empirical evidence.[979] Wheeler continued longstanding use of human figures as visual scales, though with greater epistemic charge and intensified guidelines. He instructed, for example, that a subaltern laborer included in photographs be "a mere accessory" and thus should not take up too much of the frame or look at the camera. In so doing, he "undermined the identity of subaltern men and women by objectifying them as an auxiliary item to the scientific discourse."[980] Avikunthak writes further,

> Innate in Wheeler's practice of using the native and the scale was the subtext of disciplining the native and using him as an epistemic marker in order to validate his own position as the colonial master capable of controlling the native through the discourse of science that was already prevalent in colonial India.[981]

I suggest that it is not merely the posing of workers at Seleucia to offer scale in photographs that objectifies them. This is accomplished through that practice *in combination* with other practices that confirm their status as tools of archaeology. One such practice is the refusal to identify them: they are not named in these photographs' captions, though they stand as individuals rather than in large groups of workers. Further, they presumably stood as directed to one spot or another, working closely with the photographer and other staff members to achieve the desired photograph. It is also that the bodies supplying the human visual-scales in the photographs are exclusively Iraqi workers in non-Western clothing: none of the staff members stand as scales in any of the extant photographs from Seleucia.[982]

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[979] Chadha 2002, 388-92. See also, regarding the placement of local Indians as visual scales in the photographs of the Archaeological Survey of India (late 19th century through mid-20th century), Guha 2002, 97.
[980] Chadha 2002, 390.
[981] Avikunthak 2021, 221.
[982] This matches matching Chadha/Avikunthak's observation that Wheeler also never appeared in the role of scale in his Indian excavation photographs, only laborers whose bodies and clothing were ethnically marked as Indian and subaltern (Chadha 2002, 389; Avikunthak 2021, 221.).

Figure 7-36 Print of photograph C094, KMA

It is notable that, among this group of photographs, the general passivity of pose that characterizes the men and boys when they pose by feature or act as human scales. For the most part, they stand with their arms by their side or with hands clasped. Only in two photographs, C021 (Figure 5-17) and C094 (Figure 7-36), do the men who pose in place hold tools, the former holding a knife, blade pointed up and a cigarette holder and the latter steadying the long handle of a shovel whose blade is sunken into the baulk in front of him. The other photographs capture no tools in their hands, standing or sitting still.

At first glance this seems to be a contrast with the other photographs which capture the workers in scenes of activity or near the sites of their work with activity paused. But viewed in a larger context, this apparent opposition between "active" and "passive" is not quite an opposition. As we have seen from the evidence of archival texts in Chapter 6, the conceptual

reduction of workers to tools in many cases means that even when their bodies were shown in action, they were merely considered tools.

7.6 People in landscape

There are eight photographs in the Seleucia archive in which human figures are photographed in long shots of the landscape.[983] Their bodies do not offer a specific scale comparison to a specific monument; rather, their presence, tiny and isolated from the camera, communicates the notion of vastness.

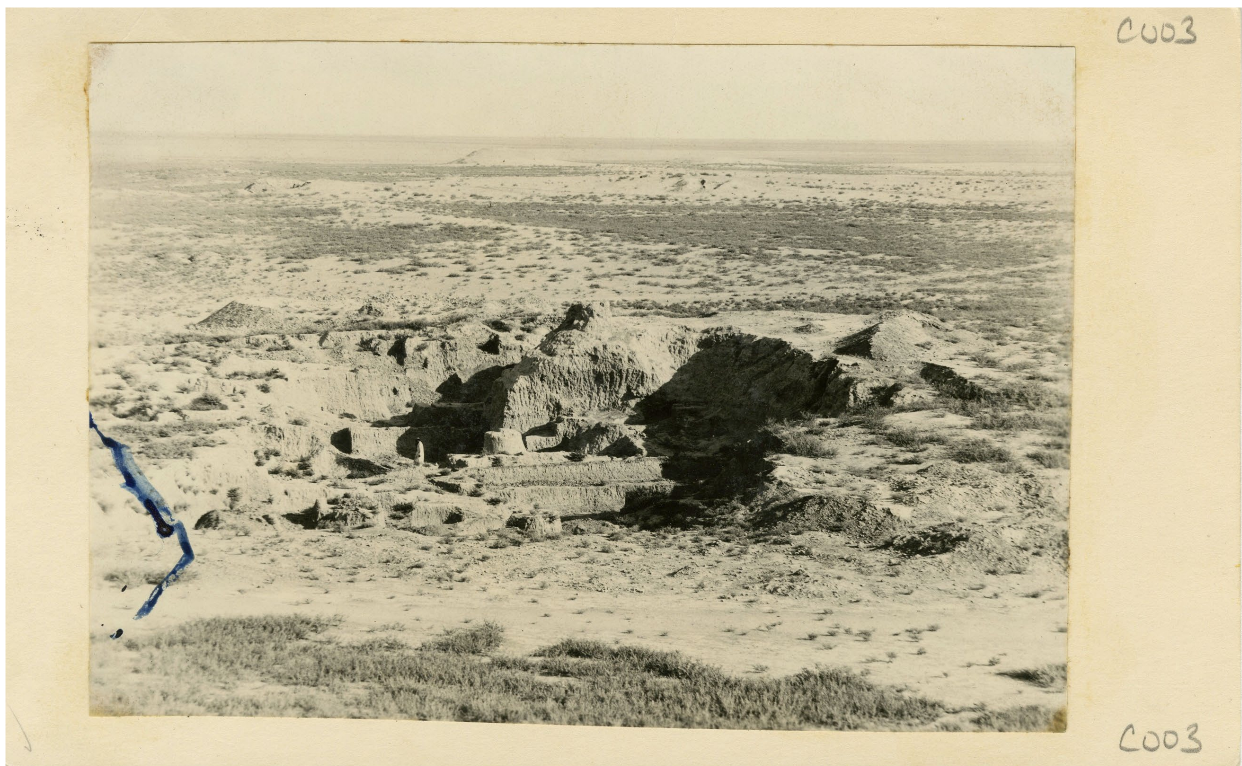

Figure 7-37 Print and card of photograph C003, KMA

A photograph captioned "Excavations (no. 4) from Ziggurat" and dated October 1, 1929, depicts a large excavation area in a broader landscape (Figure 7-37).[984] The photograph presents

[983] C003, F005, and six photographs attributed to Season F (but without certainty): 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213.
[984] The caption seems to refer to Trial Trench 4 (TT4), located east of Tel Umar, identified by the team as the location of the "Seleucid Heroon" and "Parthian Villa" (Hopkins 1972, 13-25.).

a contrast between the excavated area, containing straight lines and curves below ground level except for a central unexcavated protrusion at the center, and the “natural,” unexcavated ground present in the immediate foreground and that stretches into the distance behind the carved-out tel.

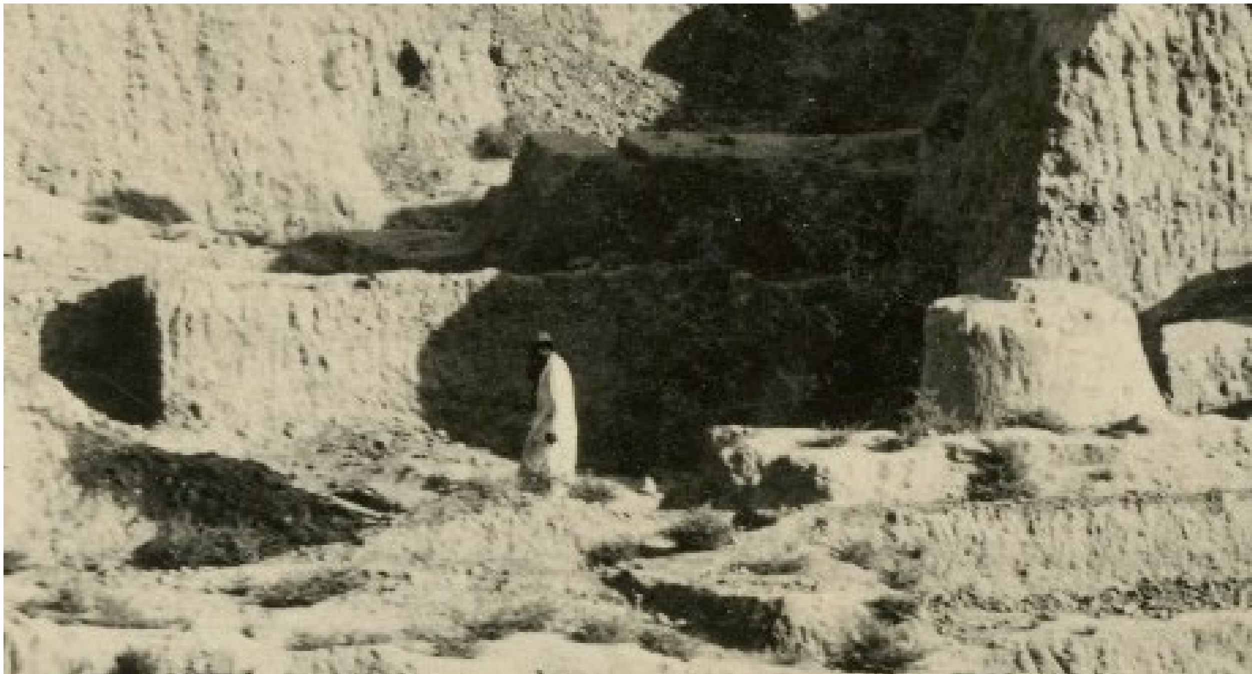

Figure 7-38 Cropped detail of print (Figure 7-37)of photograph C003, KMA

A tiny human presence can be discerned in the excavated area: a man in a long, white tunic walks through the excavation area (Figure 7-38). The man makes the excavated structures—and the cavity in the earth created by the excavation—seem larger. Trial Trench 4 was completed the previous season (B); this photograph, and the man walking through it, seem to revisit the excavation, which gained some vegetation overgrowth and accumulated debris.

Figure 7-39 Print and card of photograph F005, KMA

Photograph F005 appears to act as an “establishing shot”: a photograph of the location prior to excavation, according to its caption (“Area J.16, from the east before excavation,” October 30, 1936). The lone figure at the center of the deep background is a staff member wearing pith helmet and shorts; his automobile is parked nearby (Figure 7-40). He stands still, Hand on his hips, his head turned, he looks around: his pose communicates “appraisal” or “assessment.” With the car at hand, it is clear how he arrived at the place he stands, unlike the man in photograph C003. This man is not isolated nor is he traversing the land; rather, he

Figure 7-40 Cropped detail of print (Figure 7-39) of photograph F005, KMA

The composition of photograph F005 may also be contrasted with that of C003. Photograph F005 captures a long, uninterrupted foreground, almost looking up to the stationary man at the center, who stands on a low rise, close visually to where the horizon is truncated by distant mounds or hills. The photograph thus communicates a sense of motion toward him, implying the future excavation activity to take place. By contrast, photograph C003 was taken from a higher ground level (Tel Umar): the land in C003 stretches insistently and visibly beyond. This situates the excavated area back in the landscape, giving it a status of a "ruin," a timeless survival in a broader context. Further, in motion, the man in C003 cannot be anchored to the excavation and, indeed, is oriented away from the bulk of the "ruin": he is passing through, temporary, not claiming changes to the landscape.

Figure 7-41 Print of photograph 210, attributed to Season F, KMA

Photograph 210 ("F210?") has been attributed, without certainty, to Season F; it is undated and uncaptioned (Figure 7-41). It is one of six photographs in this "landscape" group tentatively attributed to Season F by an unrecorded archival hand; these photographs form a loose group or possible sequence, of workers on a rise photographed from a distance, excavating, standing as a group, and spaced out individually.[985] The cataloguing hand who recorded their attribution to Season F described the photographs as "depict[ing a] long view of group of people

[985] KMA F208?, F209?, F210?, F211?, F212?, F213?.

in landscape."

Figure 7-42 Cropped detail of print (Figure 7-41) of photograph 210, attributed to Season F, KMA

21 workers stand in the photograph's middle ground, loosely lined up in the left of the composition (Figure 7-42). The elevation on which they stand overlooks what seems to be, on close inspection, an excavated area in the center and right of the middle ground: this area appears light-colored in the photograph, devoid of the scrubby vegetation that surrounds. A tel, likely Tel Umar, rises in the upper right of the horizon. Several workers hold up or lean on long tool handles, probably shovel handles. These tools and their long garments and headscarves mark these men as locals and workers, even as their individual features are not in sufficient focus to make out. The camera, freezing them at a small size in the scale of the landscape, at a great distance, subordinates them to the landscape and to the viewer's gaze.

7.7 "Partial workers"

The final seventeen photographs depicting workers are fragmented images, of a category of "partial workers," whose bodies and presences are fragmented by the camera. In these photographs, hands reach into the frame, feet support absent bodies: the visually violent framing dismembers and disassociates glimpses of workers from the possibility of recognition as specific individuals. For example, photograph A036 (Figure 5-10), discussed in Chapter 4, truncates the

torso of a man in its upper right corner, cutting his head out of the frame. Photograph 4B008 8A (Figure 7-43) also truncates another unknown worker's fleeting presence: feet and shadow pass by the depicted grave, traversing the upper margin of the photograph.

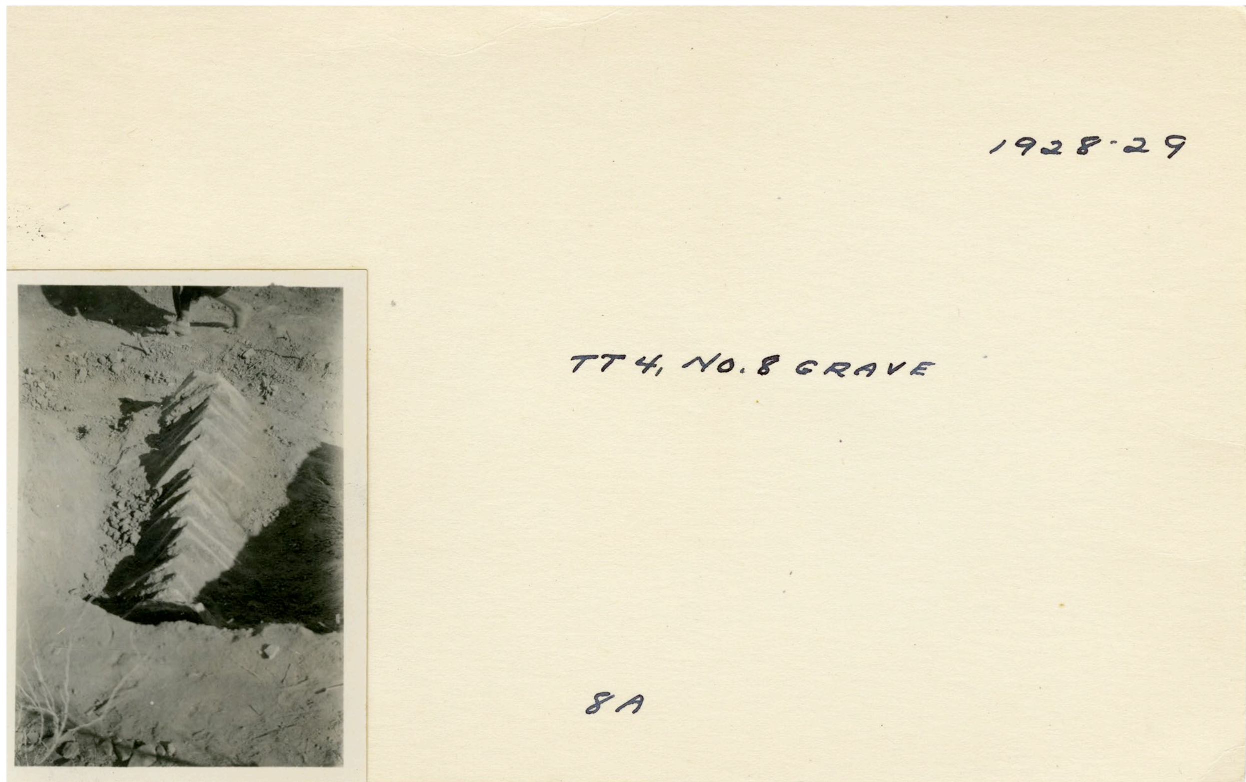

Figure 7-43 Print and card of photograph 4B008 8A, KMA

Michael Shanks writes,

> In the texture of their detail photographs provide a partially involuntary record; there is always in every photograph some escape from intentionality and processed experience. That the materiality of the world is ineffable is presented. Finally, temporality, often a melancholy of the past in the present, is invoked throughout photowork.[986]

These workers are part of the "partially involuntary record" of the material world. In addition, these photographs accidentally attest to both the presence of the locally-hired workers and the ways that the photographic practices—as part of broader archaeological practice—sought, if

[986] Shanks 1997, 100.

incompletely, to omit them.

These photographs also extend the world of the photograph into one that includes the excavation workers. In photograph A007 (Figure 7-44), bare feet and legs, the bottom of a garment, extend up and out of the frame of the photograph. The frame excludes the man's torso and upper body, but his partial presence is suggestive of the world beyond the frame, offering an embodied clue about the cropped character of the photograph's subject.

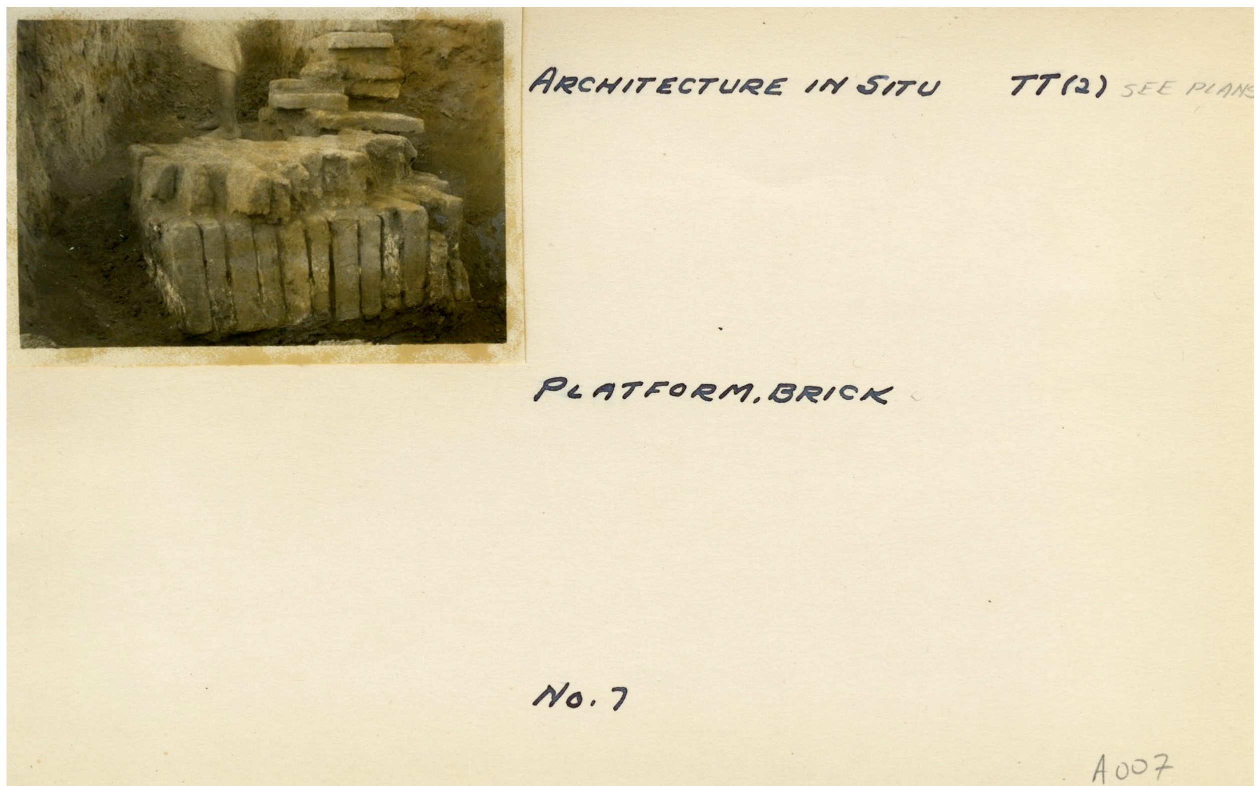

Figure 7-44 Print and card of photograph A007, KMA

A worker's hand reaches into photograph A016 (Figure 7-45) to steady a jar in situ.

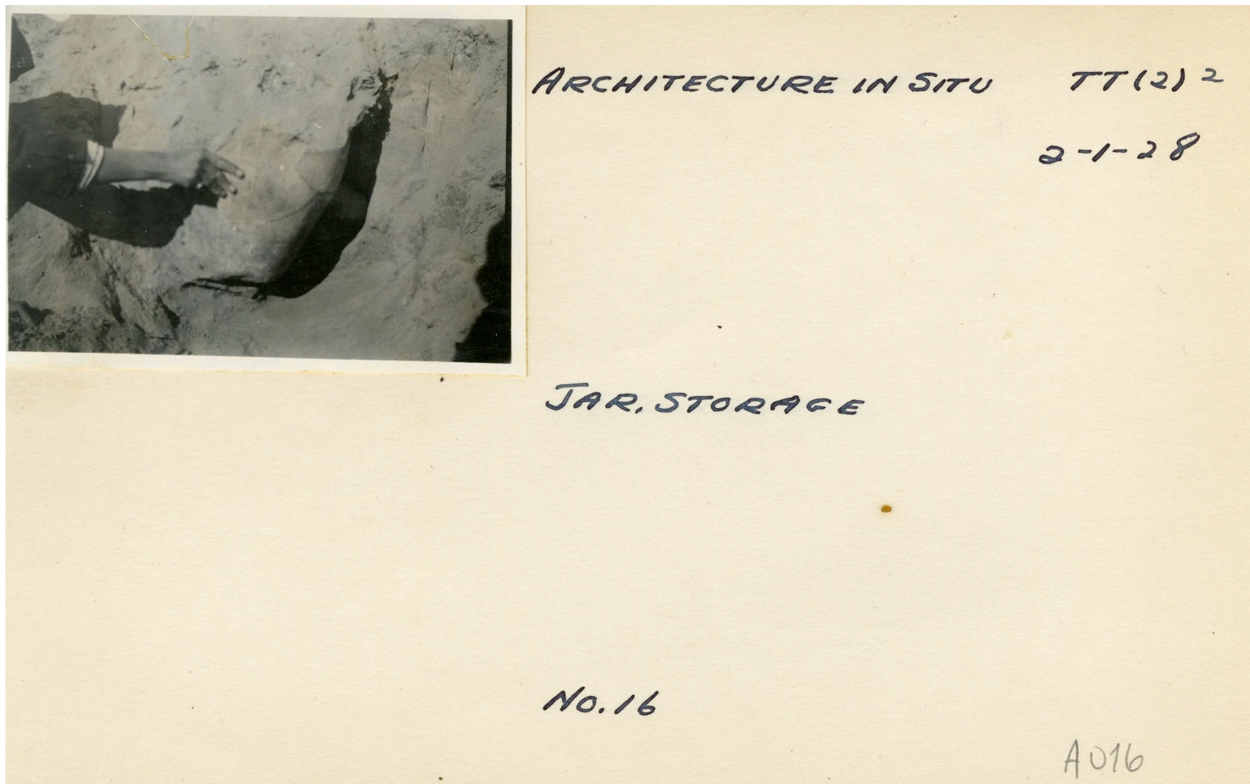

Figure 7-45 Print and card of photograph A016, KMA

This photograph calls to mind a recent web comic commissioned as part of a UK's Arts and Humanities Council (AHRC) project, Egypt's Dispersed Heritage, spearheaded by Heba Abd el-Gawad and Alice Stevenson. This collaborative heritage project

> sought methods of deploying colonially extracted objects within spaces of visual culture outside of the museum where Egypt's own value systems and philosophies could reframe them, where Egyptians could talk back and interrogate them, and in so doing establish counter-narratives to the colonial acquisition and representation of Egypt's heritage by foreign institutions.[987]

One initiative under this project was a web comic series entitled "Nasser, Heba, and Our Dispersed Heritage" by Nasser Junior (the persona of Egyptian web cartoonist Mohammed Nasser). This series "explored the intersections of contemporary Egyptian social concerns with heritage issues, using objects and archive images from UK partners as the

[987] Abd el-Gawad and Stevenson 2021, 8.

departure point for scenes narrated wholly in Egyptian Arabic,"[988] and further engaging directly with contemporary Egyptian humor, memes, and current events.

Comic 8[989] in the series played off a photograph from the Egypt Exploration Society archive taken at Abydos in 1910.[990] The Abydos photograph at first glance appears to be a photograph of an excavated statue against a white ground, but the margins of the photograph include hands holding up a white cloth behind the statue: a man's body is concealed behind white, supposedly neutral backdrop he lofts. Nasser Junior's comic expands this scene into a three-panel narrative, beginning with an Egyptian archaeologist announcing the find of a photograph to a foreign archaeologist, lofting a little statue in the air. In the second panel, the foreign archaeologist asks the Egyptian archaeologist if they should take a photograph; the Egyptian archaeologist agrees. The final panel references the Abydos photograph directly: the foreign archaeologist is shown at the camera, while the Egyptian archaeologist is depicted holding up a backdrop for the photograph, head peeking out behind the white cloth, voicing his dismay in a speech bubble. Translated into English, he exclaims "a common Egyptian punchline": "This is not what we agreed upon, khawāga??!"[991]

This comic shows how a collaborative endeavor, the excavation of an object, is turned, by the foreign excavator, into an fait accompli for the archive, one that erases human effort, any contemporary setting and—especially—any participation of the Egyptian archaeologist. The cloth that provides a neutral background for the object literally obscures the physical effort of an

[988] Abd el-Gawad and Stevenson 2021, 9.
[989] Abd el-Gawad and Stevenson 2021, 17-19, fig. 5. The comic is visible the via original Twitter post by Nasser Junior (@Nasser_Junior, Tweet, 19 June 2020, https://twitter.com/Nasser_Junior/status/1274114529706889216), with an English translation posted by Alice Stevenson (@aliceestevenson, Tweet, 20 June 2020, https://twitter.com/aliceestevenson/status/1274273895789576192).
[990] The photo is EES AB.NEG.10.115, from Abydos (AB) sub-archive; it is visible online through the Egypt Exploration Society Flickr account: https://www.flickr.com/photos/egyptexplorationsociety/48836221737/in/album-72157711173522878/ .
[991] Abd el-Gawad and Stevenson 2021, 18.

Egyptian worker and stakeholder, so that the resulting image could be proliferated devoid of reference to modern Egypt. The neutrality of the background cloth thus offers a visual neutrality of absence, not an ideological or political neutrality.

In the Seleucia photograph A016 (Figure 7-45), the arm that reaches into the photograph is actually necessary to stabilize the jar in situ, but this person is captured as an instrument. His physical effort scaffolds the task, but he is largely hidden from the record. However, in this instance, unlike in the Abydos photograph that inspired Nasser Junior's Comic 8, this Iraqi worker's presence could not be cropped out.

7.8 Conclusion

The archival photographs from the Seleucia excavation offer tantalizing glimpses into the embodied experience and process of excavation as undertaken not only by individuals but by Iraqi individuals who are largely occluded and deindividualized in other parts of the archive. At the same time, this attestation is not neutral. The photographic practices at the excavation circumscribed the locally-hired excavation workers in particular ways. The most notable of these is their omission from textual description, an exclusion that implicitly communicates what mattered in the photographs and serves to foreclose the possibility of individual identification. Ignored as individuals and looked past as a group, this corpus suggests that the photographs both confirm and offer limited counterpunctual possibilities against the asymmetrical power structures that produced them and the activities and relationships they depict. The workers are also circumscribed by the narrow circumstances in which they were photographed, as I have attempted to show in the eight groupings discussed above. These photographs thus offer many things: confirmations of the implicit coloniality of excavation relations at Seleucia; embodied assertions of presence; evidence for the integrality of the Iraqi workmen to the success of the

archaeological work; and more.

My discussion of the locally-hired Iraqi workforce in Chapters 5-7 of this dissertation have sought elucidate the gap pertaining to Iraqis and to excavation labor in typical histories of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris' excavation. This gap is present in the public-facing output of the project, examined through academic archaeological publications as well as popular, news press publications. The gap is also present in the archival texts but becomes a slightly smaller gap when financial accounting and incidental references are examined and collated with workers in mind. Finally, the gap is present in the photographic corpus, not only in the photographs *not* discussed in this chapter but also in the ambivalence of the workers' photographic representations, which offer both presence and asymmetry. In addition to seeking to flesh out the gap with attention and with individuals, I have sought to consider the sources of this gap, in service of a more critical history. This critical history of invisible, or occluded, contributors to the production of knowledge about Seleucia-on-the-Tigris continues beyond the fieldwork in Iraq. As such, I turn next to another group of contributors, this time workers at a Works Progress Administration Project in Detroit, Michigan, USA.

Chapter 8 : Working on Seleucia in Detroit

8.1 American Labor on Seleucia after the Michigan Expedition: The WPA Project

The life of the Seleucia collection offers further examples of archaeology as work, including in the United States. This chapter examines a moment when artifacts from Seleucia became objects of work for American non-archaeologists in the late 1930s and early 1940s. This moment is best contextualized in a broader moment of federal funding for archaeological work as a New Deal measure to mitigate unemployment during the Great Depression. The widespread economic and social trauma of Great Depression in the United States has been well-documented and analyzed elsewhere.[992] Its effects, however, on American practice of Middle Eastern archaeology are not well explored; as such, this chapter offers a case study in that domain.

As indicated in Chapter 3, the evaporation of funding during the Great Depression caught up with the Michigan excavations at Seleucia by 1932.[993] The expedition was put on hiatus until its resumption in 1936-1937 under new director Clark Hopkins. Intended as the renewal of a continuous excavation campaign, this sixth season proved Michigan's last at Seleucia due to lack of funding.[994] Another discernable and specific result of the Great Depression on the Seleucia project, however, arrived in the form of federal funding for collections-based work. From 1938 to 1941, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) funded a work relief project focused on processing the Seleucia finds brought back to Michigan under partage. Thus, this WPA Seleucia

[992] While the economic crisis was, of course, global, I will focus here on the U.S. context.
[993] See Proposal/Memo, [1931?], Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.15.
[994] Nashold 1938. See also, Copies of Letter, Frank E. Robbins to Director of the Department of Antiquities in Irak, August 5, 1937, and August 11, 1937, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14.

project offers us another instance of paid, lay archaeological labor, able to be compared with discussion of locally-hired Iraqi excavation workers that formed the focus of the preceding chapters. The different circumstances of place, demographics, and project goals also throw into relief the particularities of each context of work. We can best do this by considering New Deal archaeology in the U.S. as both a context and a contrast: contemporary Americanist archaeological practice was in a moment of disciplinary transition and large-scale archaeological labor mobilization and intersected with Mediterranean and Middle Eastern archaeological practice in the Seleucia WPA project.

Considering the WPA-funded work on the Seleucia collection opens up several potentials. At its most basic, this WPA project is another point in the Seleucia collection's biography, another moment of unique intersection of certain individuals, institutions, and places brought together by the collection. It was also a moment of intersection with a sister discipline, Americanist anthropological archaeology. Additionally, it is another instance of work/labor on the collection, and, like the Iraqi workforce, the nonspecialist workforce employed to process the Seleucia collection have been largely forgotten in narratives about the project. However, in the wider practice of New Deal archaeology, it was impolitic for the workforce to be totally invisible. New Deal programs like the WPA were both wildly popular and wildly unpopular; thus, administrators of New Deal archaeology met political needs with positive publicity in order to justify and promote their work as useful and efficiently aiding in the fight against unemployment. The WPA project, once set amid the wider program of New Deal relief archaeology funded by the US federal government, gives us the opportunity to juxtapose histories of and discourses about labor on archaeological projects (on the fieldwork and lab work sides). Turning attention to this moment of work on the Seleucia also acknowledges the

importance of post-excavation processing activities. As we saw in Chapter 1, collections processing, care, and curation are frequently undervalued steps in archaeological knowledge production, a partial result of which is the archaeological curation crisis and the specter of orphan collections. With the flurry of short- and medium-term funding truncated by World War II, New Deal archaeology also provides the origin for multiple orphan and under-processed/under-published archaeological collections excavated in the U.S.: we perhaps should count some aspects of the Seleucia collection among these.

8.2 New Deal Archaeology and Archaeology as Relief Work

8.2.1 Overview

Before turning to the specifics of the Seleucia WPA project, I will first sketch the contextual background by providing a brief historical narrative of New Deal Archaeology and its legacy in U.S.-based anthropological archaeology. Such a sketch will set up the necessary background for discussion of the attendant discourse around archaeology as work relief and archaeological relief workers. My synthetic narrative here for U.S. American New Deal archaeology is primarily based on the works of Paul Fagette, whose 1996 study of the 1930s institutional evolution of American(ist) archaeology finds that New Deal relief programs accelerated professionalization of the discipline, and Edwin Lyon, whose 1996 study focuses more explicitly and in greater archaeological detail on New Deal archaeological work in the southeastern US.[995] While historiography and disciplinary memory of the legacy of New Deal archaeology has inordinately prioritized the American Southeast, work by Bernard Means, including a 2013 edited volume, has placed projects in other regions of the U.S. under the New

[995] Fagette 1996; Lyon 1996. Hester Davis helpfully reviews both books (Davis 1997.)

Deal Archaeology lens.[996] The picture of the New Deal's impact on archaeology is broadening as additional projects and contexts across the U.S. are incorporated into the scholarship.

In the 1930s and first few years of the following decade, U.S. federal funding for relief employment was directed to archaeological work under the auspices of several New Deal governmental organizations and agencies, especially the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the Civil Works Administration (CWA), and the Works Progress Administration (WPA, renamed the Works Projects Administration in 1939). The financial crash in fall of 1929 heralded the end of a decade of uneven prosperity and wild financial speculation in the U.S. Income was increasingly maldistributed throughout the 1920s and the economic downturn had already begun earlier that year, but the collapse of the stock market in the final week of October 1929 accelerated and intensified the economic decline, shaking both the unstable financial system itself and public confidence in it. Huge numbers of banks (a sector that was already unstable in the 1920s) and businesses failed; industrial production dropped, especially in industries that were key to the recent economic booms (e.g., construction); agricultural prices dove, a situation soon intensified by the onset of the "Dust Bowl." And the recession in the U.S. rippled out to the interconnected global economy.[997]

By 1932, unemployment in the U.S. had risen to about 25% of the workforce: 11.5 million Americans were out of work, representing about thirty million Americans with lost sources of income, in addition to half of American workers whose jobs were reduced to part time.[998] Unemployment disproportionately affected women, African Americans, younger and older people: white men with work experience were more likely to be retained in the

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[996] Means 2013d. See also a two-part 2011 special forums on New Deal Archaeology, guest edited by Bernard Means, in *The SAA Archaeological Record*, Volume 11, Issues 3 and 5, and Means 2015.
[997] Biles 1991, 5-10; Watkins 1999, 16-52; Himmelberg 2001, 7-9, 23-31.
[998] Rauchway 2008, 40-41. Taylor (2008, 8-9, 17-18) offers slightly different statistics.

workforce.[999]

U.S. President Herbert Hoover's administration's efforts to stimulate economic recovery were insufficient. Hoover's resistance to widespread federal relief in favor of supporting American enterprise, of state and local relief efforts, and of optimistic encouragement of the American spirits of volunteerism and individualism all failed to slow the economic crisis and lost him his pre-Depression reputation as a humanitarian. While some of Hoover's initiatives set precedents on which the Roosevelt administration's agencies built, they failed to alleviate economic suffering or win him reelection in 1932.[1000]

Three years into the Great Depression, and in the first months of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's first term as president (dubbed the "One Hundred Days"), the U.S. Congress passed fifteen pieces of legislation to address the economic and social crisis.[1001] This first set of programs became known as the "New Deal" (later distinguished as the "first" New Deal) after Roosevelt's phrase when he accepted the Democratic nomination for the presidency.[1002] The acts related to relief employment began with the creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) at the end of March 1933, originally formed to employ unmarried, young men for manual work related to conserving and developing federal, state, and local land and natural resources.[1003] The legislation also created the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) in May 1933. FERA expanded relief work beyond natural resource domains and the eligible applicant pools beyond young men. As such, it was one of the agencies under whose auspices New Deal

[999] Rauchway 2008, 44, 46.
[1000] Biles 1991, 16-25, 97; Himmelberg 2001, 11, 35-37; Rauchway 2008, 23-35; Taylor 2008, 7-73.
[1001] Inter alia, Taylor 2008, 109.
[1002] Himmelberg 2001, 44; Rauchway 2008, 36.
[1003] Himmelberg 2001, 42; Taylor 2008, 106-08. Eventually, some excavations came to be undertaken by CCC crews, such as at Jamestown, Virginia, and the Jonathan Creek site in Kentucky (Lyon 1996, 188ff; Means 2013b, 238; Schroeder 2013, 176; Means 2014.)

archaeology took place.[1004]

While direct relief measures would have been cheaper than work relief programs,[1005] New Deal administrators preferred the latter.[1006] Historian William W. Bremer finds that this preference arose from American conceptions of poverty and work, New Deal administrators' adherence to capitalist structures, and social workers' recognition of the psychological effects of joblessness in American society. New Dealers, supported by social workers, believed that direct relief would "undermine morale."[1007] Americans associated paid employment and occupations with social identification and self-worth.[1008] Indeed, Roosevelt emphasized the importance of work for individual Americans and American culture in his 1935 State of the Union address, asserting that,

> continued dependence on relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fibre [sic]. To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotive [sic], a subtle destroyer of the human spirit […] It is in violation of the traditions of America. Work must be found for able bodied but destitute workers. The Federal government must and shall quit this business of relief. We must preserve not only the bodies of the unemployed from destitution but also their self-respect, their self-reliance and courage and determination.[1009]

He thus announced a work relief program, one that became the Works Progress Administration.

An American aversion to direct relief or charity stigmatized receiving aid as pauperizing and shameful, an aversion both recognized and held by New Deal administrators, as well as

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[1004] Rauchway 2008, 64-65; Taylor 2008, 103, 05-08 ff., 12-13. The fifteenth and final piece of the Hundred Days legislation was the National Industrial Recovery Act, passed on June 13 and signed by Roosevelt on June 16th, 1933.
[1005] Biles 1991, 104.
[1006] Bremer 1975.
[1007] Bremer 1975, 638.
[1008] Gamst 1995, 13.
[1009] Franklin D. Roosevelt, Message to the Congress on the State of the Union (speech file 759), page 9, January 4, 1935, Box 20, Series 2, Master Speech File, 1898-1945, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum, Hyde Park, NY. Available online: http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/_resources/images/msf/msf00780.

much of the American public.[1010] As Bremer writes, "[v]iewed as charity, direct relief bore a stigma derived from traditional assumptions that workless people were personally responsible for their misfortunes and incapable of managing their own affairs."[1011] Sociologist Sigrun Kahl (among others) traces the roots of this aversion (visible in the U.S. social welfare system today) to Reformist Protestant notions of poverty and work (Max Weber's Protestant work ethic), stemming from a specifically Calvinist tradition. Such a perspective emphasized personal responsibility and distinguished between deserving and the undeserving poor. Work offered both a route toward grace as well as punishment and corrective for the poor, whose poverty seemed to be the result of laziness and sin. Direct relief offered no incentives toward work nor corrected behavior: the poor, especially the "undeserving," needed to work and needed to want to work.[1012] The workhouse system had been brought to North American by Dutch and English colonists in the mid-17th century: these institutions provided relief in exchange for work; to disincentivize reliance on relief of any kind, workhouses had terrible conditions and low pay.[1013] This Reformed Protestant inheritance also traditionally limited the role of the State in social assistance.[1014]

While not specifically punitive like their workhouse antecedents, New Deal work relief programs sought to address this social concern for the effects of poverty and charity on morale by allowing public assistance to be earned.[1015] Historian Holly Allen finds that this conception of relief through work and the civic narratives that attended the figure of the "forgotten man"

[1010] For a discussion of the contested position of WPA workers, ambiguously placed between paupers and the dependent poor on the one hand and the employed wage-earners or government employees on the other, see Goldberg 2005.
[1011] Bremer 1975, 639.
[1012] Biles 1991, 114-15; Applebaum 1995; Kahl 2005.
[1013] Huey 2001; Kahl 2005, 108ff.
[1014] Kahl 2005, 110-11, 16-18.
[1015] Bremer 1975, 638.

sought to save the dignity and social position of jobless white male heads-of-households.[1016] That New Deal work relief programs, excepting the CWA, involved means tests, low wages (so not to compete with private capitalist enterprise), and mismatches between skills and work assignments softened their intended destigmatization of public assistance, although the latter was a goal desired by social workers in the 1930s.[1017] As Bremer writes, "the upshot of the work relief ideal [was…that] its rewards method of maintaining morale derived from a model of private employment, but that method could not be perfected in public employment without inhibiting the movement of people back into private industry."[1018]

An abortive attempt to provide relief work through archaeological work in Georgia in 1932 brought such a possibility to the Smithsonian and the other federal agencies. In the midst of the City of Macon's exploration of initiatives for relief work, the Society for Georgia Archaeology, a lay archaeology organization, was interested in preserving local archaeological mounds in the face of encroachment of work relief road building. To do so, the Society proposed to the Smithsonian an archaeological survey with a lay workforce. The project was not approved but it provided the conceptual precedent for both future archaeological work undertaken as federal relief and the role of the Smithsonian as a clearinghouse for such work.[1019]

This was first attempted the following year in Louisiana. From August to November 1933, FERA funding supported employment of more than 100 workers for archaeological work at Marksville, Louisiana, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institute's Frank Setzler (then an assistant curator of archaeology at the National Museum) with the assistance of James A. Ford. Marksville had originally planned to use FERA funds to build a park on a mound site, but local

[1016] Allen 2015, 12.
[1017] Bremer 1975, 643-52.
[1018] Bremer 1975, 650.
[1019] Fagette 1996, 12-17.

archaeology enthusiasts convinced the city council and the local FERA office to bring in a Smithsonian supervisor to excavate and restore mounds at the site. This first archaeological relief project in the U.S. demonstrated to American(ist) archaeologists, the Smithsonian, and federal agencies that large-scale excavation (at Marksville, three mounds and a village area) was possible in the U.S. and that, given possibilities of this scale, archaeological work was a viable framework for relief work, that is, large numbers of unskilled relief workers could be managed and trusted to produce scientific data.[1020] Setzler asserted this himself a decade later in assessing the results of New Deal archaeological work, admitting some growing pains ("many headaches and uncertainties resulting from the experiment") but arguing that "[n]evertheless, it proved that under competent and trained supervisors, scientific archaeological explorations could serve as a very legitimate channel for relief employment."[1021]

Lyon indicates that, prior to the availability of New Deal funds and the pressing necessity of employing large numbers of workers, American archaeologists working in the U.S. "had no need for a sophisticated system of management of excavations before FERA because resources to support large projects in the United States did not exist."[1022] The increase in scale enabled by the New Deal relief structures was dramatic: as Setzler stated in 1943 that

> prior to 1930, average field expeditions consisted for the most part of 10 to 15 laborers and assistants, worked from 3 to 4 continuous months, and cost on the average about $2,500. From 1935 to 1940, exploration personnel increased to an average of 150 men and functioned from 36 to 48 months continuously.[1023]

Such a frame, that offered archaeological employment as a sector for welfare relief, was—and is—not limited to the United States; we have already seen, in the preceding chapters,

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[1020] Fagette 1996, 24-26; Lyon 1996, 1-4, 28.
[1021] Setzler 1943, 207, 08.
[1022] Lyon 1996, 28.
[1023] Setzler 1943, 206.

that large-scale excavation with a large labor force was the norm in contemporary archaeological practice in the Middle East, a norm that had existed for decades prior. A non-North American example of archaeology as *work relief* employment that predates the Great Depression is offered by the Wellcome Excavations in central Sudan, 1910-1914. This expedition was sponsored by British pharmaceutical entrepreneur and philanthropist Sir Henry Wellcome explicitly and primarily as a philanthropic, welfare-work project.[1024] As Frank Addison describes in the 1949 publication of the Wellcome excavation of Jebel Moya, for Wellcome, this project "would, by providing work for a large number of local inhabitants, increase their prosperity without pauverising them" while also facilitating Wellcome's own enthusiasm for archaeology and making contributions to early Sudanese history.[1025] Notably, implicitly in Addison's own telling, this interest in providing "uplift" through employment to locals around Jebel Moya did not seem to respond to a local expression of need or interest, as "[t]he natives at first were hostile to Mr. Wellcome's project and declined to co-operate; but by the 29th of January [1910] fifteen men and boys had been collected by the efforts of Gabri Eff."[1026] Because of Wellcome's welfare goals, he required that any applicant interested in working be hired. In Addison's analysis, by the fourth and final season at Jebel Moya, this resulted in the labor supply determining the pace and organization of work, with some detriment to the quality of archaeological work: the increasing numbers of interested applicants for work meant "continuous pressure to find work for more and more men […and] the small supervising and recording staff could only with the utmost exertion keep abreast of the diggers." [1027] Archaeological relief employment was also incidental: during

[1024] Addison 1949, 1-2; Quirke 2010, 1. See also, Doyon 2018, 186-87. For more on Wellcome's welfare goals and activities at Jebel Moya, see Vella Gregory 2020.
[1025] Addison 1949, 2.
[1026] Addison 1949, 2-3.
[1027] Addison 1949, 7.

the 1932-1933 season of the Yale-French Academy excavation at Dura-Europos , when famine threatened, workers' wages were decreased so that the project could expand the workforce and thus offer employment to more people. Such relief was not complete, however: many (150) men were turned away, and there was a strike over the wage decrease.[1028]

In the U.S., some naysayers about the FERA-funded archaeological undertaking had focused their criticism on how a large untrained workforce could possibly be managed, but the Marksville success was taken as evidence of this model's viability. It also seems that the American archaeologists learned what was assumed by their colleagues overseas: as Fagette writes, the Marksville precedent countered these criticisms by showing that the "absence of well-defined and cultivated skills among laborers did not indicate a lack of ability or dearth of intelligence" and, indeed, that the agricultural work backgrounds of many of the workers outfitted them with "previous experience in methods of planting and harvesting that required skill, care, and sequencing," all of which was appropriate to excavation work.[1029] In subsequent projects, similar skills were noted among workers with backgrounds in other industries: for example, former coalminers' creative problem-solving and facility with tools in excavation were specifically noted by their supervisors in Tennessee as derived from their previous occupation.[1030] In short, the lack of previous training or formal education in archaeology among the workforce undertaking the excavation labor was not a hindrance to the scientific project, and the categorization of these workers as "unskilled" was an un-nuanced way to understand their knowledge and capacities. The large workforce and their lack of specific training did, however, necessitate changes in archaeological management practice, to which I will return shortly.

[1028] Baird 2011, 438; Baird 2018, 12.
[1029] Fagette 1996, 25-26.
[1030] Sullivan et al. 2011, 83.

While not part of the initial flurry of New Deal legislative activity, the Civil Works Administration (CWA) was authorized on November 9, 1933, specifically to provide relief work for the winter of 1933/34.[1031] That the CWA directly provided relief unemployment made it a limited but more aggressive policy than other components of this first phase of the New Deal; it set precedent for the later relief programs of the "second New Deal."[1032] With the Marksville project having established a successful precedent, six archaeological projects were authorized under the CWA funding and structure, to be undertaken between December 1933 and March 1934. These projects, located in California, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, were meant to employ about 1,500 people, with about 90% of the funding going to wages.[1033]

Several considerations made southern states a prime location for these CWA projects. In addition to Smithsonian archaeologists' own research interests in the region and the presence of numerous local archaeological societies interested in aiding coordination, the timing of the short funding term in the winter months made the mild climates suitable for such outdoor work.[1034] (This climate criterion was not retained in future WPA excavations projects, as Bernard Means has pointed out by highlighting blizzard conditions during excavation work in Somerset County, Pennsylvania.[1035]) CWA projects were also approved on the criterion of proximity to an appropriate unemployed labor pool. The projects in the southern states met the need to employ the unskilled rural poor, whose situation in the south was particularly impoverished—and with little prospect of simple changes to the regional economy that would address the lack of jobs; in California, the project at Buena Lake drew its labor pool from unemployed oil workers from

[1031] Fagette 1996, 20-21; Lyon 1996, 28; Means 2013c, 4-5.
[1032] Fagette 1996, 83; Himmelberg 2001, 44. Additionally, the CWA did not require a means test for eligibility, unlike other relief programs like FERA and WPA (Bremer 1975, 643; Biles 1991, 102-04.)
[1033] Fagette 1996, 19-57; Lyon 1996, 28-37, 50.
[1034] Fagette 1996, 23, 27-28.
[1035] Means 2013a, 54-55.

nearby towns.[1036] Additionally, the southern landscape, with its large alluvial deposits and mound sites, required large labor pools to move sufficient quantities of dirt: the required scale of a workforce to accomplish the work dovetailed with the CWA goal of employing large labor pools.[1037]

The factors that made archaeological projects attractive under CWA structures to federal administrators carried through during subsequent funding-administrative bodies (FERA and the WPA). One is that, as Means has described them, that they were "shovel ready": archaeological projects required little lead time (in Fagette's description: "great deal of preparation on the part of the supervisors, but not the laborers"). Moreover, equipment was cheap and easily acquired, with the result that 85-90% of the funding could be spent on wages and thus was, relatively speaking, a financially efficient work relief scheme. Such efficiency was enhanced when excavation workers had to bring their own shovels and trowels.[1038]

Furthermore, that archaeological projects could accommodate multiple kinds of workers fit Harry Hopkins' relief employment ethos. Once "proven," archaeological work's capacity to include both "unskilled and semi-skilled labor meshed well with Hopkins' approach to relief: everyone should have the opportunity to work, regardless of their economic standing and skill level."[1039] In addition to the unskilled excavation labor, archaeological laboratory work also offered opportunities for skilled and educated workers; according to Fagette, "[t]his job classification represented the path by which the middle class participated in the great archaeological experiment of the 1930s."[1040] Finally, the products of archaeological work did not

[1036] Fagette 1996, 23, 28-30, 54-55.
[1037] Fagette 1996, 23.
[1038] Setzler 1943, 210; Fagette 1996, 23-23; Means 2013c, 8.
[1039] Fagette 1996, 23. WPA work classifications "Unskilled, intermediate (semiskilled), skilled, professional and technical" (Works Progress Administration 1936, 11.).
[1040] Fagette 1996, 30-31.

compete with existing private enterprise and thus could not disrupt the economy; rather, the results were both seen and promoted as education and scientific.[1041]

Once the CWA, always intended as a temporary relief structure, ended in March 1934, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) provided continued small-scale public works program funding for 1934-1935; some archaeological work continued under this structure.[1042] In 1935, the Roosevelt administration addressed the continuing severity of the Depression and accompanying popular discontent with a "Second New Deal": this phase of programs was more aggressive and relied less on direct cooperation between federal government and business. The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 was passed on April 8, 1935, appropriating $4.9 billion dollars for emergency relief. Roosevelt then issued Executive Order no. 7034 on May 6, 1935, establishing the Works Progress Administration (WPA).

The WPA, which became the Works Projects Administration in 1939, replaced FERA as a long-term structure to provide for relief employment. The WPA was *the* major federal work relief program of the Depression: its goal was to provide as many jobs as possible for as many people possible. It officially ran through June 30, 1943, although funding and projects slowed down by mid-1941.[1043] The WPA is most famous for the massive amount of infrastructure built under its auspices, as well as for its sponsorship of artistic production (visual, literary, and performing arts) through the Federal One arts program. It was much criticized for sponsoring "make-work" projects: the word "boondoggle" was popularized to refer to the supposedly pointless work paid for by the federal government, despite Roosevelt's explicit intention that the

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[1041] Means 2013c, 8. For reference to the Great Recession starting in 2008 and the applicability of the archaeological work relief model to the 21st century (and the complication of competition with private archaeological businesses), see Means 2013b, 240-41.
[1042] Fagette 1996, 59-69.
[1043] Fagette 1996, 21, 83, 86, 125; Watkins 1999, 510; Himmelberg 2001, 14-15, 45-50; Rauchway 2008, 67-70, 139; Taylor 2008, 169-74; Means 2013c, 5.

work be "useful."[1044] Accompanying the WPA was a shift of direct relief for those considered "unemployable" to state and local government responsibility, a blow partially but by no means fully softened through the establishment of Social Security.[1045]

The WPA, then, became the primary agency under which archaeological relief work took place. Oversight for most WPA archaeological projects came under the Women's and Professional Division, which oversaw projects for women and white-collar work. These projects were in domains such as public health, education, library service, records and documentation, and research (see below for discussion of examples in Southeast Michigan).[1046] Additional archaeological work under this "Second New Deal" phase was undertaken under the National Youth Administration (NYA), which began in June 1935; the NYA hired high school- and college-age men and women in work-study jobs and other local projects.[1047]

While there is an intense historiographic focus on the New Deal archaeology in the South and Southeastern states—due, in part, due to the robust legacy in archaeology of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)[1048] as well contemporary and retrospective publicity about the

[1044] Biles 1991, 108-09; Lyon 1996, 63-64; Himmelberg 2001, 48-49; Rauchway 2008, 67-68; Taylor 2008, 164-68. The first principle of the WPA, as announced by FDF in his 1935 State of the Union speech, was that "All work undertaken should be useful- not just for a day, or a year, but useful in the sense that it affords permanent improvement in living conditions or that it creates future new wealth for the Nation" (Franklin D. Roosevelt, Message to the Congress on the State of the Union (speech file 759), page 11, January 4, 1935, Box 20, Series 2, Master Speech File, 1898-1945, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum, Hyde Park, NY. Available online: http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/_resources/images/msf/msf00780).
[1045] Biles 1991, 104, 08-12.
[1046] Ware 1981, 109-10; Fagette 1996, 88, 100; Watkins 1999, 264-66, 74-75; Opdycke 2016, 62-68.
[1047] Biles 1991, 108; Means 2013c, 6-7, 2013b, 236-38.
[1048]The TVA is an example that brings into greater focus the intersections between archaeological research, state-sponsored infrastructural and economic development, and archaeological labor. Proposed by Roosevelt in April 1933 and created the next month as an independent agency by Congress in the "Hundred Days" legislative flurry, the TVA was a massive, multi-state redevelopment program focused comprehensive regeneration of the historically impoverished rural region of the Tennessee River Basin (across a six-state area); today, the TVA exists as a federally-owned power corporation. The agency's multiple development goals ranged across economic and social domains and included improving navigation on the Tennessee River, building power infrastructure, increasing flood control capacity, and generating jobs. Thus, a primary component of the TVA undertaking was the construction of a series of hydroelectric dams in the region. This dam-construction project required flooding of large swaths of land, the result of which was inundation of archaeological sites (and, less noted in the archaeological discussions, population displacement). Professional and amateur archaeologists pressured top TVA officials to include a salvage

projects[1049]—Means has tracked New Deal archaeological work to at least 381 counties in 36 states. The decentralized character of the WPA and the other New Deal agencies (and thus of their reports and archives), as well as the incomplete state of publication (as well as the absence of published references to funding sources by some archaeologists) makes it difficult to know how many sites were excavated with New Deal funding; as of 2015, Means identified about 1700 surveys and excavation projects.[1050]

8.2.2 Standardization

A trend toward standardization and professionalization worked at multiple levels in New Deal archaeological practice: standardization to enable labor by those without archaeological education; standardization to help supervisors make decisions as they managed large, non-specialist work forces; standardization to handle vast quantities of excavated material and data; and standardization and professionalization as archaeology shifted from amateur roots to being firmly academic-led.

The instability of the nonexpert workforce on New Deal project prompted some of this standardization, particularly in contexts like the TVA salvage program. For the TVA work, time

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archaeological program in advance of the floodwaters, as the legislation that established the TVA did not provide for archaeological work. While the TVA was separate and independent of other federal relief agencies, the TVA archaeological work used funding and labor from multiple other agencies (and involved multiple academic institutions): initial TVA archaeological survey work took place under the CWA, with CWA labor; FERA funded TVA archaeological work for 1934-1935 as a stopgap; and, for the most part, local WPA funding and labor were used to undertake TVA salvage archaeology after the WPA's establishment in 1935, lending a particularly decentralized cast to the archaeological programs across multiple states. Often TVA construction and TVA salvage archaeology labor needs were at odds, as the TVA would hire all of an area's unemployed men for dam construction, leaving none for the WPA-enabled TVA salvage archaeological work that was supposed to precede it. (Fagette 1996, 46-52, 64-66, 99; Lyon 1996, 30, 37-50, 123-69; Taylor 2008, 109-10, 368-74; Dye 2016b, 2016a.) On population displacement, see McDonald and Muldowny 1982. The lack of attention to modern population displacements in historiography of dam-building salvage archaeology operations is widespread. An example is the elision of the population displacement in many narratives of the UNESCO international Aswan High Dam salvage campaign in 1960s, which focus, triumphantly, on saving ancient Egyptian cultural heritage and elide the traumas of displacement and dispossession that define modern Nubian communities, particularly in Egypt (Carruthers 2020.).

[1049] Fagette 1996, 99. Indeed the work of both Fagette and Lyon contribute to this historiographic privileging of the South and Southeast.

[1050] Means 2015.

pressures and the scale (and turnover) of a field and lab relief workforce without archaeological training (whose availability for and allocation to archaeological work fluctuated) led to the development of laboratory and fieldwork handbooks on TVA archaeological projects in Alabama and Tennessee, which gave explicit excavation and recording instructions to guide most anticipated circumstances.[1051]

Beyond TVA-specific circumstances, several facets of relief structure administration also contributed to an instability in the New Deal archaeological work force, causing turnover and a subsequent, continuous need to train new workers. Under the CWA, labor allotments were routed through local labor offices; this meant that numbers (and individuals) of workers allotted to archaeological work sometimes fluctuated daily—and, sometimes, according to the interests of local and regional politicians. In this way, the archaeological projects sometimes competed for labor against other relief work projects (i.e., road repair; or in the TVA, dam construction).[1052] Additionally, under the WPA, in order to spread work over the greatest quantity of people, an 18-month limit on continuous relief service was implemented beginning in 1939.[1053] This forced turnover also limited the development of experience and expertise among the archaeological relief workforces.

In addition to the production of detailed field and lab work manuals, procedural standardization included the innovation of pre-printed forms to guide an inexperienced work crew's archaeological recording.[1054] While we have seen the use of pre-printed "tomb cards" in preceding decades in British and American archaeological practice in Egypt (discussed in Chapter 4), that standardization aimed to regularizing data recording, rather than accomplishing

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[1051] Lyon 1996, 48, 137, 49-51.
[1052] Fagette 1996, 34-35, 116.
[1053] Biles 1991, 115; Fagette 1996, 85, 101-02.
[1054] Dunnell 1986, 28; Fagette 1996, 24-25; Sullivan et al. 2011, 74; Means 2013c, 8-9.

that goal *and* facilitating wider participation in data recording activities as in the American case.

Procedural standardization was brought into organization of laboratory tasks and labor as well. James A. Ford (referenced above as an assistant at the initial Marksville project[1055]) brought systematic organization to the Louisiana WPA projects he directed: incorporating extensive laboratory analysis of excavated materials into his plan, Ford divided the central laboratory into different divisions through which excavated material systematically proceeded.[1056] Fagette usefully describes the result as a "managerial approach [… in which] analytical tasks [were] compartmentalized into discrete labor units [… and] sharply delineated laboratory procedures became systemized."[1057] Such a structure allowed new workers to be integrated into the workflow. Given workers' turnover and lack of formal archaeological training, workers were trained in just one or two tasks (with clearly defined instructions), rather than the whole process of laboratory analysis.[1058] And, indeed, Ford preferred hiring non-specialists for archaeological processing work. Lyon recounts Ford's employment of a professional bookkeeper, one C.H. Hopkins, for pottery classification work in his Louisiana WPA lab:

> "Ford believed that once the pottery classification system was established a nonarchaeologist could often do a better job of classification than an archaeologist. "He has," Ford argued, "no preconceived ideas, no theories to prove, and he is less likely to let the classificatory categories 'creep'." Hopkins "achieved an almost machine-like precision in his separation of pottery into type groups." To test him, Ford had Hopkins classify the same sherds again, without his knowledge, up to three months later, and the reclassification was usually

[1055] Ford was an alumnus of the first FERA excavation at Marksville and subsequently earned his A.B. at Louisiana State University and his Master's degree at the University of Michigan in 1938. Fagette 1996, 99-101; Lyon 1996, 3, 78.
[1056] Fagette 1996, 101-02; Lyon 1996, 84-85. According to Lyon (1996, 84): "Catalog Division, Preparing Division, Analysis Division, Statistical Section, Engineering Division, Photography, Archives and Records, Dendrochronology, and carpentry, secretarial, and administrative sections."
[1057] Fagette 1996, 101.
[1058] Fagette 1996, 102.

exactly the same.[1059]

Setzler, the first of the American relief archaeological project directors (with the inaugural project at Marksville), discussed how the change in scale and type of workforce necessitated rapid change in archaeological process, labor organization, and management.[1060] His comments suggest that the introduction of a large workforce expanded the role of a trained archaeologist, that particular duties of the officially-authorized archaeologist now included managing workers and labor processes. These responsibilities were already part of an excavation director's responsibilities on a large-scale dig in the Middle East such as Seleucia.

Other factors contributing to standardization in practices resulted from the shared educational backgrounds of those in engaged in New Deal archaeology networks, and the reification of these networks; this was part of the broader process of professionalization of the discipline.[1061] One hub for methodological standards was the University of Chicago. There, Fay-Cooper Cole's training field schools in Illinois (especially at the Kincaid site in southern Illinois) taught what became known as the "Chicago Method." The Smithsonian Institute's preference, established when the Smithsonian managed CWA and FERA archaeological projects, for university-educated supervisors with field experience meant particular educational networks were tapped for supervisors. As a result, many students trained in the "Chicago Method" were

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[1059] Lyon 1996, 87.
[1060] Setzler 1943, 206-07. "The specimens obtained were cleaned, classified, restored, and catalogued from day to day. The technique in some instances was streamlined to such an extent that almost from the time the first shovel was pushed into a site, archaeological specimens were described and data assembled in manuscript form. The archaeologist in charge could no longer ponder or gloat over the results of a backbreaking day of digging. He had to serve as engineer, personnel manager handling large crews of men, an efficiency expert, and above all, an expert public accountant, timekeeper, and high class executive. At night, reports of the day's work were digested and written. Everything had to be standardized as far as possible. Above all, many thousands of men and women were given legitimate employment […] Unaccustomed as I was [at Marksville, LA] to providing gainful employment to more than ten men in the slow process of excavating a mound, it required considerable experimentation and readjustment to keep a crew of over 100 men busy, and yet provide careful supervision while excavations progressed on three mounds, a village site, and a man-made earth embankment partially encircling the site."
[1061] Patterson 1986, 13-15; Fagette 1996.

referred for supervisor positions. These archaeologists brought their training to their New Deal work; through them the methods passed to non-Chicago-trained supervisors, to other projects, and into handbooks, such as those developed for TVA projects.[1062] Such a network for dissemination of method is analogous to the movement of, for example, the Qufti as foremen, discussed in previous chapters, as well as the circulation of archaeologists on Middle Eastern sites: Leroy Waterman, for example, sought excavation experience at the University of Chicago's excavation at Meggido, the University of Pennsylvania's excavation at Beisan (Beit She'an), and at the Harvard University excavations at Kirkurk prior to commencing work at Seleucia, bringing a member of Beisan's surveying team (Nicola E. Manasseh) to the first season at Tel Umar, Clarence S. Fisher from numerous excavations to the second season, and Samuel Yeivin from Karanis and other Egyptian excavations to the third season.[1063]

8.2.3 The New Deal Archaeological Workforce

The project directors, supervisors, and assistants for New Deal archaeological projects were, by and large, university-educated white men with training in archaeology, based first in the Smithsonian and increasingly based in universities and colleges. Fagette, indeed, argues that it is through the New Deal archaeological context that that academic, rather than amateur, Americanist archaeology became entrenched. The non-specialist workforce, however, also shaped the practice and results of New Deal archaeology. In this section, I will describe some facets of demographics and discourses around these relief work archaeological workers, those considered skilled, semi-skilled, and nonskilled, in order to establish a baseline against which to compare the Seleucia WPA project participants.

[1062] Dunnell 1986, 28; Fagette 1996, 12-13, 24-25, 28, 41; Lyon 1996, 51, 61-62; Sullivan et al. 2011, 81; Howe 2016.
[1063] Michigan Alumnus 1928b, 292. See Appendix I.

As federal work relief, New Deal archaeological projects offered work to qualifying jobless people. Thus, the broader demographic picture of the Great Depression unemployed labor pool is worth considering. Indeed, New Deal archaeological projects were approved partially due to proximity to unemployed labor pools (such as in the impoverished rural South). As Fagette describes for the early CWA excavation at Buena Lake, California, the project mostly hired unemployed oil workers who had not already been placed on relief projects: this pool was weighted toward older men deemed not up to heavy road work or younger men without families. It seems likely that these men were white.[1064]

Racism, ageism, and sexism all had a hand in shaping who fell into the employed versus unemployed populations, the latter of which saw disproportionate representation of young people, older people, African Americans, and women (of course, with the intersections of these social positions compounding the likelihood of unemployment). Employers were more likely to hire or retain white men with recent work experience. Older Americans (whose savings, if any, were largely lost in the banking crisis) had difficulty re-entering the workforce; younger people who had not entered the workforce before the crash lacked work experience; for both groups, age discrimination and their recent absence from the labor force disqualified them from some kinds of relief. Black Americans, already severely economically disadvantaged prior to the Crash, lost work at a greater rate than white Americans; and biases against working women, especially married women, operated in service of preferences for employing male heads of households.[1065] As Rauchway argues, "[t]hese inequities in the job market ensured the Depression-era working class actually in work, or nearest to it, looked much more white, much more male, and overall

[1064] Fagette 1996, 30.
[1065] Ware 1981; Biles 1991, 172-206; Fagette 1996, 30; Claassen 1999; Rauchway 2008, 44-46; Allen 2015, 96-133; Opdycke 2016, 57-60.

much more uniform than the working classes of earlier eras."[1066]

Nevertheless, Allen's exploration of civic narratives of "the forgotten man" finds that this "figure [came to represent] the Depression unemployed and particularly [...] jobless white men dependent on relief" in order to provide for their families as breadwinners.[1067] While this narrative changed over time (and in different tellings, by federal administrators versus conservative critics of the New Deal), by the mid-1930s New Deal administrators valorized the "forgotten man" and thus "restored white male breadwinners to civic and familial respectability at the expense of women, African Americans, Mexican Americans, and others."[1068] As Allen recounts, in New Deal administrator Harry Hopkins' 1936 account *Spending to Save: The* Complete *Story of Relief*, he defined the typical WPA worker as "'a white man, thirty-eight years of age and the head of a household' […] a skilled or semiskilled worker who found his place easily on the WPA's construction program."[1069]

Outside of this group, not all those who experienced joblessness were equally likely to receive federal relief aid, especially work relief. For example, Cybelle Fox finds that Black Americans and Mexican Americans had greater access to federal relief aid under the New Deal than during the Progressive Era and under the Hoover administration's handling of the Great Depression: both groups were overrepresented on relief rolls according to population. This increased access, however, was tempered by their overrepresentation among the unemployed and their underrepresentation on relief rolls relative to need.[1070] With the advent of the WPA under the second New Deal, those considered "'unemployables'— older women and mothers of

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[1066] Rauchway 2008, 46.
[1067] Allen 2015, 11.
[1068] Allen 2015, 48.
[1069] Hopkins 1936; Allen 2015, 31.
[1070] Fox 2012, 190-91, 93, 216. I will focus in my summary on Black Americans as I have encountered no data about Mexican Americans on WPA archaeological projects. See Fox (2012) for discussion of Mexican Americans and Mexican non-citizens in New Deal relief programs.

dependent children, nonwhite domestic and agricultural workers, people with disabilities"—on "chronic relief" were increasingly excluded from the WPA by formal and informal means.[1071]

More specifically, Black Americans were largely excluded from the benefits of federal relief programs under the "first" New Deal (those programs established by the "One Hundred Days" legislation), despite legislative language that nominally included or protected them. For work relief programs, the exclusion of young Black men was particularly blatant in the Civilian Conservation Crop (CCC), where they comprised only 8% of the 2.5 million participants over nine years. The negative results for African Americans from some other federal programs were more subtle (indeed, the practice of redlining emerged from racist policies of New Deal housing programs): for example, National Recovery Administration (NRA) labor codes tended to exclude occupations of most Black Americans (such as domestic and farm work), and, in spite of requirements for equal pay to white and non-white workers, various workarounds (e.g., exemptions to minimum wage standards for particular low-paying occupations dominated by Black workers) meant that NRA codes often did not protect Black workers. Under FERA, state and local officials often circumvented prohibitions on racial discrimination by hiring all white workers for relief employment projects before any Black workers were considered and restricting Black applicants to unskilled labor positions. Additionally, disparities existed in relief employment pay between white and Black men, with the latter earning lower wages. The WPA saw better inclusion of Black workers into relief work projects, but there, too, many still experienced racist discrimination in local application of eligibility standards and through other informal ways of keeping Black applicants out of WPA projects.[1072] The federal relief administrative structure that delegated to state and local bodies resulted in a "cooperative

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[1071] Allen 2015, 36-40, 118-19.
[1072] Biles 1991, 113, 72-92; Claassen 1999, 103; Watkins 1999, 167-68, 75, 81, 266-67, 470; Himmelberg 2001, 72.

federalism" that facilitated local discrimination despite federal stipulations that banned discrimination according to race or color.[1073]

The inclusion of women in New Deal work relief projects was also ambivalent. Cultural resistance to white women working was robust:[1074] as Allen reports, "[n]o figure of white womanhood was more reviled in Depression-era public culture than the married woman worker, who allegedly turned her back on domestic responsibilities in order to vie for employment with men."[1075] Nonwhite women were not perceived as trivial dabblers in the workplace or threats to white men's employment in the same way. Rather, Black women were more often stereotyped in the figure of the "mammy," which served to restrict their opportunities to domestic service and agricultural work.[1076] But even when included, New Deal administrators continuously struggled to create relief work projects for women. This problem was largely dictated by the restricted array of occupations for women that emerged from traditional notions of what was appropriate "women's work." For unskilled women with no work experience (including limited household skills), sewing and food service (e.g., work in hot lunch programs that fed low-income school children) comprised the two dominant categories of WPA employment.[1077] Many women on the work relief rolls, however, were qualified for "professional work," and these white-collar jobs made up nearly 40% of the WPA jobs for women.

Under the WPA, projects for women and white-collar workers were administered together under the Division of Women's and Professional Services headed by Ellen Woodward; this division was later renamed the Professional and Service Division. Previously, under FERA,

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[1073] Watkins 1999, 266-67; Fox 2012; Allen 2015, 35.
[1074] Biles 1991, 193-206; Allen 2015, 37-38, 96-113.
[1075] Allen 2015, 100.
[1076] Allen 2015, 102, 08-09.
[1077] Opdycke 2016, 60-62. See also Claassen 1999, 93-94.

women's projects were administered separately from white-collar work; consequently, professional women fell through the relief employment cracks.[1078] For relief employment projects, heavy manual labor like construction work—and by extension, archaeological fieldwork—was largely considered inappropriate for white women.[1079] The same notion of appropriateness did not necessarily apply, from the perspective of New Deal agencies or local relief administrators, to Black women (further discussed below). Indeed, in many localities, nonwhite women (Black and Mexican American women) on WPA work assignments in sewing rooms were forced into agricultural work during the harvest season because, according to local officials, they—unlike white women—were suited for tough manual labor. Often critics objected to Black women accessing work other than domestic work (e.g., sewing, which was considered semiskilled work) and decent pay through federal relief programs.[1080]

Archaeological relief work matched broader New Deal program demographic practices to varying degrees. New Deal archaeology projects employed white and Black workers, both men and women, although not all for the same jobs. For the most part, the only racial/ethnic demographic categories referred to in the New Deal archaeology literature are white and Black. Means notes a reference to a mound excavation in northwestern Pennsylvania undertaken by a Seneca Nation CCC crew, but whether the broader racial picture of New Deal archaeological fieldwork participants is more varied is not currently clear.[1081] As I will discuss below, the ethnic backgrounds of participants in the Seleucia WPA project were of contemporary interest. Additionally, as noted above, the labor pool for archaeological relief work was weighted toward

[1078] Ware 1981, 107, 09-10; Watkins 1999, 264-66; Opdycke 2016, 62-68.
[1079] Ware 1981, 107; Claassen 1999, 94.
[1080] Whalen and Price 1998, 614; Claassen 1999; Allen 2015, 123-25, 29-30. For wages schedules, see Watkins 1999, 261-62.
[1081] Means 2014.

those not already hired for other New Deal relief work (such as heavier manual construction work), such as older men or those with disabilities.[1082]

Many New Deal archaeological projects were racially segregated, as was usual practice on New Deal relief projects nationwide and, especially, in southern states. This, however, was not the case for all projects. Many field crews (as attested by photographs, for example, in the joint New Deal archaeology photographic archives of the Universities of Alabama, Kentucky, and Tennessee-Knoxville[1083]) and archaeological laboratories appear to have been integrated. Fagette indicates that the inclusion of Black workers on New Deal archaeological projects was the result of multiple factors: the availability of unemployed African Americans; federal pressure to hire unemployed African Americans under the WPA; and the willingness of northern and western white archaeologists to work with Black crews.[1084] Mixed race field crews, comprised of Black men, Black women, and white men, excavated on the early New Deal excavations in the environs of Macon, Georgia; other projects included the WPA project at the site of Swift Creek, Georgia, which may have offered the first precedent for all Black women excavation crews.[1085] A mixed race, mixed gender excavation crew apparently excavated in the 1940 WPA excavations at Town Creek Mound, North Carolina; to my knowledge, this is the only project noted in the literature as including white women among the diggers.[1086] Only one white woman, Harriet Smith, is known to have supervised a New Deal excavation; after four years of petitioning the WPA bureaucracy, this graduate of the University of Chicago supervised a 1941

[1082] Fagette 1996, 30; Sullivan et al. 2011, 84.
[1083] Sullivan et al. 2011, 84.
[1084] Fagette 1996, 116; Lyon 1996, 140; Claassen 1999, 102. For both integrated and exclusively Black crews in Georgia, see Fagette 1996, 120. The shell midden site at Whitesburg Bridge, Alabama, was excavated as part of TVA salvage excavations in 1940 with an exclusively Black excavation crew of men and women.
[1085] Whalen and Price 1998, 612-13; Claassen 1999, 95, 102; Sullivan et al. 2011, 85. Sullivan et al. add Whitesburg Bridge and Flint River in Alabama to Georgia's Swift Greek and Irene Mound (discussed below) and North Carolina's Town Creek as the sites at which African American women excavated.
[1086] Coe 1995, 31, 55; Claassen 1999, 104-05.

WPA excavation of Mound 55 (Murdock Mound) at Cahokia.[1087]

WPA archaeology laboratories comprise a second type of workplace, sites of relief work employment accessible to educated women and white women generally. The first of the type was the WPA Central Laboratory in Birmingham, Alabama (Alabama Museum of Natural History); other prominent labs include the one at the University of Tennessee Archaeological Laboratory in Knoxville, Tennessee, and the Louisiana State University/WPA lab in Louisiana located first in New Orleans, later in Baton Rouge (noted above with reference to James Ford's systemic division of lab workflows).[1088] Excluded from fieldwork, white women were largely restricted to laboratory and museum work for New Deal archaeological projects, where those trained specifically in archaeology and anthropology often found work as supervisors and specialists.[1089]

The workforce in the Alabama lab appears to have been mixed gender and integrated (Black and white).[1090] Christine Adcock (later Christine Adcock Wimberly), for example, was a white woman who had received a B.A. in anthropology from the University of Alabama. She worked at the Alabama lab, supervising an integrated lab work crew. Pressure from the WPA administration to hire a Black, female workforce resulted in Adcock's name being put forward to supervise an excavation crew of Black women in the Guntersville Basin; this project ultimately did not occur.[1091] Her experience supervising the mixed workforce at the Alabama lab apparently is what qualified her, as David DeJarnette (the director of the WPA Alabama Museum of Natural History operation) wrote, in a letter recommending her, that "[a] project using Negro women will

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[1087] Claassen 1999, 109-11; Sullivan et al. 2011, 76. Claassen (1999, 109-111) reproduces a 1937 letter of Smith to WPA archaeological consultant Vincenzo Petrullo in which Smith inquires about supervisory positions and contextualizes her difficulty finding a position in spite of her qualifications in terms of the field's gendered biases.
[1088] Fagette 1996, 101; Sullivan et al. 2011, 86-91.
[1089] Fagette 1996, 113-14.
[1090] Claassen 1999, 95; Sullivan et al. 2011, 87.
[1091] Fagette 1996, 113; Claassen 1999, 95.

manifestly require a supervisor skilled in matters additional to archaeology."[1092]

Thus, while excavation labor was largely considered inappropriate for white women, Black women were employed on New Deal archaeological projects as excavators. As noted above, local relief administrators, especially in the South, considered Black women to be an appropriate labor force for manual (especially agricultural) work. Nancy Marie White reports, while discussing the collection of oral histories about women participants in early Southeastern archaeology, that while WPA labor rules sometimes kept Black and white women out of some manual work, there were workarounds for Black women:

> Hester [Davis] heard (from Bill Haag of Louisiana and Ray Thompson of Arizona) that Major Webb faced a situation in the 1930s in some parts of Kentucky where all the unemployed men were already hired, so he asked to hire African American women for crew members. The WPA said no, it was against their rules for women to push wheelbarrows. But some of the women asked if they could 'tote' the backdirt instead. This was acceptable to the WPA brass, so they were hired.[1093]

Notably, in this account, the women themselves offered a workaround allowing them to engage in the manual work; it is probable that this can be attributed to interest in relief work opportunities than a specific interest in archaeological work.

The best-known Black female WPA excavation crew worked at Irene Mound, Georgia from October 6, 1937, to January 1940.[1094] In *Black Feminist Archaeology,* Whitney Battle-Baptiste describes her reaction to learning about these excavators at Irene Mound:

> This was one of the first examples in the United States of women of African descent doing archaeology. Now, this seems exciting, but this was not an ideal job

[1092] Fagette 1996, 113.
[1093] White 1999, 8.
[1094] Fagette 1996, 114, 20-21; Lyon 1996, 109-11; Whalen and Price 1998; Claassen 1999; Battle-Baptiste 2011, 68-69; Sullivan et al. 2011, 85-86; Savannah Images Project n.d.-d; Whalen n.d.. While some men were hired for the project as carpenters and non-excavating laborers, the crews at Irene Creek, as well as the nearby sites of Bilbo and Deptford, engaged an excavating workforce exclusively composed of Black women (Whalen and Price 1998, 613; Claassen 1999.

> for several reasons. Even knowing this, when I first saw the pictures of the women of Irene Mound, I smiled. This meant that there was proof, I was not alone, and it was humbling in many ways.[1095]

Claassen's account of Irene Mound's excavation takes a feminist methodological framework, as she highlights the contributions of both Black female excavators and white female workers (who studied the excavated material, wrote the reports, and prepared the manuscript) to conclude that, aside from the contributions of five male staff members, "the final report on Irene was the product of women's labor," while also staying attentive to the role gender played in structuring attitudes, opportunities, and conditions on the project.[1096] Little was recorded at the time about the excavators, but excavation photographs and twenty oral history interviews with their descendants conducted between 1997 and 1998 by Gail Whalen (three with Cheryl Claassen present) have revealed more about working conditions and the individuals involved.[1097] Notably, but unsurprisingly (given parallels with material discussed in Chapter 7), the photographs of the excavation (currently held as a collection at the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah) taken by prominent Savannah resident and booster Marmaduke Hamilton Floyd in 1937-1938, include date, location, and descriptive captions, but no names of individual workers.[1098] These photographs are currently held as a collection at the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.

One project director described the Irene Mound team thusly: "We have 117 people in all, among them eighty-five colored, of whom seventy-nine are women."[1099] White male graduate students served as archaeological assistants, supervising trenches and laboratory work, recording, etc. The white women who worked on the project undertook research (processing and analysis)

[1095] Battle-Baptiste 2011, 68-69.
[1096] Claassen 1999, 92.
[1097] Whalen and Price 1998; Claassen 1999, 106-09; Savannah Images Project n.d.-d; Whalen n.d..
[1098] Whalen and Price 1998, 610.
[1099] Vladimir J. Fewkes, quoted in Fagette 1996, 120.

as well as clerical and publication preparation work. One was a trained archaeologist, Catherine McCann: she was a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania whose interests were in "human ecology." She later published faunal remains and ceramics from the site. Virginia Griffin participated in analysis of the human remains. Vivian Freund, Dell Smith, and Alvin Dandy drew profiles, views of the mound, and artifacts; Margaret Winkers drew maps and drawings for the final report; and students in Annalou Friedman's vocational high school secretarial classes typed field notes and reports; Mae Royall typed the final report.[1100]

In the field, about 15 men, apparently Black, were hired as carpenters and laborers (i.e., to remove heavy debris), not as excavators.[1101] For excavation, "[t]ypical work crews consisted of about 40 [Black] women, and two [white] male archaeologists."[1102] At least six of these women are now known by name, as a result of twenty oral history interviews conducted in 1997 with descendants and relatives: Annie Scott Grant, Mattie Smith, Gussie Wright White, Hattie Gamble Coleman, Susie Jones, Elizabeth Hayward. Under WPA rules, only one family member could be hired for WPA projects: women who worked on WPA archaeological projects were their family's main breadwinners.[1103] This fact is borne out in practice by what is known about Irene Mound's female excavators. All the women noted above had dependent husbands and/or children, and these women were mostly middle-aged. Several, but not all, had professional training, such as Gussie White, who studied education and clerical work at Tuskeegee Normal School for Women; nevertheless, they all were counted as "unskilled."[1104] While it was common for white-collar workers—Black or white, men or women—to be assigned to relief work projects

[1100] Claassen 1999, 96-98.
[1101] Savannah Images Project n.d.-b.
[1102] Savannah Images Project n.d.-e.
[1103] Claassen 1999, 102; Opdycke 2016, 59.
[1104] Whalen and Price 1998; Claassen 1999, 107-09; Whalen n.d..

below their skill levels or qualifications, this problem was enhanced for Black professionals.[1105]

The interviewees remembered their participating relatives describing ongoing excavation training by archaeologists; additionally, "[a]ccording to John White [son of excavator Mrs. Gussie White], once a worker demonstrated a certain degree of proficiency, she became a foreman of other women."[1106] In the photographs, the women wear dresses to work, rather than slacks or the typical overalls of males WPA laborers. Some photographs attest to the cold: the women excavate in long, heavy coats, including with stylish fur collars.[1107] Workers brought their own meals for their federally-mandated hour-long lunch breaks, sometimes fishing in the Savannah River for their meal; they worked eight-hour days in a five-day week; the entire team shared a single outhouse at the site.[1108]

The WPA excavations at Irene Mound received a significant amount of press coverage. The *Savannah Morning News* (whose publisher was white) covered the excavation extensively: as Whalen and Price note, nearly daily stories featuring the excavation ran between September 1937 and March 1938, often highlighting prestigious participants (e.g., one of the project directors, Dr. Vladimir J. Fewkes, an established academic whose European background was seen as adding an international flair) and public interest (including school field trips). This coverage neglected to include the voices of these Black women whose labor enabled the project: unlike other stakeholders, they were not interviewed for the newspaper. By contrast, local Black newspapers, such as the *Savannah Tribune* and the *Savannah Journal*, covered the project negatively, evaluating the manual archaeological labor undertaken by Black women as

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[1105] Opdycke 2016, 63.
[1106] Whalen and Price 1998, 621. See also Savannah Images Project n.d.-c.
[1107] Whalen and Price 1998, 617-19; Savannah Images Project n.d.-a.
[1108] Whalen and Price 1998, 609, 22.

inappropriately laborious for women.[1109] This criticism should be understood as part of a broader protest by Black (male) journalists against Southern relief administrative practices that pushed Black women into outdoor, manual work, rather than non-manual work. Allen places such editorials within broader gendered narratives of New Deal relief, noting that such protests "sought to protect the femininity of black womanhood" by arguing for "stereotypically feminine indoor work" as their proper work assignments.[1110]

The oral histories collected in the 1990s offer a fairly positive evaluation of the Irene Mound excavation as a WPA workplace. Ethel Hunter, the granddaughter of Hattie Coleman, indicated that her grandmother had a positive experience working at Irene Mound. She remembers Coleman explaining how she excavated and showing first-grader Hunter how to use a trowel; Hunter told her interviewers that she thinks Coleman "valued the Irene work as the most intellectual stimulation of her adult life."[1111] None of the oral interviewees recollected any complaints from their relatives about their WPA archaeological workplace, whether regarding the manual work or any kind of specifically racist or sexist dynamics. According to Claassen, "[s]everal people interviewed pointed out the excellent pay and the steady work and projected gratitude on the part of the women."[1112]

Nevertheless, we cannot not forget broader intersecting systems of racism and sexism under which this project was undertaken. The overall cast of American racism is discernable in how the project was promoted publicly, as is demonstrated in the language of a lecture about the Irene Mound excavation by WPA Field Supervisor, Lucy B. McIntire, delivered to a meeting of the Society for Georgia Archaeology on October 14, 1938. Seemingly responding to derogatory

[1109] Whalen and Price 1998, 609, 19, 25; Claassen 1999, 99-101.
[1110] Allen 2015, 43-44, 124, 29-30.
[1111] Whalen and Price 1998, 621; Claassen 1999, 107.
[1112] Claassen 1999, 108-09.

criticism about the engagement of Black women for such scientific work as archaeological excavation, McIntire evaluates their work positively. Nevertheless, the entire talk is cast in an extremely racist paternalistic perspective; for example, she offensively suggests that Black women are "docile," suited for "monotonous" work, and take a "childlike interest."[1113] Contemporary appreciation for these women's labor is not mutually exclusive with racism, nor from the broader exclusion of their contributions from narratives about the excavation until the 1990s.

Beyond these specific racist stereotypes about Black women, general stereotypes applied to broader swaths of New Deal archaeological workers were consistent with broader societal stereotypes about New Deal relief recipients specifically and recipients of welfare generally. One such stereotype attributed to people on either direct or work relief (but especially the former) was laziness. Bound up in notions of the American work ethic, self-reliance, and self-respect discussed above, this idea that the unemployed were lazy and that relief pauperized recipients dovetailed with the notion that federal work relief was make-work work ("leaf-raking" and "boondoogle" making, as discussed above). The Roosevelt administration and the New Deal apparatus actively sought to counter this narrative of laziness (but accepted its argument that a dole caused moral erosion) by emphasizing the "forgotten man's" desire for honest work—a trope that became focused on the ideal of a jobless, white male head-of-household—and the utility for the nation of work relief over direct relief.[1114] William G. Haag referred to this stereotype in a paper about TVA archaeological projects presented at the 1973 annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. Complimenting workers on his field crews' skill (although officially "unskilled" workers) and trainability, he states, with irony,

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[1113] Reprinted as Appendix 2 in Claassen 1999, 111-14.
[1114] Clemens 2008, 8; Allen 2015, 11-48.

> [i]n the long run, of course, archaeological work did lend itself to developing the more or less stereotype of the WPA worker because we were forced constantly to admonish them to dig slowly and carefully. Thus if there was any innate laziness in any worker our programs developed it to a higher degree.[1115]

Other negative stereotypes specific to archaeological work relief transfer distrust regarding unskilled workers doing accurate scientific work to general distrust of their honesty, given the inability of supervising archaeologists to choose workers. As Lyon notes, in the archaeological manual that Thomas Lewis and Madeline Kneberg wrote to standardize practice and guide management of Tennessee TVA projects,

> [t]hey warned that 'since the staff has no control over the original selection of men, it shall be the duty of the archaeologists in charge to acquaint themselves with the criminal records possessed by any members of their respective crews.' They recommended that 'men who have been convicted of petty larceny should be assigned to wheelbarrows or other work which will provide them with the least opportunity to steal artifacts.'[1116]

8.2.4 Publicity and Public Engagement

The negative stereotypes noted above and widespread criticism of the New Deal created a need for positive publicity, for both New Deal relief programs generally and archaeological projects specifically. New Deal relief programs were both extremely popular and extremely unpopular: a 1939 public opinion poll found that "Relief and the WPA" was simultaneously the most popular and least popular New Deal initiative (picked by 23% of Americans as "the worst thing the Roosevelt administration has done" and by 28% percent of Americans as "the greatest accomplishment of the Roosevelt administration").[1117] In a fairly descriptive 1939 study of federal administrative agencies' publicity practices in the period 1937-1938, James McCamy ranks the WPA among those federal agencies "most extensively engaged in campaigns and

[1115] Quoted by Dye 2016a, 5-6.
[1116] Lyon 1996, 151.
[1117] New York Times 1939; Rauchway 2008, 69.

preparation of varied types of releases to newspaper, radio, and miscellaneous media."[1118] He draws attention to the publicity needs created by a large-scale federal relief program's novel existence (of which the WPA was just one component): its administrators

> needed public recognition of the necessity for a large-scale solution; needed public acceptance of the costly moral purpose behind systematic nation-wide relief, for now taxpayers were to pay the bill in contrast to the previous voluntary contribution to charities; needed favorable attitudes among private employers toward relief clients so that re-employment, if it came, would reduce the relief rolls; needed a sustained morale along relief clients to fulfil the purpose of preventing 'human erosion.'[1119]

In addition to these general goals, McCamy tentatively postulates that the quantity of "publicity increases with the amount of hostility to the agency," correlating political attacks on WPA in 1936 with an observed increase of publicity expenditures in the same period.[1120]

Despite the polarized responses to federal relief programs at large, the overall public image of archaeology in the New Deal, specifically, was positive.[1121] Moreover, as a result of these projects and their robust publicizing, American prehistoric archaeology gained a greater foothold in the public imagination than before: as Fagette notes, "American archaeology received the accolades and attention previously directed only to Egypt or to the colonial American heritage."[1122] Newspapers embraced the New Deal archaeological endeavor, actively reporting on projects and their results. Projects in Georgia received the most publicity, particularly around Macon (Ocmulgee) and Savannah, such as the Irene Mound excavations

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[1118] McCamy 1939, 223. He identifies six main objectives for federal agencies' publicity: "(1) to distribute publicity among or for the clients of the agency; (2) to catch and hold the attention of the large public; (3) to influence legislation; (4) to reply to attacks on the agency; (5) to avoid publicity; and (6) to report, without particular aims, the routine news of government" (21). He also notes that relief agencies used pamphlets such as *Our Job with the WPA* (Works Progress Administration 1936.) to meet "the twofold task of maintain the morale of men on 'made work' and at the same time convincing private employers that these relief clients are not immoral merely because they have been on relief" (22).
[1119] McCamy 1939, 228.
[1120] McCamy 1939, 231-32.
[1121] Fagette 1996, 37.
[1122] Fagette 1996, 37.

described above.[1123]

Critics *within* the archaeology community did sometimes raise doubts about the quality of research, data, and publication on New Deal projects.[1124] This combination of emergent disciplinary anxiety over standards and political pressure on the relief agencies necessitated a degree of public justification for projects. Thus, from the CWA through the WPA, news releases and publicity campaigns offered media and public exposure to relief archaeological projects, emphasizing the economic (successful relief employment) and scientific accomplishments.[1125] Regarding the WPA publicity machine, Fagette writes that "on a continual basis for over seven years, Works Progress Administration publicity campaigns effectively communicated information about high caliber archaeology."[1126] Fagette quotes the conclusion of a press release (entitled "IMPORTANT ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN LOUISIANA") that equates work relief with high quality research on the WPA Louisiana projects:

> The men and women assigned to the archaeological project represent varied trades and professions. The excavating is done by laborers, who are painstakingly schooled in the process of taking delicate artifacts from the earth without damage. Employed in the project headquarters are clerks, statisticians, draftsmen, artists and photographers.
>
> Trained archaeologists, of course, then direct the work of studying the habits of pre-historic man. [1127]

[1123] Fagette 1996, 116-17, 19.
[1124] Lyon 1996, 66-69. For example, as Fagette outlines, T.M.N. Lewis' direction of WPA projects in Tennessee were seen as not up to standard—in part because he failed to account for laboratory work and failed to publish results in the timeframes achieved by other projects (in addition to abrasive professional behavior). The 1940s saw retrospective criticism of the WPA for not enforcing standards; Fagette suggests that some of this criticism is misplaced, as disciplinary standards were in flux, in development, and were enforced by the emerging consensus of peers in the archaeological community, not by the WPA itself (Fagette 1996, 107-111).
[1125] Fagette 1996, 55-56, 122.
[1126] Fagette 1996, 122.
[1127] National Archive, WPA, Division of Information, Box 57, File 780-B, Louisiana, quoted in Fagette 1996, 102-03.

This description suggests dual concerns: an interest in highlighting those employed (and their varied, useful professional backgrounds, matching McCamy's observation of the necessity of marking relief workers positively for future employers) and an interest in guaranteeing the scientific results of research through noted rigorous training and, "of course," the presence of "trained archaeologists": professional, educated archaeologists were essential. These concerns can be seen as appeals to both the taxpaying public and the academic archaeological community, for, as Fagette notes, that even though some degree of standards of practice were established by the WPA, these standards and notions regarding quality of research were in development and derived from archaeological community practice and self-policing.[1128] While door was open for lay participation in the process, the involvement of professional, educated archaeologists guaranteed quality.

Direct public engagement also constituted another important arena of New Deal archaeology publicity. Digs stimulated more public fascination than public works and beautification projects (such as road cleaning), and "interested spectators" came to see the sites.[1129] As such, New Deal projects formed an important space of interaction between American publics and archaeologists, constituting a venue for public education about archaeology. As Fagette writes, "[t]he digs themselves […] acted as vehicles for the profession's further popularization by exposing countless thousands of Americans to archaeology, an experience they would not soon forget."[1130] Such public education occurred through programming (public lectures and tours) and the very visibility and accessibility of large excavations to members of the public.[1131] In Fagette's analysis, "[r]elief archaeology, in another

[1128] Fagette 1996, 107, 10-11.
[1129] Fagette 1996, 37.
[1130] Fagette 1996, 30.
[1131] Fagette 1996, 37, 55, 119.

sense, functioned as an alternative to museums; people visited the laboratory with the digs in operation. Archaeology became a discipline (defined as a science by many of its professional practitioners) both accessible and comprehensible to the lay members, more so than astronomy" whose barriers to participation were expensive (e.g., access to a telescope); by contrast, Fagette argues, "[n]either initial introduction nor further investigation [of archaeology] required more than a visit to an excavation or initiation into the 'rites' of digging."[1132]

The relief workers on archaeological crews themselves were another important public audience and source of "popularization." Many supervisors reported workers' active enthusiasm for their work, as well as preferences for archaeological rather than less engaging public infrastructure work (e.g., road cleaning).[1133] Some supervisors and directors, like Arthur Kelly in Georgia, offered night classes for their workers.[1134] This facet, of workers' enthusiasm for archaeology and interest in further educational enrichment, is picked up in the publicity for the Seleucia WPA lab (discussed below).

This overview of New Deal archaeological practice has brought to the fore several issues relevant to the WPA Seleucia project. These projects offered federally-funded relief employment during the Great Depression; as such, they took place in a network of federal and local administrative structures and a broader context of American stigmatization of relief. Such relief projects involved nonexpert incorporation into Americanist archaeological practice and process, which prompted certain modes of standardization. Furthermore, this discussion has shed light on the demographics of those eligible and involved in New Deal archaeological work.

[1132] Fagette 1996, 55.
[1133] Fagette 1996, 30, 55.
[1134] Fagette 1996, 55, 119.

8.3 Working on Seleucia in Detroit with the WPA

Set against this backdrop, the final section of this chapter focuses on one moment in the UM Seleucia project's history, when a Works Progress Administration project focused on processing the collection in Detroit. It offers a glimpse into the unique intersections of funding sources, institutions, and people that facilitate and shape a research project—this research project about Seleucia-on-the-Tigris—and the possibility that this project touched some publics. Furthermore, this project can be contextualized among some particular interwar American dynamics—a glimpse at a limited liberalism that brought ancient things from Seleucia in contact with nonexpert Americans. Set next to of Iraqi archaeological workers discussed in the preceding chapter, we can see that racial and citizenship difference and conceptions of types of labor shaped different kinds of credit to these different labor forces.

8.3.1 "Perhaps the most unusual sponsored project in town—apparently, there is not another such WPA project in the U.S.A."[1135]

The preceding discussion of New Deal archaeological projects and their workers focused on New Deal-funded fieldwork in the U.S. and processing of materials from derived those excavation and survey projects in labs and museums. Museum anthropology also received a boost from New Deal funding. Samuel Redman argues that the New Deal (especially through the WPA and NYA) contributed significant labor to collections cataloguing and organization endeavors, despite reduced funding for new acquisitions.[1136] For example, four years of WPA funding gave the Smithsonian's United States National Museum 248,196 person-hours of labor for cataloguing, library organization, specimen mounting, and translation projects.[1137] At the

[1135] Jackson 1940.
[1136] Redman 2011.
[1137] Redman 2011, 49-50.

Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, between 1936 and 1942, WPA and NYA workers undertook research, lab, clerical, and collections work, and, moreover, produced a full card catalogue that enabled a flurry of research activity during and after World War II.[1138] The WPA's Museum Extension Project (MEP) was another major initiative of New Deal museum work: the MEP worked with museums across the nation to build dioramas and new exhibits.[1139]

Nevertheless, the current state of scholarship suggests that it was rare for New Deal archaeological projects, whether museum-based or not, to focus on processing non-North American archaeological collections, although future research may reveal other such projects. For example, the Field Museum in Chicago, according to Stephan Nash, greatly expanded its anthropological and archaeological staff with WPA funding. These WPA-funded staff members, however, seem to have spent little time cataloging the objects brought to the Field from their excavations at Kish, Iraq (nor on collections from field expeditions to the American Southwest).[1140] WPA-funded attention to non-North American materials at the University of Pennsylvania took place within a global frame of ceramic analysis. The University of Pennsylvania's University Museum sponsored two WPA "Ceramic Technology Research Projects." Dr. Mary Butler (later Butler Lewis), a North American and Mesoamerican specialist, developed the first iteration in 1935. The project focused on ceramic analysis through chemical, petrographic, optical, and experimental (focused on features such as temper, temperature, and clays) means. The material analyzed was drawn from sites around the world, including from the

[1138] Redman 2011, 48-49.
[1139] Redman 2011, 48.
[1140] Nash 2013, 84.

Mediterranean and Middle East.[1141] However, I am not currently aware of another New Deal or WPA project focused *exclusively* on ancient Middle Eastern archaeological material, as was the Seleucia WPA project.

Indeed, the Seleucia WPA project seems to have been forgotten even at the Kelsey Museum itself until the mid-1980s. When rooting around in the Kelsey's Seleucia Expedition archive boxes, I came across a typewritten memo from June 1985 entitled "A note to the file," written by then-Kelsey registrar Pam Reister, that implies that the WPA project was not part of the institutional narrative about the Seleucia collection. In it, Reister reports a visit to the museum by historian Dr. Arnold H. Price of Washington, D.C., who was in Ann Arbor for his 50th reunion. Reister writes:

> The most important piece of information we got from conversation from him is that there was a major WPA project in Detroit that was meant to put the Seleucia records in order. It seems that they had people cleaning the coins (he couldn't remember the chemicals used in the cleaning but did remember that the coins were coated with clear nail polish to stop further oxidation); they had a former rabbi translating various documents; they had many people working on collecting and translating abstracts on related subject matter; and they had people writing catalogue cards for objects excavated at Seleucia. Presumably these catalogue cards were to be a major cross-referenced set of catalogue cards; unfortunately the project ended abruptly, and the materials had to be gathered together and stored (presumably here at the Kelsey) in one weeks time with no advance warning. This would explain the disorganized state of the boxes of catalogue cards as they existed in the Kelsey Museum attic for many years. It would also verify our hunch that the files were never completed. [1142]

A copy of a proposal for the WPA project held by the Bentley Historical Library makes clear that the project was ambitious in scope, no short of complete processing of the excavated materials and data, aimed at enabling publication and general dissemination of knowledge

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[1141] In addition to material from many North American and Mesoamerican sites and some material from Western and Central Europe, the project analyzed sherds from Italy (Lake Varesse), Greece ("Minyan/Aegean area"), Asia Minor (Tarsus), Cyprus, Palestine (Tell Beit Mirsin and/or Beth Shan), Mesopotamia (Tell Billa and Tepe Gawra), and Persia (Tepe Hissar). (Simon 2012 [updated 2017]; Malta 2014.)

[1142] Pam Reister, "A note to the file," June 1985, KMA/Seleucia 5.5.

generated by the excavation:

> To make available for study by learned societies, educational institutions and individuals the materials and data collected by the University excavations in the Near East. This is to be accomplished through the preparation of card files in duplicate of 70,000 objects and 600 house rooms, with cross indices by various classifications and charts showing distribution and volume of objects in buildings. Make duplicate sets of field register of 23,000 numbers. Prepare bibliographic card files in reference to Seleucia and adjoining areas. Clean and sort 31,000 coins and other metal objects. Prepare casts of 3,000 coins, seals, figurines and other objects and restore incomplete pottery. Restore and complete motifs of architectural decorations. Photograph objects and prepare print files. Analyze 2,500 metals, clays, pigments, etc. Classify and make type reproductions of about 5,000 beads. Construct maps on paper and papier mache relief maps of Seleucia, the principle site excavated, and models of individual buildings. [1143]

The Seleucia project was, of course, far from the only New Deal-funded research project at the University of Michigan: WPA and National Youth Administration (NYA) funding also supported many other humanistic and museum-based projects at Michigan, in addition to construction and maintenance projects under the CWA, FERA, PWA, and WPA.[1144] But, like its scope, its financial scale of the Seleucia project was indeed considerable among New Deal cost-sharing projects at the University of Michigan. The project is singled out as a major WPA grant in the university's 1938-1939 annual report, one that greatly increased the total sum of WPA grants from the previous year.[1145] For the project's first fiscal year (July 1938 to June 1939), the Seleucia WPA project cost the university $7,262.34 and cost the WPA $56,329.40, for a total of

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[1143] COPY: Works Progress Administration Project Proposal, undated, Bentley/KMA/IAR 3.1. See also Works Progress Administration Project Proposal, May 9, 1938, Bentley/Guthe, Box 1, Institute of Archaeological Research 1936-41.

[1144] Inter alia, Guthe reports WPA and NYA support for Museum of Anthropology records and collections work (Guthe 1940, 300.). Archival records in the Kelsey Museum also attest to involvement in WPA and NYA projects by affiliates of the Museum of Classical Archaeology, such as in letters communicating approval of NYA project applications (Letters, L.M. Gram to E.E. Peterson, 1937 and 1938, Bentley/KMA/KMA 3.17. N.B. Bentley/KMA/KMA Box 3 is currently housed in the KMA archive). For WPA and NYA projects, see, for example, references throughout: Gram 1939; University of Michigan 1940.

[1145] Gram 1939, 35-37. The budget reported in *The Ann Arbor News* when the project was just beginning was $81,828 (Ann Arbor News 1938.).

$63,591.74.[1146] The total cost (to both parties) of UM WPA projects for the same period was $165,362.09, making the Seleucia project's cost constitute 38% of all WPA projects co-sponsored by UM that year, the largest single project in the budget.[1147]

8.3.2 "The work is done in Detroit rather than Ann Arbor because of the greater supply of skilled workers available there."[1148]

WPA Project No. 8006,[1149] the University of Michigan's Seleucia WPA project, ran from late summer 1938 to June 30, 1941.[1150] Over these three years, it was headquartered at two successive locations in Detroit, about 40 miles (65 km) from the university in Ann Arbor. This "WPA Archaeological Laboratory" was first located in a former bank building at 4370 Grand River Avenue at Canfield Street. This "abandoned bank branch […] with a vault" (presumably relevant for safeguarding of artifacts) was offered by the WPA.[1151] Archaeologist and WPA Seleucia worker George Quimby remembered the bank building as "empty bank building, a

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[1146] N.B. This amount, converted from 1939 U.S. dollars, is equivalent to approximately $1,275,503.91 in 2022 U.S. dollars, according to a general online calculator based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index (Official Inflation Data, Alioth Finance, 20 January 2022, https://www.officialdata.org/us/inflation/1939?amount=63591.74); the general range of this dollar amount can be found through other online currency calculators. A similar sum ($1,276,422.20), also based on the Consumer Price Index, is offered by *MeasuringWorth.com*, as are other ways of calculating the relative worth (https://www.measuringworth.com/dollarvaluetoday/relativevalue.php?year_source=1939&amount=63591.74&year_result=2021).

[1147] N.B. This excludes PWA projects and NYA projects.

[1148] Michigan Alumnus 1938.

[1149] WPA-University of Michigan Archaeological Laboratory Project and Local Union #26 UOPWA, "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints in the Sands of Time" [Pamphlet], 1940, KMA/Seleucia, Box "N." Hereafter, I will cite this pamphlet as "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints."

[1150] Ann Arbor News 1938; Times Herald 1939. A notice dated July 18, 1938, written by director of University Museums (and director of the Museum of Anthropology) Carl E. Guthe to the Institute of Archaeological Research, reports federal approval of the project and indicates that the was expected to start within a week; I have not located any documentation of the actual start date (Memo, Carl E. Guthe to the Members of the Institute of Archaeological Research, July 18, 1938, Bentley/KMA/IAR 3.1) Guthe may have been architect of the project: meeting minutes of Executive Committee of the I.A.R. through spring 1938 document Guthe's presentations on the WPA-Seleucia plan, suggesting that he spearheaded the effort to propose and secure the project; additionally, documents related to the project, including the proposal, in Guthe's papers suggest the same (Meeting Minutes, Institute of Archaeological Research, April 19, 1938, April 26, 1938, and May 2, 1938, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.8; Works Progress Administration Project Proposal, May 9, 1938 and Memo, Carl Guthe to Members of the Institute of Archaeological Research, July 18, 1938, Bentley/Guthe, Box 1, Institute of Archaeological Research 1936-41.)

[1151] Meeting Minutes, Institute of Archaeological Research, May 2, 1938, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.8.

victim of the Great Depression, appropriately built like a classical Greek temple."[1152] Later, the project shifted to an old firehouse at 9512 Woodward Avenue, at the intersection with Westminster Street.[1153]

The choice of Detroit as the WPA archaeology laboratory's location was explained to the University and to the press (as quoted above) as necessitated by availability of appropriate labor pools. The Seleucia lab was administered under the WPA unit for "white collar" or "non-manual" work as well as "women's work," first called the Women's and Professional Projects division, later renamed the Professional and Service division. As discussed above, this division administered research projects including archaeological excavation, despite the role of manual labor in archaeological fieldwork.[1154] As civil engineering professor Lewis M. Gram, head of the NYA and director of plant extension at the university wrote in his 1938/1939 annual report, "[m]ost of the work has been carried on in Detroit under University supervision, because of the lack of competent relief labor in Ann Arbor."[1155] Detroit had large unemployed blue-collar and white-collar labor pools alike, but it is not entirely clear why Ann Arbor and its environs lacked sufficient pools of unemployed non-student white collar workers.

It is possible that some "town and gown" tension over access to New Deal work relief jobs in Ann Arbor forms a relevant backdrop to this location choice. A 1935 article in the *Michigan Daily* addressed "rumor[s] that needy students here [at the University of Michigan] are

[1152] Michigan Alumnus 1938; Detroit News 1939; Quimby 1993, 11. Address from Order No. 499981, March 14, 1939, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.18.
[1153] Jackson 1940. Pam Reister, "A note to the file," June 1985, KMA/Seleucia 5.5; "List of University of Michigan Property on Archaeological Project," April 14, 1941, KMA/Seleucia 5.1.
[1154] Abner E. Larned, "Questions and Answers about the WPA Professional and Service Projects," [Pamphlet], 1940, KMA/Seleucia, Box "N." Hereafter, I will cite this pamphlet as Larned 1940. According to Fagette's judgment about Americanist New Deal Archaeology, the inclusion of archaeology in this division was beneficial: "The women administrators in charge were all college-trained, sympathetic, and supportive of the academic endeavors of archaeologists. Archaeology might not have fared so well in a more systemic, work-oriented building section" (Fagette 1996, 182 fn.6.).
[1155] Gram 1939, 36.

being deprived of opportunities to work under the National Youth Administration through the hiring of "white-collared" townspeople."[1156] In this article, Gram reassures the reporter, Guy Whipple, that hiring "local adult workers" with WPA funds would not affect the number of NYA positions available to students (who were unable to work as many hours as non-students eligible for WPA work), because the WPA and NYA were separate agencies.

While the circumstances around this implied professional labor deficit in Ann Arbor are not quite clear, dire economic conditions in Detroit meant that there were certainly available unemployed labor pools. Detroit had been hard hit by the Great Depression. Booming growth based on heavy industry had attracted many immigrants and workers migrating from the south in the preceding decade, growing the city's population, but steep decline in construction and industrial production (especially of automobiles) following the 1929 financial collapse caused massive unemployment.[1157] One major employer, the Ford Motor Company let 91,000 employees go between March 1929 and August 1931, dropping their number of employees from 128,142 to 37,000 workers.[1158] In 1932, more than 30% of the labor force in Detroit was unemployed; in 1933, the percentage rose to 50%.[1159] Unemployment had already lead to protest and violent repression prior to the start of the New Deal. On March 7, 1932, the "Ford Hunger March" saw 3,000 marchers, mostly unemployed autoworkers, demand fair employment (working and hiring) conditions from the Ford Motor Company. Organized by the Communist Party's Detroit Unemployed Council, the march was intended to proceed from Detroit to the River Rouge plant in Dearborn, but Dearborn police met protesters at the line that divided Dearborn from Detroit. With the police tear-gassing the marchers, the confrontation between

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[1156] Whipple 1935.
[1157] Clemens 2008, 7-11.
[1158] Baskin 1972, 334.
[1159] Watkins 1999, 44-45.

police (soon joined by Ford Service (security) personnel and the Dearborn Fire Department) and marchers turned violent, with marchers flinging frozen mud and slag at police and being met with fire-hoses, more tear gas, and gun-fire. Four marchers were killed by this police fire (a fifth man died months later as a result of injuries sustained at the march).[1160] This was only the first such violent incident over labor in Detroit during the Depression: the famous "Battle of the Overpass" in 1937 marks another moment of Ford force reacting to labor organizing.[1161]

Elisabeth Clemens suggests that, of Roosevelt's multiple New Deal relief programs, the WPA had the most impact on Detroit, providing more infrastructural improvement and more relief work to wider demographics than had the previous programs.[1162] While the largest unemployed group in Detroit served by the WPA were blue-collar workers ("unskilled"), the WPA's Professional and Service Division provided work for Detroit's white-collar unemployed through projects like the Seleucia WPA lab. A pamphlet for an "Open House Week" of the WPA Professional and Service Division of Detroit and Wayne County, that took place May 20-25, 1940, gives a sense of the other local 39 "professional" projects administered under this division.[1163] These Detroit and Wayne County projects ranged from filing[1164] and records survey projects, to hot lunch programs and sewing projects, to education[1165] and recreation projects.

[1160] Baskin 1972; Watkins 1999, 5-11; Taylor 2008, 46-49.
[1161] For community organizing, labor, and the Communist Party in Detroit through the 1930s, see Pettengill 2009, Chapters 1-3, 2020, Chapter 1.
[1162] Clemens 2008, 7-8.
[1163] "WPA-Sponsors of Professional and Service Projects invite YOU to visit your local projects: Open House Week May 20-25," [Brochure], 1940, KMA/Seleucia, Box "N." This was a nation-wide open house week, named "This Work Pays Your Community Week," for WPA Professional and Service Division Projects. (E.g., New York Times 1940; Field Museum 2020.) See McCamy, concerning the common use of pamphlets to explain an agency's work ("incidental to explaining the work and the program, of course, is the enlistment of support for the agency") and exhibits (McCamy 1939, 100-04.).
[1164] E.g., in Hamtramck, a United States Court Records project "setting up a complete new filing system of the most modern type for use of Court officials." ("WPA-Sponsors of Professional and Service Projects invite YOU to visit your local projects: Open House Week May 20-25," [Brochure], 1940, KMA/Seleucia, Box "N."
[1165] E.g., with the Board of Education as a sponsor, the Braille Project: "Transcribing text books and reading materials into Braille for blind students." ("WPA-Sponsors of Professional and Service Projects invite YOU to visit your local projects: Open House Week May 20-25," [Brochure], 1940, KMA/Seleucia, Box "N.")

The open house event and accompanying promotional literature, such as a FAQ pamphlet, *Questions and Answers about the WPA Professional and Service Projects*, are indicative of a need to explain—even five years into the New Deal—the specific activities and benefits of such projects to the public, offering answers questions such as "Why have cultural projects," "How are workers assigned to WPA projects," and what different categories of projects accomplish.[1166] For example, readers are offered the following answer to the question of "How Does WPA Make Museums More Interesting?":

> WPA museum and archaeological workers mount exhibits, prepare models, and classify museum property. In this way, thousands of interesting items have been renovated, labeled and mounted, and placed on public exhibition. Sets of materials are prepared for distribution and loan to public schools. Minerals are classified, coins are sorted, foreign language inscriptions are translated, photographs are sorted, and birds and animals are stuffed and mounted. Thus, state, city and school museums are made more interesting and meaningful for visitors and students.[1167]

In addition to explanation, the presented arguments for the necessity and, indeed, the value, of this and other WPA Professional and Service projects are attentive to flows of money and services into the "community," in this case Detroit and Wayne Country. Indeed, this 1940 nation-wide WPA Open House event was called "This Work Pays Your Community Week." The promotional materials consistently use fiscal language—taxes, dollars, return, expense—to assert that the WPA projects, explicitly acknowledged as tax expenditures, are locally valuable. Such publicity evinces a need to convince the local tax-paying public to support such projects.[1168] As discussed in the preceding section, widespread criticism of New Deal relief agencies prompted federal publicity strategies that sought to explain the necessity of the expense and positively

[1166] Dated May 20, 1940, this pamphlet for Michigan refers to and thus clearly was produced for the same Detroit/Wayne County Open House Week. (Larned 1940, full citation above).
[1167] Larned 1940, 11.
[1168] For a modern parallel, see Klein et al. 2018.

portray relief programs and their participants. Such goals are directly visible in the Open House FAQ pamphlet's answer to the question of "Why have work projects been set up?" which justifies work relief in terms of the importance of maintaining an American self-reliant work ethic coupled with community benefit in services and employment:

> Work projects have been set up rather than a system of direct relief in the conviction that work is better than the dole—because work preserves the skills and self-respect of the workers and makes them fit to return to private industry; because our communities are greatly in need of public projects on which the unemployed are set to work; and because work projects bring a valuable return to the communities, the State and the Nation for money expended in assisting the unemployed.[1169]

Moreover, the FAQ pamphlet encourages readers to visit the open house, so that "the taxpayer and citizen can see for himself how his tax money is spent, how projects operate, and how workers, sponsors and supervisors are coopering in giving more than a dollar's worth of services to the community and nation for every dollar spent."[1170] Similarly, a flyer with a map of the open house locations addresses readers directly:

> The tax dollar is being spread thinly in every community in which W.P.A. workers are employed on America's UNFINISHED BUSINESS. Thus taxpayers are receiving a large return for the small amount expended locally and the unemployment problem is solved the American way—by providing work instead of a dole […] You owe it to yourself whether you are a direct or an indirect taxpayer, to discover how THIS WORK PAYS YOUR COMMUNITY.[1171]

The same fiscal logic—owing—is deployed in the press as well. The opening quote of this discussion about the Seleucia WPA lab, which characterized the project as "most unusual," comes from a 1940 feature in the *Detroit News* previewing this WPA Open House week through a special spotlight on the Seleucia project. In that feature, the reporter H.C.L. Jackson writes,

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[1169] Larned 1940, 14.
[1170] Larned 1940, 14.
[1171] "WPA-Sponsors of Professional and Service Projects invite YOU to visit your local projects: Open House Week May 20-25," [Brochure], 1940, KMA/Seleucia, Box "N."

"We rather think the tax-payers owe it to themselves to visit a lot of these displays."[1172] These Open House promotional materials all emphasize that the expenditure represented by the WPA projects has value because these projects employ community members and provide services locally: the benefits are tangible and available there in Detroit and Wayne County. The idea of community benefit, however, is particularly interesting when the Seleucia lab is viewed as a project focused on ancient Middle Eastern material culture, a topic to which I will return to below.

While the lab was located in Detroit, the Seleucia WPA project connected Detroit to Ann Arbor and points beyond, through the movement of project personnel and project expenditures at Ann Arbor establishments, as evidenced by project order forms (serving as receipts) archived in the Bentley Historical Library.[1173] Among these is a request for travel reimbursement for trips between Ann Arbor and Detroit for Frederick Matson, an anthropological archaeological doctoral student specializing in technical and chemical analysis of ceramics who served as a technical advisor and supervisor of the project's chemical laboratory.[1174] The movements of other project personnel connected this Detroit-based endeavor to broader Midwestern geographical and academic networks: one such example is Parthian specialist Neilson C. Debevoise, who had published a corpus of Parthian ceramics from the site in 1934 and was staff member in the 1930/31 and 1936/37 seasons. His receipts archive requested travel expenses for monthly trips between Illinois (Chicago or Urbana) and Detroit taken in order to oversee the project's photography.[1175] Thus, while WPA workers on the project seem to have been primarily

[1172] Jackson 1940.
[1173] Receipts, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.18.
[1174] "Order No 486366," October 4, 1938, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.18. While heavily engaged with the Ceramic Repository of the Eastern United States project at UM, Matson also worked on Middle Eastern ceramics and his 1939 dissertation focused on Seleucia's pottery and figurines (Matson 1939; Guthe 1940, 301.). See Appendix for more details about Matson.
[1175] "Order 783465," August 26, 1938, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.18; Debevoise 1934.

Detroit-based, this project prompted movement of personnel and expertise between their home communities and Detroit as well as spending in communities other than Detroit. Archaeological materials imported from Iraq and funds from the U.S. federal government prompted further circulation of personnel and money, this time restricted to the US, rather than extending to Iraq as they had during active excavation.

8.3.3 "We set up a sort of assembly line system based on Model T Fords—Model A Fords then. We had sinks where WPA workers scrubbed the coins of Mithradates [sic] the Magnificent and different kinds of little heathen idols and got the potsherds washed and everything catalogued and tabulated. At the end of the line the archaeologists could go to work."[1176]

The project's Detroit location reverberates in the recurring promotion of the Seleucia collection processing operation's assembly-line efficiency.[1177] A 1938 notice in *The Michigan Alumnus* views this as a marker of curiosity, something that makes it exotic despite its non-exotic ("no great novelty") location of Detroit: "It is, however, somewhat unusual when a research project is organized approximately on the principles of modern industrial mass production."[1178] But while not exotic to the publication's readers, like Greenland and South Africa, the far-flung places referenced in the magazine, the Detroit location makes such "Mass Production in Research" particularly suitable.

The southeastern Michigan location of the Seleucia excavation's primary institutional sponsor, the University of Michigan, had already benefited the project: the regional dominance of the automobile industry had yielded donated cars for fieldwork. Henry Ford had donated a car

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[1176] Haag, Quimby, and Ramenofsky 2002, 5.
[1177] Michigan Alumnus 1938; Haag, Quimby, and Ramenofsky 2002, 5.
[1178] Michigan Alumnus 1938.

to the project during the first campaign under Leroy Waterman's direction, attracting some attention for the donation: as noted above, it was discussed in a 1930 feature on both the Seleucia and Fayuum (Egypt) archaeological expeditions in *The Michigan Alumnus* (only the Seleucia expedition was blessed with a car from Ford). The Ford is also evident in photographs, described as "donated by Henry Ford" in captions penciled on the back of a photograph, among Waterman's papers in the Bentley Historical Library.[1179] In addition to the Ford, a Dodge four-door sedan was donated and shipped to the Beirut for the Seleucia team in 1936 by Fred M. Zeder of the Chrysler Corporation, a donation requested by J. G. Winter; it arrived at the site on November 2nd, 1936. This was apparently the third car donated by Zeder to University of Michigan archaeological projects: the correspondence does not make it clear whether the other two were also donated to the Seleucia expedition or to other teams.[1180]

Beyond the material benefits offered to University of Michigan archaeologists by Detroit automotive corporate philanthropy, the automotive assembly-line ethos offers a regionally-

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[1179] Michigan Alumnus 1930, 272. Photographs, Bentley/Waterman Box 4, Seleucia Expedition Files 1927-1936 subseries, Photographs from Archaeological Expeditions. During the hiatus in excavation between 1932 and 1936, the Ford sat in storage. Waterman wrote to UM President Alexander Ruthven seeking permission to sell it (given that it was a donation) if future field season were unlikely (after a tune-up to check whether it would still run); permission was granted. It seems not to have been sold, however, as Hopkins refers to both "the Ford of former campaigns" and the new Dodge in his 1937 season report article (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Alexander Ruthven, April 29, 1935, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2; Unsigned copy of letter, Frank E. Robbins to Leroy Waterman, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2; Hopkins 1937, 29.).

[1180] Copy of letter, J.G. Winter to Fred M. Zeder, August 7, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17; Copy of cable, F.E. Robbins to R.H. McDowell, September 12, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14; Letter, J.G. Winter to F.E. Robbins September 19, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14; Letter, J.G. Winter to F.E. Robbins, September 24, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14; Copy of cable, Frank E. Robbins to Robert H. McDowell, September 26, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14; Unsigned copy of letter, Frank E. Robbins to Fred M. Zeder, October 5 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14; Letter, Fred M. Zeder to J.G. Winter, September 2, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.16; Letter, J.G. Winter to Fred M. Zeder, September 11, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.16; Letter, J.G. Winter to F.E. Robbins, September 19, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.16; Letter, J.G. Winter to F.E. Robbins, September 24, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.16; Letter, J.G. Winter to Fred. M. Zeder, September 29, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.16; Hopkins Notebook, November 2, 1936. The project sold the car in 1938, with the plan of using the proceeds to pay site guards that fall despite small (and unfulfilled) hopes of returning to the field the following season: this was a bit difficult because, as it had been shipped to Beirut as "archaeological materials" customs dues were owed on it if sold (Letter, Clark Hopkins to Frank E. Robbins, August 21, 1938 Bentley/KMA/IAR 3.1; Letter, Clark Hopkins to Frank E. Robbins, August 14, 1938, Bentley/KMA/IAR 3.1; Minutes of the Meeting of the University of Michigan Institute of Archaeological Research, Monday, January 23, 1939, Bentley/KMA/IAR 3.2).

specific punctation to such broader practices in New Deal archaeological processing, especially given the rather Fordist principles.[1181] A narrative of highly efficient archaeological material processing can be found in Setzler's 1943 assessment of New Deal archaeological work (on US American material) of the prior decade. He wrote,

> [t]he specimens obtained were cleaned, classified, restored, and catalogued from day to day. The technique in some instances was streamlined to such an extent that almost from the time the first shovel was pushed into a site, archaeological specimens were described and data assembled in manuscript form."[1182]

Setzler, whose involvement in New Deal-funded archaeology dated from the first trial excavation at Marksville, Louisiana, can be understood as both assessing and defending New Deal data production in that essay, in the face of criticism of the archaeological data quality and under-published status of many datasets and collections.

The application of this processing model brought the Seleucia collection into the same sphere of practice as the other New Deal archaeology labs described above, though the organization transmission was not unidirectional. An archaeologist of the American Southeast, George I. Quimby, recounted this specifically *automotive* assembly-line facet of the Seleucia WPA project in two different published recollections of his career. One, in an oral history interview, is quoted above;[1183] another appears in a career-retrospective autobiographical sketch in *American Antiquity*. Quimby entered North American archaeology as an undergraduate at the University of Michigan (which emerged under Carl Guthe in the late 1920s as a powerhouse for anthropological archaeology), from which Quimby also received his Master's Degree in 1937. But unlike most Americanist archaeologists who worked on New Deal projects, Quimby noted

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[1181] For discussion of Fordism, see Watson 2019.
[1182] Setzler 1943, 206.
[1183] Haag, Quimby, and Ramenofsky 2002, 5.

that his “entrance into WPA was actually through the Near East. Seleucia and Ctesiphon.”[1184] As he recollects:

> In the summer of 1938 I was in charge of a laboratory to process the artifacts [...] The interior was fitted with a series of sinks for washing artifacts, silver coins, clay tablets, ceramics, figurines, etc., and run through an assembly line like those of the automobile factories. Artifacts were classified, cataloged, and labeled by provenience ready for the archaeologists to write their reports. This experience was subsequently of use in obtaining a job with Jim Ford [another UM Anthropology alumnus, who had implemented systemic division of lab workflows in his WPA lab] in Louisiana.[1185]

Once in Louisiana, Quimby directed WPA labs from 1939-1941, bringing with him knowledge of managing lay archaeological workers from the Detroit Seleucia lab to his North American-focused work.

Quimby’s descriptions of the “assembly-line” approach to collections processing emphasizes efficient preparation of archaeological material for *the archaeologists* who then do the “real” work.[1186] Such “routinized” and “industrial” practices in archaeology have long been critiqued by Michael Shanks and Randall McGuire, for reducing craft to uncreative routine and

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[1184] Haag, Quimby, and Ramenofsky 2002, 5.
[1185] Quimby 1993, 11.
[1186] Curiously, Robert McDowell, who directed the WPA Seleucia project, made a case against such assembly-line research in a 1932 letter to Waterman describing his personnel, equipment, and workspace needs for his Seleucia work at UM. In this letter, he argues for hiring a "Miss Bonnell" (i.e., Catharine S. Bunnell) as a student assistant, given her qualifications (training in Greek, ancient History, and museum methods). McDowell writes "I would point out that, in order to be fully useful, such a student should be capable of more than technical skill. Owning to the quantity of the coins, a simple technician could well be employed as additional help. But as long as we are limited to a single paid assistant, this one should be capable of performing all the tasks that must precede the study and publication of the coins, and of assisting in the actual study [...] A student of the type of Miss Bonnell who is definitely preparing herself for Museum work, including the making of casts, advanced photography, and filling methods, will handle these tasks more adequately than will an assistant with other objectives, and untrained in these fields" (Letter, Robert McDowell to Leroy Waterman. February 25, 1932, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2). Whether we can read in the difference in practice between 1932 and 1938 recognition of the capacities of different workforce scales, a changed mind, or merely pragmatism as regards funding sources and their affordances, I cannot say with certainty; the former is likely. Bunnell was indeed hired and is thanked in McDowell's preface to his coin volume (1935, ix) for her more than two years of work cleaning and filing the coins—and performing preliminary identifications on the Parthian coins. Bunnell later married Henry Detweiler, who was on the excavation staff in Season F (See Appendix I).

reinforcing hierarchies that alienate those who "do" from those who "think."[1187] As discussed in Chapter 1, such attitudes, that devalue non-fieldwork archaeological research activities like curation and collections-based research, have resulted in numerous orphaned and underpublished collections, as prestige and funding drive perpetual new fieldwork and neglect of the products of the old. Nevertheless, such a conception of the process, as one that did not require formally-educated expertise for participation, created space for nonspecialists' work on the project in order to accelerate completion of research goals, even as it alienated those workers from the output. A pamphlet produced by the Seleucia lab for the 1940 open house reports that "[t]t is estimated by university authorities that the WPA workers on the project will enable the university to complete in three or four years work which would normally cover a period of forty years."[1188] A similar sentiment can be found in a Field Museum notice about its WPA projects, in which Field Museum director Stephen C. Simms frames the WPA workers' contributions as an appreciated bonus to typical museum work capacity while also guarding the professional staff and their expertise from potential obsolescence in the face of cheaper (i.e., federally-funded), nonexpert labor:

> It should be distinctly understood that this employment of relief workers has been exclusively on the accomplishment of objectives which would not and could not have been undertaken if these people had not been available. The number of regular employes [sic] on the Museum's own payroll has not been reduced in consequence (but has been slightly increased, in fact), and all of the Museum's own staff members are fully occupied with work of a character more urgent and important than that assigned to the relief workers.[1189]

[1187] Shanks and McGuire 1996; King 2016, 6.
[1188] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 4. Ironically, it still took 32 years before Clark Hopkins published *Topography and architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris* in 1972, and 74 years until the corpus of figurines was fully published by Roberta Menegazzi in 2014, supplementing Wilhelmina Van Ingen's 1939 publication of those excavated 1927-1932 in combination with those excavated in subsequent decades by the University of Torino team. The archaeological corpus excavated by Michigan at Seleucia remains underpublished to this day.
[1189] Simms 1937.

Rather than present these workers as doing archaeological work, the WPA publicity largely presented these workers as doing pre-work for archaeological knowledge production, sometimes using their own, preexisting expertise, derived from their personal backgrounds, for the benefit of archaeological research and American productivity.

8.3.4 "A ninth grade pupil has developed into a really gifted technical artist."[1190]

In the preceding discussion of New Deal archaeology, I discussed the demographics of the workforce for Americanist New Deal archaeological projects: these included academically-trained white men in directing and supervisory roles, educated white women in laboratory supervisory and technician roles, and wider range of educational and professional backgrounds and ethnic/racial demographics represented among the men and women working as "skilled" and "semi-skilled" laboratory and "unskilled" field excavation workers. These same general contours are discernable at the Seleucia WPA lab in Detroit: the Detroit lab was populated by several academically-trained supervising archaeologists and a staff of between 50 to 100 WPA workers of varied backgrounds at any one time.

Dr. Robert H. McDowell, who had served as field director for most of the Seleucia field seasons, directed the lab.[1191] A trained classical archaeologist (a numismatist), Dr. Dorritt Stevens was a lab supervisor; she was previously an associate professor of German at Hillsdale College.[1192] Frederick Matson (mentioned above) acted as technical advisor in 1938-1939: while undertaking his dissertation research partially under the lab's auspices, he trained WPA workers to prepare ceramic thin-sections and examine ceramic porosity.[1193] In addition to Matson, two

[1190] Michigan Alumnus 1938.
[1191] Winter 1940, 296.
[1192] Jackson 1940. See Appendix for information about Stevens.
[1193] In the introduction to his dissertation, Matson thanks a Mr. Theodore Giszczak ("in charge of the laboratory") and a Miss Marjorie Curdy, for color sorting pottery and figurines and clerical aid. I have not been able to locate further information about either of them. (Matson 1939, I-4; Guthe 1940, 301.)

University of Michigan graduate alumni who worked on the WPA project are known: historian Arnold H. Price (the subject of the 1985 Kelsey Museum memo described above) and archaeologist George I. Quimby (discussed above with reference to assembly-line organization). Beyond these names, a window into the identities of the other Seleucia WPA workers is offered by both newspaper reporting and a 23-page pamphlet (**Error! Reference source not found.**) produced by the project's "publicity committee" with Local #26 of the UOPWA for the 1940 nation-wide WPA open house event; the named committee members are Raymond Bascom, Rev. Sterling Jones, and Merrill C. Work, to whom I'll return below.[1194]

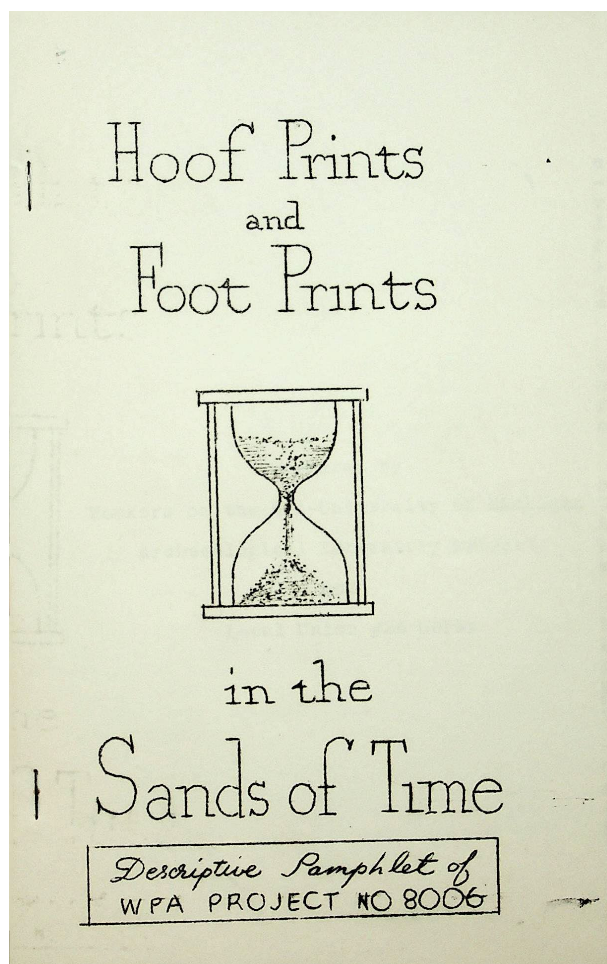

Figure 8-1 Cover of WPA pamphlet, Hoof Prints and Foot Prints in the Sands of Time.

[1194] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints." The UOPWA was the United Office and Professional Workers of America, affiliated with the CIO.

The lab's open house pamphlet, entitled *Hoof Prints and Foot Prints in the Sands of Time* (**Error! Reference source not found.**), includes four anonymous workers' individual testimonies, written in the first person, about their WPA employment.[1195] The heading of these testimonials, "Foot Prints," echoes the pamphlet's title, as well as its introductory invitation to open house visitors:

> The Archaeological Laboratory, sponsored and directed by the University as WPA Project #8006, has made these discoveries of intimate interest to Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Everyday America. […] The Public is invited to visit this project at 9512 Woodward on any week-day except Saturday and learn how THIS PROJECT PAYS NOT ONLY YOUR COMMUNITY, but helps Detroit and Michigan Workers to leave their own foot prints in the sands of time.[1196]

The pamphlet thus asserts three contributions for the public: research outcomes made accessible; relief employment as a community benefit; and the inspiration and worth of its workers. This emphatically elevates the stories — "foot prints"—of contemporary WPA workers alongside the research output (itself characterized, cutely, as "Hoof Prints," referring to the site's location on caravan trade routes, on which, see more below) in apparent reference to the seventh stanza of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 1838 exhortation to live in the present, "A Psalm of Life":

> Lives of great men all remind us
> We can make our lives sublime,
> And, departing, leave behind us
> Footprints on the sands of time[1197]

In the first testimonial, "a Literary Worker" describes cataloguing references, including in German, producing bibliographic cards, and copying excavation director Leroy Waterman's excavation diaries ("They were very difficult for me to read but I grew fascinated in the job of

[1195] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 17-20.
[1196] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 3-4.
[1197] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 1838, "A Psalm of Life," accessible online on *Poets.org,* https://poets.org/poem/psalm-life

puzzling out the unusual names and places as they appear in these diaries").[1198] "An Authority on the Talmud" offers a second testimonial regarding his research into Talmudic and Biblical sources about Babylonia as well as his enjoyment of the lab as a workplace ("I am very pleased with my associates and co-workers on the project. The atmosphere is a pure and healthy one").[1199] In the third testimonial, entitled "Of Human Interest," a self-described "mother and a widow" writes, "I really enjoy my work now. Many things that I never dreamed of before are being made real before my eyes in the coins of all those ancient people." She notes her appreciation of financial relief offered by her WPA job—especially given a promotion within the lab, gained "through the very helpful co-operation of our Supervisor and the union"—but flags the severe financial constraints that she continues to live under, given real living expenses, and her worry about the approaching end of her WPA relief employment period (capped at 18 months the previous year).[1200] The final testimonial, entitled, "The Watchman Speaks," is introduced as "[e]xpressive of the real democracy and fine cooperation on our project." One watchman communicates, on behalf of all five of the project's watchmen, their collective pride in their work of maintaining safety for the project vis-à-vis theft, fire, and weather ("we are proud of our job"). A final assertion of the positive, collegial character of the workplace concludes the watchman's statement: "Loyal to our jobs and co-operative with each other, we get along like one big happy family."[1201]

These four narratives provide personalized guides to the kind of work undertaken: two textual research tasks, one object-focused task, one workplace security-focused task. Each

[1198] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 17. I am familiar with the difficulty, due to Waterman's handwriting, of reading these notebooks.
[1199] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 18-19.
[1200] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 19.
[1201] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 20.

worker communicates their enjoyment and pride in their work, no matter where it is located in the gamut of the purported "assembly line" system of tasks. The "Literary Worker" and the widowed mother, both engaged in research tasks, relate how their growing knowledge, gained through work, catalyzed their interests in the topics of their work, the former stating, "[t]he work grew more interesting as I learned more about it," before explaining to the pamphlet's audience what were the contributions of the bibliographic work.[1202] In addition to offering such snapshots, these two narratives argue that this research will be interest to those without prior specific experience with antiquity: just as these two workers came to find this archaeological research interesting, so, too, can the public.

The second worker, the "student of the Talmud," additionally notes the agency he is permitted in his research. In the course of his task of checking Talmudic passages in Jacob Obermeyer's *Die Landschaft Babylonien*,[1203] he states,

> [v]ery often, where [Obermeyer] has preferred the interpretation of a passage or the translation of a word over those offered by other commentators, I have proved that he is correct. On the other hand, when I have disagreed with him and could prove my opinions I have not hesitated to state them.[1204]

His work, he indicates, is not merely rote. Rather, his contributions are real and engaged, and his framing offers a voice against the "assembly line" characterization discussed above. In this vein, the four narratives together offer to American taxpayers generally and Detroiters specifically an image of a workplace full of dignity and collegiality, with "accounts of their new approach to life are living testimony of the need to maintain and extend the WPA."[1205] There is room for learning (working in multiple departments, like the "Literary Worker), for expertise (interpretive

[1202] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 17.
[1203] Obermeyer 1929.
[1204] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 18.
[1205] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 6.

discretion, like the "Authority on the Talmud"), for advancement (a promotion, like the widow), and for equal value found in all contributions (including the watchmen). The widow's testimony, in particular, makes a pathos-filled argument for the necessity of WPA relief employment: speaking from sympathetic, unassailable social positions (widowhood! motherhood!), her concern for making ends meet, financially, in her narrative lays out a case for continued or increased support of New Deal programs like the Seleucia lab in Detroit.

The range of social positions and identities represented—researchers literate in, at minimum, German and Hebrew; a widowed mother; men working as watchmen who were likely classed by the WPA as unskilled or semi-skilled—are well-chosen to illustrate the New Deal administrators' assertion that everyone, no matter their profession or education level, requires employment and the dignity offered by work.[1206] Nameless, these workers not only offer the public knowledge about the past to "Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Everyday America" through their work at the WPA lab, they are *themselves* offered as "Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Everyday America." Indeed, the publicity around the Seleucia WPA project in Michigan newspapers and magazines drew attention, with a slight sense of novelty, to the varied backgrounds of the workers along three particular axes: ethnic background, educational background, and profession.

Reported in the *Ann Arbor News*, and picked up at least as far away as York, Pennsylvania,[1207] initial press announcements of the project emphasize the variety of white-collar jobs provided by this project, which "will provide work for 77 architects, photographers, chemists, artists, draftsmen, cartographers, translators, stenographers and clerks."[1208] Once underway, the specific backgrounds of the workers were reported with particular interest. For

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[1206] Responding in 1934 to criticism of work relief funding for workers in the arts, New Deal administrator Harry Hopkins famously replied, "Hell, they've got to eat just like other people." (Biles 1991, 109; Watkins 1999, 275.)
[1207] York Dispatch 1938.
[1208] Ann Arbor News 1938.

example, a 1938 notice in *The Michigan Alumnus* magazine mentions that a "Greek-American chemist" leads a fifteen-member coin-cleaning team; that a "chemical engineer" is at work on clay and metals, and that "[e]ight workers, led by a trained librarian, and including a German biological chemist, a Russian agricultural engineer, a French-Canadian, an Armenian, and a Belgian aeronautical engineer, are engaged on a bibliography and abstracts of articles on ancient geography and architecture; their command of many languages is necessary for this."[1209] An article in Port Huron's *Times Herald* noted that "the workers range from recent high school graduates to mature men and women with college or other professional school degrees, or competency in some ancient or modern foreign languages," i.e., Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, and Russian.[1210] In the *Detroit News* feature, Jackson notes that, despite the complete lack of archaeological experience among the workers, among their number are "graduates of several European universities" and "[t]he head chemist […] formerly was with a big automobile concern."[1211] The project-produced pamphlet itself notes that the project workforce is comprised of "[n]early a hundred men and women of some sixteen nationalities," and also emphasizes the translation work ("in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French, Armenian, Russian, Italian, and Chinese") undertaken by the project's "Literary Department."[1212] The ethnic (and thus linguistic) backgrounds of several workers are implied to be evidence of their particular qualifications for this work; for others, their professional backgrounds are presented as a particularly and surprisingly suitable match for this archaeological work.[1213]

[1209] Michigan Alumnus 1938.
[1210] Times Herald 1939.
[1211] Jackson 1940.
[1212] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 4, 9-10.
[1213] In 1935, New Deal administrator Harry Hopkins defended the white-collar projects funded in New York City under FERA saying, "They are damn good projects—excellent projects. That goes for all the projects up there. You know some people make fun of people who speak a foreign language, and dumb people criticize something they do not understand, and that is what is going on up there—God damn it!" (Taylor 2008, 167.).

This positive attention to European backgrounds of Seleucia WPA workers may seem somewhat surprising, given contemporary rising nativism in the U.S. and, specifically, Detroit's particular demonization of European immigrants since the early 1920s. Under the first New Deal, European non-citizens in the U.S. had access to direct relief but restricted access to work relief programs.[1214] While WPA administrators like Harry Hopkins attempted to guard protections for immigrants and non-citizens, mounting nativist pressure, couched in discourse that presented foreign-born peoples as "unworthy aliens," resulted in increasing restrictions of eligibility.[1215] Although when the WPA was established in 1935, no proof of citizenship was required to attain a WPA job and the law carried no specifications regarding the eligibility of immigrants without legal status, Congress banned "illegal aliens" from WPA participation in May 1936 and made all non-citizens ineligible in February 1939.[1216] Mexicans, specifically targeted for deportation or "voluntary" repatriation (frequently coerced), bore the brunt of these nativist changes.[1217] But, although nation-wide, European immigrants fared better than Black Americans, Mexicans, and Mexican Americans as regards access to New Deal relief programs,[1218] in Detroit specifically, European immigrants had been subject to concerted campaigns throughout the 1920s that stigmatized them as criminals.[1219] Detroit had gained a reputation as the "backdoor" (through Winsor, Ontario, Canada) into the U.S. for illegal European immigrants and bootlegged liquor, and this association was actively applied to all immigrants. With the onset of New Deal relief programs, the administration of Detroit's Republican Mayor Richard Reading actively worked to link "welfare chiseling" (i.e., fraud) to

[1214] Fox 2012, 212.
[1215] Fox 2012, Chapter 9.
[1216] Fox 2012, 215, 25-28; Bavery 2018, 253.
[1217] Fox 2012, 156-69, 82-87, 215, 40-41, 85-86.
[1218] Fox 2012, Chapter 9.
[1219] Bavery 2018.

foreign-born residents, regardless of citizenship status, and set up a "Special Investigation Squad" in 1938 to target immigrant recipients of welfare and WPA work, nominally to root out this supposed fraud.[1220] As historian Ashley Bavery writes, "by the end of the 1930s, decades of linking foreigners to crime, welfare, and "public charge" status led politicians and newspapers to position foreignness itself as a potential burden on an expanding state."[1221] Pressure like this (added to that from Southern and Southwestern politicians) resulted in Congress's purging of non-citizens from WPA rolls in 1939: in Detroit, 20,000 WPA workers' jobs were terminated in the four-months following this exclusion.[1222] Thus, the atmosphere in Detroit was particularly hostile to foreign-born individuals benefiting from relief work programs, a circumstance which makes the way that the public promotion draws attention to the European immigrant backgrounds of the laboratory's relief workers somewhat surprising—until attention is focused on the ways that these backgrounds are operationalized as of specific benefit to the project's goals, as if this WPA project musters these diverse backgrounds to support the project of American economic recovery.

The backgrounds of the three members of the lab's publicity committee named in the pamphlet add a few additional, unpromoted nuances to a picture of the lab workforce. I have not been able to confirm, definitively, the identities of these three men, Raymond Bascom, Rev. Sterling Jones, and Merrill C. Work; circumstantial correlations, however, with newspaper and census records offer likely candidates.

A Raymond Bascom, 32 years old, white, Michigan-born, married, with two years of college education, is recorded in the 1940 U.S. Census with the occupation of "Social Scientist,

[1220] Bavery 2018, 252 ff..
[1221] Bavery 2018, 253.
[1222] Fox 2012, Chapter 9; Bavery 2018, 253.

WPA."[1223] The "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints" pamphlet reports that workers in the Literary Department are divided into "junior and senior social scientists," matching Bascom's job title—and that of Jones, below—recorded in the census.[1224] The same Raymond Bascom was previously a teacher in Grand Rapids.[1225] While not certainly the same man, a Raymond Bascom is tantalizingly named as a union educator (including at the U.A.W.A. Plymouth Local 51) and Communist Party member in Detroit in testimony to the Dies Committee, U.S. House of Representative's Special Committee on Un-American Activities (1938 to 1944) chaired by Representative Martin Dies of Texas.[1226]

A Reverend Sterling C. Jones appears in various Detroit newspapers, primarily Black publications, in 1935 as the pastor at New Providence Baptist Church, Delray, Michigan, in 1939 preaching at People's Baptist Church, Detroit, and in the early 1940s as the pastor at Christaff Baptist Church, Detroit.[1227] The same Sterling Jones appears in the 1940 U.S. Census, where his occupation is recorded as "Junior Social Scientist, Public School," assigned to public emergency work (i.e., the WPA).[1228] Thus, in the same year as the *Hoof Prints and Foot Prints* pamphlet was produced, we find a likely candidate for the WPA lab's Rev. Sterling Jones to be a Black,

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[1223] 1940 United States Federal Census: Raymond Bascom, Year: 1940; State: Michigan; County: Wayne; NARA Publication: T0627; NARA Roll: 1856; Enum. District: 84-510; Frame: 257; Page: 8A; Line: 14, accessed through https://records.myheritagelibraryedition.com/research/record-10053-739709045/raymond-bascom-in-1940-united-states-federal-census.

[1224] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints" 11.

[1225] This Raymond Bascom recorded in the 1940 U.S. Census resided, with his wife Marion, at 16th Street in Detroit. In 1936, the same Raymond Bascom was a teacher in Grand Rapids (a previous residence--517 Fairview Avenue Ne, Grand Rapids, Michigan, USA—that corresponds to the 1940 Census record details, also married to a Marion). (1940 United States Federal Census: Raymond Bascom, Year: 1940; State: Michigan; County: Wayne; NARA Publication: T0627; NARA Roll: 1856; Enum. District: 84-510; Frame: 257; Page: 8A; Line: 14, accessed through https://records.myheritagelibraryedition.com/research/record-10053-739709045/raymond-bascom-in-1940-united-states-federal-census; *Polk's Grand Rapids (Kent County, Mich.) City Directory* 1936, 133. Accessed through https://records.myheritagelibraryedition.com/research/record-10705-246279904/raymond-bascom-in-us-city-directories).

[1226] Investigation of un-American activities and propaganda 1939, 56.

[1227] Jones 1935; Detroit Tribune 1939a; Detroit Evening Times 1941; Michigan Chronicle 1945.

[1228] Jones is married to the same Guilla Jones who appears with him and other members of Christaff Baptist Church in a 1945 photograph in *The Michigan Chronicle*.

Missouri-born Baptist pastor, age 42, married with two children, with five or more years of post-secondary education.[1229]

While I have unable to locate him in 1940 U.S. Census records, the Merrill C. Work named in the pamphlet is likely a Tennessee-born son of John Wesley Work, Jr. (II), the famous Fisk University (Nashville, Tennessee) musicologist of Black folk music and director of the Fisk Jubilee Singers. Unlike one of his brothers, John W. Work, III, who followed in his father's footsteps and also became a musicologist, composer, and choral director at Fisk, Merrill Work (appropriately surnamed) was a Black Communist political activist.[1230] Having moved to New York by 1930, he was, from 1934-1935, the business manager and later the managing editor of a Black Communist New York City newspaper, *The Negro Liberator* (renamed *The Harlem Liberator* soon after Work joined the paper).[1231] He ran, as a Communist, for the 21st District seat in New York State Assembly in 1934.[1232] By 1937, Work had brought his racial and economic justice political organizing activity to Detroit, where, described as a "prominent liberal" in the press,[1233] he remained active in the Communist Party and continued to run for state offices as a Communist Party candidate.[1234]

[1229] 1940 United States Federal Census: Sterling Jones Year, 1940; State: Michigan; County: Wayne; NARA Publication: T0627; NARA Roll: 1843; Enum. District: 84-140; Frame: 835; Page: 9B; Line: 57, accessed through https://records.myheritagelibraryedition.com/research/record-10053-784129229/sterling-jones-in-1940-united-states-federal-census

[1230] Work was married to Araminta Work, a New Yorker of German-American extraction: married in 1930, she divorced him sometime before 1944. Their son was Craig and was identified, at age 12, as a genius by virtue of his IQ (190.8). There is a flutter of newspaper columns in Black newspapers about his IQ in 1944, as well as a series of columns (entitled *How I Reared a Genius*) Araminta Work wrote for Baltimore's *Afro-American* in 1947 about parenting a mixed-Black genius son, whom she made sure to raise as Black ("colored") rather than as passing for white (including refusing to enroll him in schools that would require him to identify as "South American") (Afro-American 1944; Carter 1944; Work 1947.). Work's interracial marriage is referenced as part of purportedly subversive and trouble-making activities of Black Communists in hearings before the Dies Committee in 1938 (Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the U.S. 1938b, 1334.)

[1231] Harlem Liberator 1934a, 1934b; Horwitz 1983, 99-100; Solomon 1998, 238, 64, 74; Bergin 2015, Chapter 2.

[1232] Work 1934.

[1233] Michigan Chronicle 1939a.

[1234] He was active in a Renters and Consumer League committee and was noted in the Detroit's Black newspapers as a member of a N.A.A.C.P.-organized committee seeking indictments against a policeman who killed a Black auto worker, Jesse James, in 1939. He ran, as a Communist Party candidate, for a state legislature seat in 1938 and

Thus, the lab's publicity committee, if my identifications are correct, was composed of two communists, one white, one Black, and a Black Baptist preacher; all were college educated. Such details confirm the likelihood that formal education and professional backgrounds were required for many positions at such a Professional and Service Division project but extend the lab's demographic texture in terms of race and political dynamics. Not only was the workforce varied in terms of European immigrant backgrounds, but the lab was apparently racially integrated, though this facet was occluded in the publicity: whether it was considered unremarkable or unpromotable is not clear. The non-promotion of Communists is unsurprising, but, in this light, the resonance of "Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Everyday America" carries in multiple ideological directions.

And, indeed, the picture of the WPA Seleucia lab available from the archival and press evidence resonates strongly with cultural historian Michael Denning's account of the multi-racial, multi-ethnic, laborist social democratic, anti-racist, anti-fascist and ultimately failed—but culturally consequential—social movement of the Popular Front in the 1930s.[1235] For Denning, "[t]he base of the Popular Front was the labor movement," the massive turn toward labor organizing, and the social base was the "CIO working class" that constituted both the audience and the labor force for mass culture. This "Age of CIO" saw union organizing beyond industrial

attorney general in 1940. (Detroit Tribune 1937, 1938, 1939b; Michigan Chronicle 1939b; Detroit Tribune 1940a, 1940b.) He is named as a leader in Michigan's Communist Party, as well as a member of the National Negro Congress, in 1938 hearings before the Dies Committee (Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the U.S. 1938a, 314, 624.) In 1947, Work was fired from his position as recording secretary in Detroit's UAW-CIO local 835 for being a member of the Communist Party, following his refusal to sign a non-communist affidavit required by the Taft-Hartley Act and subsequently announcing his party membership (never a secret) at a union meeting (Detroit Tribune 1947.).

[1235] Denning 2010. His study examines the intersections of this American leftist movement and the mass culture apparatus (the arts/entertainment culture industries and state bureaucracy/federal interventions into cultural production in the New Deal and beyond) as a "cultural front." Denning rejects traditional emphases on the role of the Communist Party as central, instead viewing the Popular Front as a historical bloc composed of a broader left, including industrial unionists, Communists, socialists, and other independent leftists, "a broad and tenuous left-wing alliance of fractions of the subaltern classes" (6). It is this broader social, economic, and political milieu that is relevant here, in explaining the attention given to the individual WPA workers and their backgrounds.

trades, reaching cultural industries and, more abortively, office, clerical, and other white-collar and professional workers.[1236] It is within this movement and in this milieu we can consider the involvement of Local 26 of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, a CIO affiliate, as the union which apparently represented these WPA Seleucia lab workers (or at least some of them) and aided workers such as the widowed mother in gaining promotions in her federally-funded workplace. The UOPWA was a white-collar union, formed in 1937 out of a group of formerly AFL white-collar unions, along with several independent ones, and chartered with the CIO. Its base was in the insurance industry, representing both agents and office workers, but its charter covered a wide variety of white-collar clerical and professional workers. It was Communist Party-dominated, with a substantial left-wing contingent.[1237] Here, therefore, we can see labor union movement and broader cultural environment's reach to other white-collar workers outside of the creative cultural industries of art and writing, stretching into a university-sponsored archaeology lab and its relief workers, to work that was primarily "mental" if hands-on.[1238] Indeed, Denning usefully considers the Popular Front's grappling with the place of "modern mental labor" (contrasted with manual labor) given "a 'new class' of intellectual

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[1236] Denning 2010, 85-90, 96-114 .

[1237] Fink 1977, 155-56, 257-60. The UOPWA was expelled from the CIO in 1950 due to its dominance by Communists, after growing internal tensions over such political alignments in the increasingly anti-Communist postwar atmosphere (e.g., the Taft-Hartley Act, which required union leadership to sign non-Communist affidavits for access to the National Labor Relations Board apparatus) and competition with the AFL white-collar union for insurance agents. For the UOPWA among other New York white-collar unions, see Denning 2010, 14-15.

[1238] As of yet, I have found little scholarship specifically concerned with union participation by WPA Professional and Service Projects workers. WPA workers were guaranteed the right to organize, and discrimination against union or labor participation was prohibited; collective bargaining capacity was limited, however, as Congress set wages and hours, and, officially, WPA workers were not permitted to strike (although they did) (Goldberg 2007, 111-12.) See Denning (2010, 83-90) on cultural industry union organizing and activity broadly, including of Disney cartoonists who struck in 1941 (403-422); for New York artists in the Artists Union working for (and striking about) the Federal Arts Project, see Monroe 2010 [1974]. Another relevant organization in this milieu was the Workers Alliance of America, a Popular Front movement and organization (merging a collection of socialist organizations for the unemployed, Communist Unemployment Councils, and other such organizations) that mobilized the unemployed, and acted as a trade union for many WPA workers; it, however, was dwindling by the years of the WPA Seleucia project (inter alia, see Goldberg 2003, 2005, 2007, chapter 4.).

workers created by mass education and mass culture." [1239] The inclusion of "nonexpert" researchers in an archaeological project *and* their union membership speaks to this moment of widening participation.

Furthermore, the positive emphasis on the diverse ethnic backgrounds of the WPA lab workers also makes sense in the context of the Popular Front. Denning draws especial attention to the emphatically multi-ethnic, multi-racial composition and ideology of the movement's participants. In addition to the radical moderns (mostly leftist American artists from middle- or upper-class backgrounds) and emigre intellectual refugees from fascism, Denning finds a third force among the Popular Front's cultural front as that of self-described

> *plebeians*, a generation of artists and intellectuals from working-class families […] new Americans, as Louis Adamic called them, the second generation of the second wave of immigration. They were children of the public library and public education […] for them, the expansion of the culture industries and the state cultural apparatuses meant they could make a living as writers or artists; they could move out of their parents' world of manual labor into that uncertain terrain of the white-collar proletariat, apparently middle class, but still working for wages and with little job security. [1240]

These participants and some of the structural components of the Popular Front network, various unions and their cultural/educational apparatuses, "ethnic fraternal organizations, foreign-language newspapers, and art clubs […,] supported a kind of "cultural nationalism," emphasizing the distinctive histories of the peoples of the United States," a "pan-ethnic Americanism."[1241] This is recognizable, for example, in Paul Robeson's famous 1940 recording of "Ballad for Americans," a reworking of a patriotic "ballad opera" cantata written by Earl Robinson and John LaTouche for a WPA Federal Theater Project production, *Sing for Your Supper*. In this song, the soloist (Robeson) delivers a rundown of American historical struggles for "liberty" and nation-

[1239] Denning 2010, 96-104, 09.
[1240] Denning 2010, 60-61.
[1241] Denning 2010, 41, 130.

building; in the second half of the song, he answers the chorus' continuous question of "Who are you?" with catalogues of identities, first singing a list of varied class/professions, then a list of ethnic/nationality/racial categories, and then a list of religious affiliations (notably all Judeo-Christian options). Simultaneously refusing a single or singular identification, he concludes by affirming the (his) identity as "America" (rather than "an American").[1242]

Popular Front-style community and labor organizing in Detroit, too, took place at the intersections of leftist progressive (often Communist) and immigrant and African American community activity.[1243] Thus, the promotion of the WPA Seleucia lab, in both the press and in its own public presentation, echoes the conceptual world of the Popular Front. It thus offers a perhaps unexpected, to 21st century archaeologists, example of this world in operation outside of the leaders and political intellectuals whose literary and artistic output characterized what Denning describes as the movement's cultural front.

As noted above, PR pains were taken to demonstrate that certain of these diverse personal and professional backgrounds made these workers suitable to this novel American project. The educational enrichment offered by such work was also touted. This accords with other WPA archaeology publicity and news coverage, as discussed above with reference to WPA excavations. Jackson of the *Detroit News* reports WPA project supervisor Dr. Dorritt Stevens' observation of how absorbed the lab workers are in their work, but indicates, against implied skepticism at her account, that the workers' intense interest was indeed visible on a visit to the lab:

> And we are free to say we were deeply impressed, during a recent visit, not only with the fascination of the work, but with the zeal displayed by everyone who has anything to do with it. We are inclined to think that Mrs. Stevens is not

[1242] Denning 2010, 115-17, 28, 35. Recordings are available on Youtube, e.g.: https://youtu.be/rnXyGr668wg
[1243] Pettengill 2009, 139-201, 2020, 22.

> exaggerating when she says that frequently the lunch-hour bell rings three times before anyone pays it any attention.[1244]

The *Michigan Alumnus*, too, reports that the workers, despite their lack of previous archaeological exposure, are so enthusiastic that they engage outside the workday, too, "learning the Greek alphabet, clamoring for lectures on Parthia and the ancient Near East, and drawing out all the archaeological books in the Detroit Public Library for week-end reading."[1245] Such descriptions drive home the educational qualities of these jobs and, further, suggest that workers' passion for their research makes such activities transcend "work" as regulated by officially-mandated work-day features such as a lunch break.

Still other reports emphasize the transferable skills practiced or honed through the WPA workers' participation in the Seleucia research: the work is not only presented as enriching but also as useful to these worker's future careers. This is clearly part of the framing offered to journalists by those in charge of the project and accords with McCamy's recognition that through publicity, federal relief agencies sought to convince prospective employers that relief work clients were potential and desirable employees (discussed above). It is most visible in an article in Port Huron's *Times Record*, entitled "WPA Archaeological Project Develops New Jobs Interests." WPA lab director McDowell asserts that workers are gaining professionally in their own professional skill areas, whether in chemistry, editing, or Hebrew.[1246] He further reports to the unnamed journalist that

> [a] great majority of the 89 workers on the project […] have been led to make their own studies for use in magazine articles or have recovered old skills in an

[1244] Jackson 1940.
[1245] Michigan Alumnus 1938.
[1246] "Dr. McDowell cited the case of a college graduate in chemistry who has developed a new process for the chemical cleaning of ancient coins and will publish an article on the subject. A girl with a high school education and has an ambition to write has shown herself so proficient in German and in her command of English, he declared, that she is now translating scientific German and acting as editor for the work of others. An elderly Jew, with a life-long knowledge of the Talmud, he asserted, will now be able to publish articles in the field." (Times Herald 1939.)

> effort to make themselves self-supporting. The project provides training which should be valuable in later work

—a claim he then substantiates by pointing to the 50% employment rate for former project employees.[1247] Given desirable employees such as these, he implies, WPA program is helping move workers off the unemployment rolls into permanent, private employment.

This emphasis on professional training is also slightly curious in a WPA context, given that job training was largely absent from New Deal work relief until the WPA reoriented toward defense preparations for World War II.[1248] However, in a political context in which professional and research projects needed to appear "useful" rather than boondoggle-producing sinecures for lazy workers (and given that the public benefits of a research project like this, unlike an infrastructure construction project, were not immediately apparent), this WPA project was presented as a place of skill building—for skills that were not specific to archaeological research. Indeed, Claassen, in discussing the WPA excavation at Irene Mound (discussed above), suggests that the inclusion of Black women in the WPA archaeological workforce (especially in excavation roles) was another way that their needs for sustainable employment beyond work relief were discounted, "because," as she writes, "there was no market for archaeological laborers in a normal economy, working on an archaeological project was an employment dead end."[1249] The promotion of the Detroit Seleucia lab counters this possibility by indicating how the research program was of use to individuals beyond the research outputs and general edifying aura. While emphasizing pragmatic skill development, this framing has the effect of distancing these workers from the research output of the project—placing their benefit as coincidental, while at the same time celebrating the research that they enabled and, specifically, accelerated, as

[1247] Times Herald 1939.
[1248] Schwartz 1984, 257-59, 64.
[1249] Claassen 1999, 104.

discussed with reference to the assembly line framing above.

Only a few individuals among the non-supervisory project staff are visible to us, and hazily, at that. The promoted image of the lab is that of a collegial workplace, one that incorporates and utilizes the varied backgrounds—ethnic/linguistic and professional—of its workers for academic, public, and individual benefit. In the context of a contested work program, such as the WPA, and a city in which the legitimate place of European immigrant communities was disputed, the Detroit WPA lab can be understood as promoting its workers as eager contributors to American productivity and worthy of support.

8.3.5 "The East has for 2000 years been the 'Land of Mystery.'"[1250]

Some of the work of the Seleucia WPA differed greatly from that of the more typical Americanist WPA archaeological labs. As noted above, the difference in geographical origin of the corpus under study set the work of the Seleucia WPA lab apart from its WPA peers. This geographical focus, and concomitant disciplinary differences, resulted in the inclusion of textual—literary and translation—work, modes of research characteristic of Classical and Near Eastern archaeological practice. The source of the collection in Mesopotamia, the textual research of WPA workers, and the dynamics of American Orientalism all combine to produce a way of describing the project in ways that likely strike some 21st century readers as odd.

In the 1940 Open House flyer, the work of the WPA Seleucia project is described as "cleaning, cataloging, photographing, and modelling hundreds of coins, vases and art objects discovered by the University of Michigan during its archeological [sic] expeditions to the Far East."[1251] Was Mesopotamia, in western Asia, ever in the "far" part of the "East"? This curious

[1250] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 3-4.
[1251] "WPA-Sponsors of Professional and Service Projects invite YOU to visit your local projects: Open House Week May 20-25," [Brochure], 1940, KMA/Seleucia, Box "N."

framing of the Seleucia WPA project as focused on the "Far East" is echoed explicitly and implicitly by a popular orientalist notion of "the East" in the project-produced pamphlet, *Hoof Prints and Foot Prints*. Indeed, this pamphlet offers the project's archaeological contributions in terms of revealing a mysterious ancient Orient for the project of universal heritage:

> The East has for 2000 years been the 'Land of Mystery.' Authoritative information about geography, customs and histories of peoples and national stopped at the eastern boundaries of the Mediterranean […] The Archaeological Laboratory is helping to life [sic: lift] the veil of mystery from those lands and reclaim part of the wealth of knowledge of the history of mankind.[1252]

In the pamphlet's introduction, entitled "Hoof Prints," an offered example of the lab's work is "tracing the development of ancient civilizations by determining trade routes taken by camel caravans," a reference to the site's position on major trade routes across Asia, including what has been characterized (from the Parthian period on) as the Silk Road.[1253] This framing is likely informed by Mikhail Rostovtzeff's recent *Caravan Cities* (which focused on Petra, Jerash, Palmyra, and Dura-Europos); [1254] by Clark Hopkins' years, prior to taking over the directorship of the Seleucia excavation, at Dura-Europos ; [1255] and by Robert McDowell's interest, as he had spent his 1935/36 academic year as a Guggenheim Fellow studying coins in Iran, during which time, as reported in *The Michigan Daily*, he traveled "more than 2,000 miles in Persia alone, devoting especial attention to those parts of Iran that were traversed by merchants following the old trade routes of the Middle Ages."[1256] And, indeed, Seleucia and Ctesiphon constituted a

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[1252] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 3-4.
[1253] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 3.
[1254] Rostovtzeff 1932.
[1255] Hopkins emphasizes the site's capacity to "bring evidence of the great trade routes to India, China, south Russia, and the coast of the Mediterranean" in local news reporting of the 1936/1937 season (Ann Arbor News 1937a; Michigan Daily 1938.)
[1256] Hershey 1936. In a letter to Frank Robbins from Tehran, he characterizes this distance ("little more than") somewhat differently: "it had been my idea that most of my time would be spent in travel; actually I have covered but little more than two thousand miles within the country" due to the enthusiasm of "friends in the provinces" for his numismatic project, and discusses his interest in the long history of long-haul trade connections and commercial rivalries. (Letter, Robert McDowell to Frank Robbins, March 10, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 3.16) Additionally, in

major trade convergence point for overland routes—from the west, routes from Antioch; from the east, the caravan route through the Zagros Mountains—and waterborne trade up and down the Tigris and Euphrates and to the Indian Ocean through the Persian Gulf.[1257] The city as a crossroads is certainly a significant part of the city's biography, traces of which are present in Michigan's Seleucia artifactual assemblage: for example, a Chinese bronze mirror (Han Dynasty) was excavated from the site's uppermost late Parthian period level.[1258] This framing is still prominent: the permanent installation in the Kelsey Museum's galleries features a display curated by curator emerita Margaret Cool Root entitled "Seleucia the Crossroads."

This line of inquiry is thus legitimate, but the WPA project's interest in the east Asia-bound trade routes, as reported, was undertaken with sustained attention to translated Chinese sources ("We find them far more accurate and comprehensive than the Western sources which have actually neglected the information"[1259]) and without a clear anchor in Mesopotamia of any period. Whether this interest represents undirected or unchecked enthusiasm on the part of individual WPA workers or specific research directives from the project leadership cannot be determined on available evidence. The lab's "Literary Department" was building a catalogue of primary and secondary bibliographic references (with abstracts) to Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and to broader information about ancient "Near and Middle East.[1260] A lengthy example, offered in the

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proposing a sixth season of work (and a longer series of campaigns) at Seleucia, he makes the case for Seleucia's importance in terms of its role as a crossroads between east and west (Undated proposal, Robert McDowell, circa 1934, Bentley/KMA/IAR 3.16).

[1257] For a brief orientation, see Cite properly: Jens Kröger, "CTESIPHON," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VI/4, pp. 446-448, available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ctesiphon (accessed on 30 December 2012). Also: Fowlkes-Childs and Seymour 2019, xix, 9, 13-16, 227-48.

[1258] KM 18162 (D3702), Level I, H4, Room 1, 30 cm deep. Savage 1977, 39, no. 2.

[1259] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 23.

[1260] "The objective of the Literary Department is to discover and identify all references to geography, history, culture, economics, numismatics, architecture, archaeology in the Near and Middle East or to the city of Seleucia itself in any and all available writings of pre-christian times. This requires translations from the Byzantine Historians archives, records histories and maps in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French, Armenian, Russian, Italian, and Chinese […] we have no translators in Egyptian or Sanskrit or Aramaic […and the] Chinese sources abstracted on

pamphlet, of this bibliographic abstracting endeavor concerns multiple Chinese sources, such as French sinologist Stanislas Julien's 1857 "*La Vie de Hiouen Tsang*," a translation of an account of a seventh-century CE Chinese Buddhist monk's travels to India and work on Confucianism by Scottish sinologist James Legge.[1261] At the same time, the Literary Department seems not to have examined any Persian- or Arabic-language references to the environs of Seleucia or later trade routes (whether topographical or otherwise). While they note that "we have no translators in Egyptian or Sanskrit or Aramaic […and the] Chinese sources abstracted on this project are those which have been translated from Chinese into the English, French and German by different authors," no such comments about Arabic or Persian are offered.[1262] While bibliographic research in those languages may have been undertaken by the UM academics themselves,[1263] this omission was transmitted to the project workers and the broader Michigan public as natural and speaks to a notable, if unsurprising, lack of connection to the geographical and cultural circumstances of the site in Iraq and to more relevant contemporary communities—and the potential for their practical and intellectual contributions—proximate to Detroit.

Edward Said distinguished between American and European constructions of the

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this project are those which have been translated from Chinese into the English, French and German by different authors" ("Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 10-12)

[1261] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 12, 14-15.

[1262] "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 11-12.

[1263] Robert McDowell spoke Arabic and Turkish; I am not aware if he spoke any Persian/Farsi. His wife, Olga McDowell, spoke Arabic. McDowell himself noted the lack of incorporation of "Arab geographers of the Middle Ages" into "the standard historical workers" (Mcdowell 1932, 105.). Additionally, during his Guggenheim fellowship year (1935/6) studying coins in Iran, McDowell wrote, "[t]he study of the classical and sub-classical sources together with the writings of the early Arab geographers in light of personal observations to topography have been really fascinating" (Letter, Robert McDowell to Frank Robbins, March 10, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 3.16) A folder in the Bentley of his notes (undated, some certainly dating after Season F) about Seleucia's topography, including his observations and interpretations with notes on relevant ancient authors and modern publications include notes on (his translation of?) Maximilian Streck's *Seleucia und Ktesiphon* (Streck 1917.) about the later periods of Ctesiphon/Al-Madin's history from Arabic sources (Bentley/KMA/McDowell 1.5). Thus, he was aware of the relevance of later Arabic texts to understanding the site (and region)—particularly for these later periods of such interest to the WPA crew—though these did not make it into his "History of Seleucia from Classical Sources" included in Hopkins' 1972 volume (McDowell 1972.). For Arabic literary sources on the environs, see el Ali 1968. For more discussion of sources for topography, including Syriac sources, see Fiey 1967.

"Orient," characterizing the former as more recently developing and focused on east Asia (the "Far East"), in contrast to temporally-deeper British and French imperial attentions to western Asia (the "Near East") and India.[1264] In subsequent decades, research in the field of Asian American Studies has probed American popular orientalist constructions of East, Southeast, and Pacific Asia, Asians, and Asian Americans, often engaging Said's concept.[1265] At the same, an immense bibliography has developed in multiple fields (Middle East Studies, American Culture, inter alia) regarding the longer sweep (than suggested by Said) of American popular and academic constructions of and engagements with the Middle East and its peoples, including prior to World War II.[1266] In the public framing of the WPA research on Seleucia, including in the pamphlet excerpt included above, we see a peculiar non-specificity and conflation of the whole "Orient," from west Asia to east Asia, as the object of the WPA lab's study, in ways that engage specific, classic orientalist tropes: "veils"[1267] available for lifting by Westerners; mystery and the need for rediscovery—again, by Western researchers—for the benefit of a notional universal mankind; and a preference for ancient and non-Arab or Persian frames that had and have the effect of alienating historical and contemporary Middle Eastern communities from the objects and processes of research.[1268]

And some such more proximate descent communities were indeed local to the Detroit emplacement of the WPA lab. Since the late 19th century, immigrant communities from the Ottoman Empire, especially from Greater Syria, arrived in the metro Detroit area through chain

[1264] Said 2003 [1978], 1-2. See also (e.g.) for an assertion of differences between European and American orientalisms, Lowe 1996, 178 n.7.
[1265] Ngai 2000; Roan 2010, 3-6. For further bibliography on U.S. orientalism and East Asia, see, for example, Roan 2010, 216, n.10 and Ngai 2000, 415, n. 3.
[1266] Edwards 2000; Little 2008, chapter 1; Teo 2012, chapter 4. See also Oren 2007; Nance 2009; Lockman 2010; Dorman 2015, including books reviewed therein.
[1267] E.g., Jarmakani 2008. See also, generally, Shohat and Stam 1994, chapter 4.
[1268] Tugendhaft 2020. Inter alia, Aaron Tugendhaft (2020, chapter 2) offers a succinct discussion of such dispossession of Iraqi communities from Mesopotamian heritage through universalizing discourses.

migration processes.[1269] A “Syrian colony” had coalesced in Detroit, by the turn of the century, with a majority group of Syrian Christians (mainly from Lebanon) soon joined by Muslims, both Arab and non-Arab (from the Balkans to India and Bangladesh), and other religious-ethnic groups, such as Druze. Chaldean Catholics from what became northern Iraq arrived around 1910-1912; a Yemeni contingent was established by the early 1920s. These communities continued to grow, alongside other immigrant communities in Detroit and nearby towns, such as Highland Park and later Dearborn, attracted particularly to southeast Michigan by employment opportunities in Henry Ford’s automobile factories.[1270] While such immigration from the Middle East was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924 (the Johnson-Reed Act), which severely limited immigration through a national origins quota system and completely barred immigration from Asia, these communities remained present, though ambivalently visible, in metro Detroit throughout the interwar period.

In exploring the context of Muslim American identity formation in 1920s Detroit, Sally Howell discusses a series of articles by Faye Elizabeth Smith, published in 1922 in the *Detroit Saturday Night*, the year after the Emergency Quota Act of 1921. In these the author “evaluate[s] several of Detroit immigrant populations in terms of their ‘fitness’ for citizenship […and] their moral acceptability”: these communities include Armenians, Chinese, and “the Detroit Turkish colony” comprised of “Ottoman Turks, Kurds, and Syrian Mohammedans.”[1271] Howell finds

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[1269] Hassoun 2005, 23, fig. 4; Kayyali 2006, 23-32, 35-43; Orfalea 2006, 43-115. These communities were not exclusively Arabic-speaking, Arab, or Muslim: many of the earlier communities from Greater Syria were Christian, for example, and Chaldeans often spoke modern Aramaic as their first language (and sometimes Arabic as a second language). Note: the literature on Arab Americans in the first half of the twentieth century tends to focus on communities from Greater Syria. For immigrant communities from Greater Syria arriving in the U.S. from the 1870s to 1924, with a focus on pack peddling, see Naff 1993. For Muslim communities (not exclusively Arab or Arab American) in metro Detroit prior to the 1970s, see Howell 2014. Especially relevant to the interwar period are Howell 2014, chapters 3-4.
[1270] Hassoun 2005, 42; Kayyali 2006, 40-41; Orfalea 2006, 91; Howell 2014, 33.
[1271] Howell 2014, 65-68.

Smith praising Armenians and Chinese immigrants in Detroit, but vilifying, with a specifically anti-Muslim nativist stance, these "Turks" as unassimilable Orientals who threatened the Christian American family with their supposed libidinousness. Such characterization takes place and part in a complex dynamic of popular Orientalist stereotypes and the unsettled place of Middle Eastern immigrants and their descendants in pre-World War II U.S. racial hierarchies, with legal decisions ultimately classing "Syrians" as "white" and thus able to be naturalized (versus, for example, Chinese immigrants, who had long been barred from naturalization) but the lived reality not always corresponding to this legal status.[1272]

In the WPA project, the Seleucia collection and its site of origin is conceptualized without any relationship to contemporary communities bearing geographical ties to the site's regional context. Contemporary narratives—longstanding but deliberately popularized by figures such as Egyptologist James Henry Breasted in the first third of the 20th century and still deployed today—placed the origins of "Western Civilization" in the ancient Middle East with the modern West as sole inheritors of past greatness and elided the post-antique Middle East.[1273] It is anachronistic to expect white American archaeologists of the interwar period to engage such regional descent communities, now more frequently recognized as stakeholders, given their deployment of disciplinary practices that systematically excluded Middle Easterners from archaeological knowledge of the Middle East, as outlined in the discussion of Seleucia's excavating workforce (in the preceding chapter), and authority over the region's ancient past: nevertheless, anachronism does not lessen the consequences of such active exclusions.

[1272] Naber 2000; Gualtieri 2001, 2009; Howell 2014, 61-71.

[1273] This narrative is famously epitomized by the sculptural tympanum over the entrance to Breasted's Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago's, which depicts an allegory of "East Teaching the West": an Egyptian Scribe ("East") reaches toward with a scroll a cloaked male youth ("West"), each flanked by iconic figures of, respectively ancient Near Eastern civilizations and Western modernity. Thus, ancient "East" hands modern West" knowledge. Emberling 2010; Ambridge 2012; Tugendhaft 2020, 52-54.

Moreover, this exclusion speaks to the limits of the Popular Front-tinged multi-ethnic liberal rhetoric. While the project celebrated the ethnically- and professionally- diverse participants and their intellectual offerings, they ignored a proximate community whose linguistic skills may have been directly relevant and whose cultural knowledge could have animated interpretations of those Silk Road dreams. Furthermore, we may see echoes of the local racial hierarchy, expressed by Faye Elizabeth Smith, in interwar Detroit that preferred Chinese immigrants to those understood by white Detroiters as "Turks."

The abstracts and bibliographic references to the eastern reaches of the Silk Road collated by WPA workers apparently do not survive among the bibliographic index cards extant in the Kelsey Museum's Seleucia Excavation Records archive. Rather, the archived cards include bibliographic references and images of comparanda, especially for architecture, site plans, and occasional objects, from sites ranging from the eastern Mediterranean to Iran.[1274] Whether deemed not useful by the supervising archaeologists or later discarded by Kelsey Museum collections personnel in the intervening decades, the WPA workers' enthusiastic research into the broader "Orient" yielded fewer lasting contributions for the project except as continued alienation of cultural heritage from regional stakeholder communities.

8.3.6 "This would explain the disorganized state of the boxes of catalogue cards as they existed in the Kelsey Museum attic for many years."[1275]

Not all of the effects of the WPA project on the Seleucia artifacts and documentation are detectable. As noted above, only a portion of the bibliographic reference files survive in the

[1274] KMA/Seleucia, Card Files, Boxes 23-26, 28-30, 33-34. Many of these index card files were presumably produced in the WPA project: Box 26 ("Unfinished Work: Photos) contains a filing tab labeled "For Mrs. Stevens." As noted above, Dr. Dorritt Stevens was one of the project's technical supervisors. The end of the WPA project, however, was not the last time these cards were assessed: a note in the same box (Box 26) reads "Examined June 11, 1949."

[1275] Pam Reister, "A note to the file," June 1985, KMA/Seleucia 5.5.

Kelsey Museum Archive, and the source of object catalogue cards, for example, cannot be definitely placed with the WPA workers versus later Kelsey Museum personnel and affiliates. As evident in archival documents, later Kelsey personnel posited that the WPA lab was the source of the object card files, some of which were discarded after their content was retyped as condensed lists in 1985.[1276] The work of the WPA project did, however, have a physical impact on the objects—details of treatment of the site's coins for cleaning, for example, are offered in the 1940 *Hoof Prints and Foot Prints* pamphlet[1277] and other such physical interventions are all but certain, if unrecorded and not precisely known today, for other categories of artifacts—and the end of the project had disruptive consequences for the state of the site's documentation. This point in the collection's biography is, thus, rather critical for understanding the project's archival documentation, while also offering an ambivalent lesson on the need for a comprehensive plans for transfering material and documentation in collections-based projects.

As Reister's 1985 note suggests, the project ended suddenly in 1941. Specific traces of this end and dispersal of project resources are present elsewhere in Kelsey Museum archive. A copy of an equipment inventory list can probably be associated with the end of the project: listing UM property (and financial valuation) at the WPA lab as of April 14, 1941, the document records the different University of Michigan units as sources for different items of equipment—the Museum of Anthropology, the Institute of Archaeological Research, the Seleucia Expedition, and the Museum of Archaeology.[1278] Other funding sources for the equipment are added in pencil ("McD. [McDowell] Funds" or "Dr. Matson (loan)"), as are either a check or question

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[1276] Note before condensed Set A as list, object type file, Pam Reister 1985, 3rd item, KMA/Seleucia 5.5.
[1277] The coins were soaked in sodium hydroxide and Rochelle salts for two days, after which the coins were mechanically cleaned with aluminum brushes. This process was repeated. A subset of coins, selected for this quality of preservation, were soaked in a combination of dilute hydrochloric and nitric acids for 10 to 15 seconds, before further mechanical cleaning and, finally, coated with a combination of duco cement and acetone to prevent corrosion. "Hoof Prints and Foot Prints," 7-8.
[1278] "List of University of Michigan Property on Archaeological Project," April 14, 1941, KMA/Seleucia 5.1.

mark next to each item, indicating that this list copy was used for taking inventory, presumably for the items to be returned to their lending units. One annotation records that the balances owned by the WPA and the university were accidentally swapped: the WPA-owned balance was brought back to Ann Arbor while the University of Michigan's balance was left in Detroit. The collection of equipment, epitomizing the sponsoring collaborations underlying the project, were dispersed back to their lenders as the collaboration itself ended.[1279]

The artifacts were also transferred back from Detroit to Ann Arbor. A typed list of "Figurines in Detroit" with the annotations "Figurines brought in/April 15" and initialed "D.R.S." (likely Dorritt Raymond Stevens) dated April 21st, may be an inventory of the terracottas to be returned to the university in 1941. If not, they are still a testament to the movement of figurines, already far from Seleucia and Baghdad, from Ann Arbor to Detroit and back during the WPA project's existence.[1280] Laurie Talalay and Margaret Cool Root attribute the disassociation of coins and contextual information to the disruptions of this project, though such provenience ruptures may also be attributable to other points in the collection's life.[1281]

The university's 1941-1942 annual report attributes the project's discontinuation to WPA laboratory director (and excavation field director) Robert McDowell's and excavator director Clark Hopkins' decisions to take leave from the university in order to enter military service (with the rising specter of US engagement in World War II during summer 1941).[1282] However, as noted above, WPA projects and funding slowed down by mid-1941, as, on the one hand,

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[1279] Further correspondence between Frederick Matson and Carl Guthe records their coordination of the return of WPA equipment once the WPA lab staff had dispersed for their wartime activities, such as Matson in Washington, D.C., working at the National Bureau of Standards as a ceramics engineer (Copy of letter, Carl Guthe to Frederick Matson, July 11, 1942; Letter, Fredrick Matson to Carl Guthe, August 7, 1942; Copy of letter, Carl Guthe to Frederick Matson, August 19, 1942; Copy of letter, Carl Guthe to Frederick Matson, September 4, 1942, Bentley/Guthe Box 3, "Matson, Fred Correspondence-1940s" Folder).
[1280] "Figurines in Detroit," no date, KMA/Seleucia 5.1.
[1281] Talalay and Root 2015, 130.
[1282] Winter 1942, 284.

conservative opposition to the New Deal in Congress chipped away at WPA funding and, on the other, war manufacturing, including under the 1941 Lend-Lease Act, stirred the U.S. economy (and thus decreased unemployment) and as WPA projects were reoriented toward military defense. The final WPA archaeological projects ended in early January 1942, and the WPA itself was officially shut down on June 30, 1943.[1283] Thus, it seems unlikely that the Seleucia WPA project would have been funded by the WPA for another year even without the departures of key project personnel for military service. Participation in World War II, however, did orient several of the Seleucia-affiliated archaeologists' careers away from academia after the war, a larger twentieth century rupture that—in addition to the disarrayed move from Detroit to Ann Arbor—left the Seleucia excavation underpublished.

8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have offered an account of the Works Progress Administration project focused on processing the University of Michigan's Seleucia materials. I have sought to contextualize it among other New Deal Archaeological projects; in the context of this dissertation project, it is also contextualized within Michigan's Seleucia Expedition, as well as in the practice of American archaeology in and of the Middle East. The most proximate discussion for comparison is that which concerns the locally-hired Iraqi excavation force discussed in Chapters 4 to 7. The most obvious contrast with the discourse around the locally-hired Iraqi workforce who excavated the material for which these WPA workers were responsible concerns visibility. Whereas the Iraqi workforce was largely occluded and instrumentalized, the WPA lab workers, and their diverse backgrounds, were touted publicly, as a result of political necessity and ideological interest.

[1283] Himmelberg 2001, 14-20, 53; Taylor 2008, 509-20, 25.

The WPA project was a significant site of intervention on and in the collection and excavation archive, as suggested by Chapter 1. It was a place where objects were physically altered, documentation was generated, collections were circulated, and knowledge accrued. The very possibility of this project was premised on the practice of division or partage, which itself originated in inequitable antiquities laws that moved antiquities from access of proximate stakeholders, but, as we see in this project, created new ones in southeast Michigan (Chapter 2).

Furthermore, examining this project, as Steven Shapin suggests, makes available a fuller history of the excavation and collection. In this case, I have sought to put into view a fuller and more diverse range of participants in post-fieldwork processes than those who published the material (the typical "post-fieldwork" constituents). Their labor—both its contributions and the difficulties it introduced—was consequential for Seleucia at Michigan.

The project also offers an example of multiple networks engaged and intersecting: academic, nonexpert, and funding. In this way, it is relevant as something we might call a public history project today, a space of participation, publicity, and public education about the site and ancient Middle Eastern antiquity in general. Furthermore, we can glimpse the limitations of this project and the interwar liberal, leftist progressive imagination, circumscribed by its orientalism and an ambivalence toward expertise and non-expertise.

Conclusion: Seleucia, Revisited

I have argued in this dissertation that returning to archaeological archives of historical excavations is both productive for new archaeological research and ethically necessary, both for collections stewardship and for a more inclusive, self-reflexive archaeological history and practice. Such archives must be approached both critically and creatively, with the recognition of the contexts of their production. Indeed, they hold information about the processes of knowledge production and about these very contexts.

These contexts matter. They include the colonial, imperial frameworks in which the excavation took place and with which the excavation was complicit, as well as the institutional structures which guided practice and goals. Another context was the usual practice of fieldwork, including the disciplinary exclusion of locally-hired "invisible technicians." The occlusion of Iraqi excavation workers—stakeholders in the archaeological knowledge and cultural heritage of Seleucia—at Seleucia is by no means an ethical shortcoming of the Michigan excavation alone, nor a sin solely of the past. While some specifics may differ (i.e., in specific photographic practices), the Michigan excavation at Seleucia is comparable to other digs. Understanding the workforce and their roles better helps us better understand the contours of excavated corpora, while acknowledging the dignity of significant, ignored contributors to archaeological knowledge. This acknowledgment is belated but important, and it opens up possibilities of new practices in the present and future. The WPA project discussed in Chapter 8 celebrated its workers, who are also important constituents, but it, too, had its limitations in still alienating workers from the expertise and in excluding relevant stakeholders. As an unusual public history

case study, recognitions of its limitations may offer us lessons for community-engaged archaeological work today.

The University of Michigan excavation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris has much more to offer. With these contexts in view—and more, still, to be elucidated—ancient Seleucia is ready to be revisited.

Appendix: Seleucia Expedition Staff

This appendix collates information about members of the excavation staff and other individuals who crop up in Seleucia publications or archival documents. I first list "official" staff according to season, including their official roles when specified. These lists are followed by short biographical or professional details about each.

In order to keep the narrative spotlight on the Iraqi excavation workforce in Chapters 5 through 7, I have chosen to provide this information in an appendix. This does not mean that the activities of these men and women were unimportant or inconsequential. They, too, are integral parts of the history of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and of University of Michigan archaeological activities in the Middle East: they are also significant contributors to knowledge produced at the site. Additionally, their professional networks, their social positions, and their perspectives are meaningful in understanding the place of the Seleucia-on-the-Tigris excavation in the practice of American archaeology in the interwar Middle East. Finally, it is useful to know when each was involved with the project, even just for the practical task of identifying to what season an undated photograph belongs.

I have included Dorritt Raymond Stevens, although she is properly part of the WPA staff, in this appendix for convenience. Biographical details of the WPA project employees are offered in Chapter 8, which is focused on the WPA Seleucia laboratory in Detroit.

Official Staff, by Season

Season A

December 29, 1927, to March 10, 1928[1284]

Staff Member	Official [stated] Role
Leroy Waterman	director

[1284] Barton 1928a; Waterman 1931c, v.

F. H. Sproule	assistant
Nicola E. Manasseh	assistant

Season B

November 10, 1928, to February 28, 1929[1285]

Staff Member	Official [stated] Role
Leroy Waterman	director
Dr. Clarence S. Fisher	
Nicola E. Manasseh	
Robert H. McDowell	
Harry Dorman, Jr.	
Present but not included in staff lists	
Olga R. McDowell	
Sophia, last name unknown (sister of Olga McDowell)	

Season C

September 29, 1929, to February 1, 1930[1286]

Staff Member	Official [stated] Role
Leroy Waterman	director
Franklin P. Johnson	
Samuel Yeivin	
A.M. Mintier	
Nicola E. Manasseh	
Robert H. McDowell	
Charles Spicer, Jr.	
Present but not included in staff lists	
Olga R. McDowell	
Sophia, last name unknown (sister of Olga McDowell)	

Season D

September 13, 1930, to January 25, 1931[1287]

Staff Member	Official [stated] Role
Leroy Waterman	director
Neilson C. Debevoise	Parthian specialist and photographer
Robert. H. McDowell	field manager
Olga R. McDowell	house manager

[1285] Waterman 1931c, v.
[1286] Waterman 1929b, 27, 1931c, v.
[1287] Waterman 1933a, v; Debevoise 1934, vii.

Samuel Yeivin	field archaeologist
Nicola Manasseh	architect and surveyor
Robert J. Braidwood	artist and draftsman
Harry G. Dorman, Jr.	recorder and general assistant
Donald Waterman	chauffer and general helper

Season E

September 28, 1931, to April 1, 1932[1288]
(The excavation itself ended February 1, 1932.)

Staff Member	Official [stated] Role
Leroy Waterman	director
Nicola Manasseh	Architect and surveyor
Samuel Yeivin	field archaeologist
Mabelle Waterman	draftsman and recorder
William C. Bellingham	photographer and general assistant
D. Saarasalo	Assisted in the field
Mrs. Saarsalo	Assisted with freehand drawing
Dorothea Waterman	bookkeeper, typist, and house assistant [Not officially considered staff]

Season F

ca. October 10, 1936, to late February 1937[1289]

Staff Member	Official [stated] Role
Clark Hopkins	director and epigraphist
Robert. H. McDowell	field director and archaeologist
Samuel Yeivin	archaeologist and recorder
Fred R. Matson Jr	archaeological assistant and specialist in ceramics
Henry Detweiler	assistant architect
Richard M. Robinson	house manager
Neilson C. Debevoise	archaeologist (assistant director) and in charge of photography
William C. Bellingham	photography
Olga R. McDowell	assistant in photography; house manager
Martha K. Debevoise	assistant in recording

[1288] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Frank E. Robbins, December 16, 1931, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.1; Waterman 1933a, vi; Debevoise 1934, vi.

[1289] Copy of letter, Frank E. Robbins to Saty Bey, August 15, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14; Copies of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank E. Robbins, December 7, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17 and Bentley/KMA/McDowell 1.1; Letter, H.M. Bell to John Griffiths Pedley, April 12, 1978, KMA/Gazda 13.46; Hopkins 1937, 28.

Jevat Saffar Effendi Department of Antiquities Representative

Possibly present but not included in staff lists

Mrs. Bellingham [first name unknown][1290]

Excavation Staff and Associates, by Last Name

Bellingham, William C.

William C. Bellingham, an Englishman based in Baghdad, served as photographer and general assistant during the fifth season (Season E, 1931/32), and as photographer, with Neilson Debevoise, in the sixth season (Season F, 1936/37). During Season F, he also assisted Richard Robinson with surveying and undertook biweekly trips for supplies, cash, and mail to Baghdad.[1291] According to Winifred Smeaton, Bellingham was unofficially in charge of the site during the off-season in 1933.[1292]

Braidwood, Robert J.

Robert J. Braidwood worked at Seleucia during Season D (1930/31). He had received a degree in architecture in 1929 from the University of Michigan, to which he soon returned for further coursework in ancient history and anthropology, in light of the dire employment outlook in architecture due to the Great Depression. There he encountered Waterman and subsequently was invited to join the Seleucia excavation as an architectural surveyor. He also served as an artist and draftsman, illustrating the pottery in 1930-31 for Debevoise's *Parthian Pottery* volume.[1293] He published Parthian period jewelry from the site in the *Second Preliminary Report.*[1294]

1290 Hopkins Notebook, December 13, 1936

1291 Copies of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank E. Robbins, December 7, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17 and Bentley/KMA/McDowell 1.1.

1292 Smeaton 1933; Waterman 1933a, vi; Hopkins 1937, 28.

1293 Debevoise 1934, vii.

1294 Braidwood 1933.

Waterman wrote admiringly of Braidwood to his wife Mabelle,

> Braidwood is a real man and his experiences in building business is very useful here. He has engineered the work on the well entirely and has also got the apparatus worked out for our sounding operations in the mounds.[1295]

Braidwood subsequently earned an additional BA (1932) and MA (1933) from Michigan, and he was hired by the Oriental Institute to work at their Syrian Expedition to the Amuq. He earned his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1942, where he then taught with a joint appointment in the Oriental Institute and Department of Anthropology from 1945 to 1978. He and Linda Braidwood, his wife and archaeological partner, had long careers as prehistorians in the Middle East; further details can be found in a biographical memoir for the American Academy of Sci by Patty Jo Watson.[1296]

Debevoise, Martha K.

Martha Debevoise was present for Season F. Her husband was Neilson Debevoise; he attributes preparation of the manuscript and plates of his *Parthian Pottery* volume too her, as well as "many suggestions now embedded in the text."[1297] During Season F, she assisted Samuel Yeivin in registering the finds. The Deveboises' toddler son, Tommy, was also present at dig for Season F.

Debevoise, Neilson Carel

Neilson Debevoise was a Parthian specialist who published the pottery from Season D and E.[1298] He earned his doctorate from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and

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[1295] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 3, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930.
[1296] Braidwood 1989; Watson 2006; Kovacic [2016].
[1297] Debevoise 1934, vii.
[1298] Debevoise 1934.

subsequently held a position at the Oriental Institute. He was a member of the excavation staff for Seasons D and F and consulted for the WPA project, including for photography.[1299] Aside from his work on the pottery from Seleucia, he is best known for his 1938 monograph *A Political History of Parthia*.[1300] With the onset of World War II, he joined Army Intelligence. He did not return to academia and archaeological work after the war, instead working at the U.S. Department of State. [1301]

Detweiler, A. (Albert) Henry

Henry Detweiler came to Seleucia for six weeks during Season F as an architect, coming from Yale's Dura-Europos expedition.[1302] Trained as an architect at the University of Pennsylvania, he had previously worked as an archaeological architect on multiple excavations in Iraq and Palestine. His wife, Catherine (or Catharine) Bunnell Detweiler, had assisted Robert McDowell with cleaning, filing, and preliminarily identifying Seleucia coins.[1303] He began teaching architectural history at Cornell University in 1939 and continued work as an archaeological architect at numerous sites. Very involved with ASOR, he served as ASOR president from 1955-1966.[1304]

Dorman, Harry G., Jr.

Harry G. Dorman was a member of the excavation staff for Season B and D: for the latter, his role was officially "recorder and general assistant."[1305] He was born in Beirut into an American Protestant missionary family long present in Lebanon: he was the son of Dr. Harry G.

[1299] "Order 783465," August 26, 1938, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.18.
[1300] Debevoise 1938.
[1301] Olbrycht and Nikonorov 2015.
[1302] Hopkins 1937, 28.
[1303] McDowell 1935a, ix. Letter, Robert McDowell to Leroy Waterman, February 25, 1932, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2.
[1304] Albright 1970; Mackesey, Hartell, and Jacobs 1970; King 1983, 146-47; No author [no date].
[1305] Waterman 1929b, 26, 1931c, v, 1933a, v.

Dorman, Sr., the first dean of American University of Beirut's (AUB) medical school, and the great-grandson of American missionary Daniel Bliss, founder and first president of AUB (then called Syrian Protestant College).[1306] When Clarence Fisher was unable to return to Seleucia after Christmas 1929 (in the middle of Season B), Waterman was unable to find any available archaeologists from the American School at Jerusalem to substitute for Fisher. As Waterman passed through Beirut en route to the U.S., he visited with his friends, the Dorman family. As he wrote to Mabelle,

> Finally in the afternoon I decided to call on the Dorman's and did so & they invited me to tea. I also bought a fine prehistoric bronze ax head [of?] Dr. Dorman and in our conversation I told him of my need for a man to help out at the dig. He said why not send my son Harry. I said fine go fetch him. He is the best instructor they have in their Prep school. I immediately went & saw their principal. He took it nicely he said he would if he could provide someone to carry his work meantime. The Dorman's then invited me to dinner & we talked every thing over. Their son Harry is a Harvard man & has his MA. He is enthusiastic about going to Iraq and I was to learn the outcome this morning. I got the Principal all right but when he called the Pres. on the phone I saw there was trouble and it looked like a failure but I finally got on the line myself and got to the Pres. to let the Principal decide it and then I won out. I am to borrow young Dorman for 3 weeks. He is good in Greek and will help me out generally, I just had time to wire McDowell before my car left for Haifa.[1307]

At the time, Dorman was a 23-year-old "staffite," a teacher at International College, the feeder preparatory school of the American University of Beirut. He returned to Seleucia for Season D, where, among his archaeological tasks, he seems to have been the impetus behind the Friday boys' school described in Chapter 7. He later earned his Bachelor of Divinity from Union Theological Seminary and a Ph.D. in education from Columbia University, subsequently spending his career in Presbyterian missionary and education work.[1308]

[1306] Carrington and Ludvigsen 2011, 10-11; Dorman 2020. Personal communication, Peter Dorman.
[1307] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, February 6, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1929.
[1308] Carrington and Ludvigsen 2011, 10-11. Personal communication, Peter Dorman.

Fisher, Clarence S.

Clarence Stanley Fisher was on the excavation staff for Season B.[1309] At the time of the Seleucia excavation, he lived in Ramallah, Palestine. Waterman described Fisher's position on the project to his children thus:

> Then Dr. Fisher from Palestine, who is my chief technical adviser. He also mends pots and draws pottery. He knows Syrian and Egyptian Arabic but not Iraqi and besides that he stutters, which makes it hard for the Arabs here to understand him.[1310]

Fisher was a ubiquitous figure in American archaeology of the Middle East, particularly in Palestine, for the first four decades of the twentieth century. Trained as an architect at the University of Pennsylvania, he first worked in the field at Nippur from 1898 to 1900, and subsequently worked on numerous projects in Mesopotamia, Jordan, Palestine, and Egypt. Among these was a contested time as field director at Megiddo, from 1925 to 1927. He also was a member of the staff at the excavation Waterman directed at Sepphoris in 1931.[1311] He was Professor at ASOR in Jerusalem beginning in 1925, a position that became permanent in 1933. He died in Jerusalem in 1941; at that time, he was Acting Director of the American School of Oriental Research.[1312]

Hopkins, Clark

Clark Hopkins was the second director of the Michigan Seleucia excavation. Lack of funding meant that he only directed one field season, Season F (1936-1937), despite plans to return for another sustained campaign. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin,

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[1309] Waterman 1931c, v.
[1310] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald and Dorothea Waterman, December 7, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.
[1311] Gazda and Friedland 1997.
[1312] Glueck 1941; Cline 2020, passim.

then held a three-year fellowship at Yale, during which time he and his wife Susan both attended the Summer School at the American Academy in Rome then the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (ASCSA). During that time, they both went to the excavation of Olynthus, where they gained field experience that they subsequently took to their work at the French-American (Yale) project at Dura-Europos. Mikhail Rostovtzeff appointed Hopkins assistant director for the second campaign at Dura-Europos, beginning in 1929; Hopkins was Field Director there from 1931 to 1935.[1313] He and his wife Susan visited Seleucia from Dura-Europos in 1929; this visit was noted by Waterman in his diary and by Susan Hopkins in letters home.[1314]

In 1935, Hopkins accepted a position at the University of Michigan as an Associate Professor of Latin and Greek in 1935 and assumed directorship of the Seleucia excavation. Although he only directed one field season at Seleucia, he came to steward the Seleucia excavation materials, holding graduate seminars focused on the material and ultimately publishing *Topography and architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris* in 1972.[1315] He described the challenge of this publication project in a letter to Dean Stephen H. Spurr of the University of Michigan's Rackham Graduate School of Studies in 1969 when requesting funding for printing. He wrote that this volume was originally to be undertaken by Robert McDowell, but as McDowell and Debevoise both "remain[ed] in government service" following World War II, "the completion of the volume fell on me. The work was difficult because each season there had been a different architect and I had been present at Seleucia only during the last season."[1316]

[1313] Hopkins 1979; Goldman and Goldman 2011; Baird 2014, 2018.
[1314] Waterman Notebook 3, January 20, 1929; Goldman and Goldman 2011, 140.
[1315] Hopkins 1972.
[1316] Copy of Letter, Clark Hopkins to Stephen Spurr, January 9, 1969, KMA/Seleucia 5.2.

Johnson, Franklin P.

Franklin Plotinus [Plotinos] Johnson[1317] was a member of the Seleucia staff during Season C. At the time, he was a professor at Duke University; Waterman described his qualifications and role thusly: "three years of archaeological training in Greece and he will act as Greek epigraphist and have technical charge of Greek matters."[1318] Johnson had been a fellow at ASCSA from 1921 to 1924, during which time he was part of the ASCSA excavations at Colophon in 1922.[1319] Waterman wrote to Mabelle en route to Iraq to commence Season C,

> I am very much pleased with my men. Johnson is a very fine fellow, quiet and unassuming but dignified and with a real head on him. I think he is going to be a real man and fill the bill. He knows Godwin very well from student days together at Missouri University. He also knows Olmstead slightly, for he taught awhile at Illinois.[1320]

Johnson had to depart Season C in early January 1930, but, as Leroy Waterman wrote to Mabelle Waterman, "Johnson came for Greek stuff and we really haven't much Greek at all yet."[1321]

Johnson received his AB and AM from the University of Missouri and his Ph.D. in 1921 from Johns Hopkins, where his dissertation on Lysippus was directed by David Moore Robinson. Prior to his position at Duke, he had been at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He later had a faculty appointment at the University of Chicago. He remained involved with ASCSA

[1317] His father, Thomas Moore Johnson, was a lawyer in Osceola, Missouri, and a lifelong student of Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy, thus his son's middle name of "Plotinus" (O'Brien 2020; Johnson Library and Museum [no date]; University of Missouri [no date].)

[1318] Waterman 1929b.

[1319] Seymour and Merritt 1946; Davis 1997, 155 fig. 3.

[1320] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, August 26, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929.

[1321] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 23, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929. He followed up in a later letter to say, "We shall not greatly miss him since our Greek things so far have been more or less indirect Of course it means tho one less person to do things" (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 30, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929).

throughout his career, and his publications were focused primarily on Greek art, archaeology, and philology.[1322]

Manasseh (Manassa), Nicola (Nicholas) Elia

Manasseh participated in the first five seasons at Seleucia. In Season A, his role is described various by Waterman as "assistant" or "architect"; it is unspecified for seasons B and C. He was both architect and surveyor in Season D; and he is architect in Season E. He came to Tel Umar from surveying team at the University of Pennsylvania's excavation at Beisan (Beit She'an), Palestine (now Israel).[1323] He contributed chapters on architecture to the two first preliminary reports.[1324] Of Manasseh during Season A, Waterman wrote to Mabelle:

> My architect Manasseh Effendi arrived form Palestine last Saturday night and has been on the job with me ever since. He has been a wonderful help and is worth far more than he costs. He speaks Arabic as a native and that goes fine with the workers. I have got so I can tell them what to do and in general how to do it but when it comes to fine points I do not make much of an impression. He is also a draughtsman and can draw the pottery and other objects in our records. His judgment too on where to dig and how to proceed is I feel excellent. He was a week late in coming owning to his cholera inoculation but that saved me money and I could get along but was very glad to see him when he came.[1325]

Waterman described him as a "Syrian Christian."[1326] At various times, Waterman recorded (in letters and in his journals) reading the New Testament in Arabic with Manasseh.[1327] As noted in Chapter 4, his role extended beyond his archaeological duties: he often translated

[1322] Seymour and Merritt 1946; Davis 1997, 155 fig. 3.
[1323] Barton 1928a, 6; Waterman 1931c, v, 1933a, v-vi.
[1324] Manasseh 1931; Manasseh 1933.
[1325] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, January 12, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1928.
[1326] Michigan Alumnus 1928a.
[1327] E.g., "Manasseh has just read to me the parable of the sower in Arabic" (Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 14, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1930).

between Arabic and English and acted as a fixer for the excavation. (Waterman wrote home that that Manasseh "added French" by Season B[1328]).

He was born in Acre, Palestine, and earned his B.A. at the American University of Beirut (AUB) in 1927.[1329] In order to participate in Season B (and possibly other seasons), Waterman had to get permission from the Minister of Public Works in Damascus, where Manasseh was apparently employed, in order to get him granted leave for three or four months (as he could not afford to hire him for the entire year).[1330] His brother, Constantine Manasseh, lived in Damascus at least in 1929; he listed Damascus as his most recent permanent address for entry into the U,S, in 1930.[1331]

Following Season C, he accompanied Waterman back to Ann Arbor (Robert and Olga McDowell did also), in order to study at the University of Michigan. Due to his credits (of a combined engineering and literary course), he had earned a BA at AUB and thus was not eligible for graduate work (or graduate fellowships) in Engineering at Michigan. Nevertheless, he pursued and earned a B.S. in civil engineering in 1931 from Michigan.[1332] Before the end of Season C, Waterman wrote several letters to Mabelle, asking her to send particular engineering textbooks for Manasseh, so that he might study on the journey to the U.S. (as they were to arrive

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[1328] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald and Dorothea Waterman, December 7, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.

[1329] Photograph, "Graduating Class of the School of Arts and Sciences with President Bayard Dodge and Dr. Edward Nickoley," 29 June 1927, American University Beirut Library, https://libcat.aub.edu.lb/record=b1370016~S1.

[1330] Letters, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 31, 1928, and November 26, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.

[1331] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 9, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929; "List or Manifest of Alien Passengers for the United States Immigration Officer at Port of Arrival," ship manifest, frame 793, Line 1, S.S. Laurentic, *The Statue of Liberty—Ellis Island Foundation*, https://www.statueofliberty.org/discover/passenger-ship-search/ .

[1332] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, October 4, 1929, and November 16, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929; American University of Beirut Alumni Association 1953, 176.

a week after the start of the winter term).[1333] Manasseh was a member of the staff for Michigan's excavation of Sepphoris in Palestine in summer 1931, also directed by Waterman.[1334]

Manasseh began teaching at AUB as a faculty member in civil engineering in 1944. In the interim (1932-1943), he worked as a civil engineer for the Iraq Petroleum Company, and he continued to work as a private engineering consultant while he taught at AUB. He remained engaged in alumni activities (his name appears in, for example, an AUB alumni publication, *Al-Kulliyah Magazine* as actively involved in alumni activities in 1952).[1335]

Matson, Frederick R., Jr.

Frederick Rognald Matson, Jr., was a member of the excavation staff for Season F. He supervised excavation of "Temple A." He subsequently was involved in the WPA project in Detroit (see Chapter 8). He had earned his B.S. in ceramic engineering from the University of Illinois in 1933 and received his Master's in anthropology and his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, where his 1939 doctoral dissertation offered a technical analysis of ceramics from Seleucia. He worked particularly with Carl Guthe, professor of anthropological archaeology and director of the Museum of Anthropology (and chair of Matson's dissertation committee).[1336]

He resumed his work as a ceramics engineer with the onset of World War II, in the Glass Division of the National Bureau of Standards.[1337] Following the war, he remained for a time in

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[1333] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 9, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929.
[1334] Gazda and Friedland 1997.
[1335] Al-Kulliyah Magazine 1952; American University of Beirut 1952, 16-17; American University of Beirut Alumni Association 1953, 176.
[1336] Matson 1939; Borza 2008.
[1337] Carl Guthe served as a professional reference for him for this position (Letter, William C. Fewell to Carl Guthe, January 21, 1942; Copy of Letter, Carl Guthe to William C. Fewell, January 29, 1942; Letter, William C. Fewell to Carl Guthe, February 27, 1942, Bentley/Guthe Box 3, "Matson, Fred Correspondence-1940s" Folder). They corresponded as Matson settled into this new position (in the course of which correspondence Matson noted socializing with Robert and Olga McDowell in the Washington, D.C., area as Robert McDowell also entered his wartime work in the War Department; Letters, Frederick Matson to Carl Guthe, April 2, 1942, and April 21, 1942, Bentley/Guthe Box 3, "Matson, Fred Correspondence-1940s" Folder).

the private sector, working in in glass research at the Armstrong Cork Company. In 1948, he joined the faculty at Penn State, first as a professor of ceramics in the College of Mineral Industries, then as a professor of archaeology in the College of Liberal Arts.[1338] He was interested in both technical and ethnographic aspects of pottery, proposing an approach he called "ceramic ecology."[1339] Throughout his career, he remained active in the field (at sites across the world) and the laboratory. The Matson Museum of Anthropology at Penn State is named after him.

In 1988, he returned to the University of Michigan to give a brown bag talk (entitled "Pottery Studies and the Up-to-Date Archaeologist"), tagging the trip onto a lecture he was giving at the Detroit Institute of Art about the glazed brick from the Babylon's Ishtar Gate. The following year, he sent Seleucia figurines in his possession to be incorporated back into the Kelsey Museum collection.[1340] I posit that two boxes of Matson's archival material (notes, notebooks, cards) pertaining to Seleucia (and currently grouped with the Seleucia excavation archives but not formally archived into the collection) may have arrived at the Kelsey around that time.[1341]

McDowell, Robert Harbold

Robert H. McDowell was a member of the Seleucia staff for Seasons B to D and Season F; he came to serve as the excavation's field director. He was married to Olga McDowell. The McDowells joined the Seleucia excavation for Season B somewhat incidentally, after meeting

[1338] Borza 2008.
[1339] Matson 1965; Kolb 2020.
[1340] Letter with enclosed CV, Frederick Matson to Elaine Gazda, April 27, 1988; Flyer for Brown Bag "Pottery Studies and the Up-to-Date Archaeologist," May 18, 1988; Letter, Robin Meador-Woodruff to Frederick Matson, September 13, 1989, KMA/Gazda 11.29.
[1341] These were moved onto the KMA archive shelves housing the Seleucia Expedition Records by Fall 2020.

Waterman in Baghdad. Waterman reported, in a letter to his wife Mabelle, that he met Robert and Olga McDowell when they were down on their luck:

> He undertook scientific [farming?] here and his Iraqi partner let him down, and he is almost stranded here. He is an American and an awfully nice fellow, and he is willing to go down to the dig with me, much as Sproule did, except that he knows the Arabic and his wife is willing to go along and with a native servant to help her, she will take charge of the house and the cooking. I wouldn't think of it if they hadn't both already lived here and that too under very trying conditions. But I am really doing them a favor by taking them on, and it will cost me very little. I feel that he is going to be a great help and his knowledge of the Arabs has already saved me much money.[1342]

An American born in Alexandria, Syria (Ottoman Empire) to American missionary parents, he grew up in the Middle East and central Asia. He went to the U.S. to attend Wooster, Ohio Preparatory School; he received his BA from Wooster College in 1915. He subsequently returned to western and central Asia; in his own words, "[d]uring the period from 1917 to 1921 I was in the service of either an American war relief agency or the British military intelligence," traveling in and around Turkey, Iran, and Russia.[1343] He was a polyglot: in addition to Arabic, by his own admission he spoke English, German, French, Turkish, Armenian, and Syriac, and was learning Russian in 1917.[1344]

Waterman described him thus in a letter written during Season C to Blake-More Godwin of the Toledo Museum of Art:

> McDowell is 'efficiency engineer' of the work gangs and can get more work out of the Arabs than any man I have seen try it. It can't be said that they like him but they do make the dirt fly under his watchful eye.[1345]

[1342] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 4, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.
[1343] McDowell 1968, 453.
[1344] McDowell 1968, 452.
[1345] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Blake-More Godwin, November 4, 1929, TMA/Mesopotamian.

Following Season B, he and Olga remained in Iraq and spearheaded construction of an excavation house for the Seleucia staff. Following Season C, the couple accompanied Waterman (and Manasseh) to Ann Arbor, where they stayed the year. He earned his MA from Michigan in 1931 and his PhD in 1933.[1346] He stayed at Michigan as a Research Associate in Mesopotamian Archaeology, working on the Seleucia material, and he held a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1935-1936, which he used to travel in Iran for numismatic study.[1347] He published the coins and sealings from Seleucia[1348] and directed the WPA project in Detroit (discussed in Chapter 8).

With the onset of World War II, he entered military service.[1349] His work in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), first as a desk officer in Cairo at the Joint Intelligence Collection Agency, Middle East (JICAME), brought him to Yugoslavia in 1944 as the head of a controversial OSS mission, code-named RANGER, to the headquarters of Chetnik leader Draža Mihailović.[1350] After the war, he briefly returned to the University of Michigan (apparently teaching Balkan history) but soon left in February 1946 for a federal government position.

McDowell, Olga R.

Olga R. McDowell was a member of the Seleucia excavation staff for Seasons B to D and F. She was married to Robert McDowell; her younger sister Sophia (also Sophie or Sophy, surname unknown) was also present for Season B and part of Season C (before she was sent to school in Beirut). I have been unable to discover her maiden name (and thus, presumably, her

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[1346] McDowell 1933.
[1347] "Robert H. McDowell," *John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.* https://www.gf.org/fellows/all-fellows/robert-h-mcdowell/; Copy of Letter, Frank E. Robbins to Alexander G. Ruthven, March 28. 1935, Bentley/KMA/IAR 3.16; Letter, Robert McDowell to Frank Robbins, March 10, 1936, Bentley/KMA/IAR 3.16.
[1348] McDowell 1935a, 1935b.
[1349] Letter, Frederick Matson to Carl Guthe, April 21, 1942, Bentley/Guthe Box 3, "Matson, Fred Correspondence-1940s" Folder.
[1350] Inter alia: Associated Press 1946; Michigan Daily 1946; New York Times 1946; Biber 1992; Smith 2005, 137; Buchanan 2014, 249. N.B. McDowell's papers, including some pertaining to his OSS work in the Balkans, are archived at the Hoover Institution Archive at Stanford University.

sister's surname). Unlisted in the staff for Seasons B and C, Waterman lists Olga McDowell as "house manager" in Season D.[1351] Hopkins lists her as the same for Season F.[1352]

Winifred Smeaton reports that her presence at the dig was "very valuable there because of her knowledge of the language," i.e., Arabic.[1353] Like her husband, she was a polyglot. According to Waterman, Robert and Olga McDowell spoke French to each other; her "native tongue" was German; she spoke Turkish and Arabic "as a native"; and "[s]he is weak on English but speaks it better than I ever expect to do in any other language."[1354] She was born in Zagazig in Lower Egypt, and her parents were Czechoslovakian. The journey she and Robert McDowell made to the U.S. following Season C, in 1930, was her first trip to the U.S. In preparing Mabelle for the McDowell's arrival in Ann Arbor, Waterman wrote,

> Don't be shocked because Mrs McD is a Roman Catholic for she is a real Christian if there are anywhere. Also I can't chide her much when she smokes a cigarette with her husband. She was brought up in Turkey in what I think must have been a very refined home. She is so glad to get away from Iraq and very much delighted to see Beirut again. You see she lived for quite a time in Syria. I feel sure you will like her. Of course it is her first trip to America and she is going to be in an entirely new environment and may need much help to make the transition to new adjustments. Above all she wants to become an American like her husband."[1355]

Mintier, Arthur McCall

Arthur McCall Mintier was on the excavation staff for Season C. He was a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania and an instructor at Waynesburg College; his travel and participation were funded by the Penn Museum.[1356] He apparently acquired cuneiform tablets on

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[1351] Waterman 1933a, v.
[1352] Hopkins 1937, 28.
[1353] Smeaton 1933, 478, n.3.
[1354] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Donald and Dorothea Waterman December 7, 1928, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1928.
[1355] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, February 1, 1930, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Jan-July 1930.
[1356] Waterman 1929b.

this same trip; these ultimately ended up in the collection at Waynesburg College in Pennsylvania, where he was professor of history.[1357]

Mueller, [First name unknown]

A Mr. Mueller was hired as an artist/draftsman, presumably in Baghdad or at Seleucia, toward the end of Season F to aid with object drawing.[1358]

Robinson, Richard M.

Richard M. Robinson was an architect on the excavation during Season F. He is little mentioned.[1359]

Saarasalo [Saarisalo], Aapeli

Aapeli Saarisalo and his wife (her name is unknown to me) briefly participated in Season E, arriving on January 7th, 1932. Waterman reported that Aapeli Saarisalo worked in the field, while his wife aided with freehand drawing.[1360] Aapeli Saarasalo was a professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Helsinki.[1361]

Saffar, Javad

Javad Saffar Effendi was the official representative from the Iraqi Department of Antiquities for Season F.

[1357] Snell 1977.

[1358] Manuscript, "Excavations at Seleucia on the Tigris, Season 1936-1937," [undated], Clark Hopkins, page 2, Bentley/KMA/McDowell 1.4; Copy of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank E. Robbins, January 25, 1936[7], Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.14 and 6.17.

[1359] McDowell, for example, reported Robinson's work surveying and sketching Temple B (Copies of letter, Robert McDowell to Frank E. Robbins, January 25, 1937, Bentley/KMA/IAR 6.17 and 6.14).

[1360] Waterman Notebook 9, January 7, 1932, ff.; Waterman 1933a, vi; Debevoise 1934, vi.

[1361] Valkama 2013.

Smeaton, Winifred

Winifred Smeaton (later Smeaton Thomas) was an anthropologist. She received her B.A. in 1924 and her A.M. in 1927 from the University of Michigan; she received her Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Chicago with a dissertation on the Ghassanids. She lived in Iraq from 1932 to 1935, residing with the family of Iraqi politician Ali Jawdat (Ali Jaudet), who was, Smeaton states, at the time of her 1933 visit to Seleucia, the court chamberlain to King Faisal; he was later the Prime Minister of Iraq. From her fieldwork in Iraq, including as a member of the anthropometrically-focused Field Museum Anthropological Expedition to Iraq of 1934, led by Henry Field, she published on women and tattooing in Iraq.[1362]

She recounted a short 1933 visit (from Baghdad) to Seleucia in *The Michigan Alumnus*.[1363] Although there was no active excavation that year (due to lack of funding in the Great Depression), she and her companions met William Bellingham at the site and stayed at the dig house. This visit likely took place in January 1933: according to a finding aid, her papers in the National Anthropological Archives (Smithsonian) include photographs from a January 1933 trip to "Salmon Pak and Seleucia (Tel Umar)."[1364] In addition to visiting the site, she also sketched and described unphotographed figurines in the Baghdad Museum, used by Wilhelmina van Ingen for her publication of Seleucia's figurines; she received a $50 honorarium for this work.[1365]

[1362] Smeaton 1936, 1937, 1940.
[1363] Smeaton 1933.
[1364] Ganderup 2015.
[1365] Copy of letter, Frank E. Robbins to Leroy Waterman, November 27, 1934, Bentley/KMA/IAR 7.2; van Ingen 1939, vii-viii.

Spicer, Charles P., Jr.

Charles P. Spicer, Jr., worked on the excavation in the third season, Season C, as a photographer. He had recently graduated from the University of Michigan (in 1929).[1366] He also assisted Robert McDowell by cleaning, weighing, and measuring coins from Seleucia.[1367]

Sproule, F. H.

F.H. Sproule worked on the project for Season A.[1368] Like the McDowells, his presence on the excavation was by chance. Waterman hired him to act as a temporary cook when the cook he first intended to hire was not available. As he wrote to Mabelle on the first night of the project,

> My temporary cook a student globetrotter from the Univ of California sits near reading an old Outlook. He never cooked before in his life but I couldn't wait to get my real cook & invited him to come along & tonight at dinner we had chicken & gravy potatoes & onions & cabbage salad Arab bread & butter and for dessert custard with apricots. I told my student cook I would give him at least A- for this his first day […] The Californian a Mr Sproule is rather hard up & quite willing to act as secretary & recorder etc if I want him. He was trained in Engineering in Cal. but has not finished as of yet. I brought him along to fill a gap & try out. We shall both see. He is here for the experience & board so far.[1369]

He later described Sproule in BASOR:

> My other man is an American engineering student from the University of California who is traveling around the world and I persuaded him to stop for a couple of months with me here. He is a first-rate man and acts as recorder and general assistant, takes the photos and looks after the workmen when needed for that.[1370]

[1366] Waterman 1929b.
[1367] McDowell 1935a, ix.
[1368] Waterman 1931c, v.
[1369] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, December 29, 1927, Bentley, Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Oct-Dec 1927.
[1370] Barton 1928a, 6-7.

Stevens, Dorritt Raymond

Dorritt (or Doris) Raymond Stevens was the lab supervisor for the WPA project in Detroit. Trained as a classical archaeologist (a numismatist), she had received her Ph.D. in archaeology from Johns Hopkins in 1933 with a dissertation entitled *Macedonian Regal Coinage before Philip II* (which she published in 1953), having received her bachelor's degree from Milwaukee-Downer College and her MA from the University of Chicago. She was a Fellow in Numismatics at the ASCSA Agora Excavations in 1935. At the time of the WPA project, she was married to Edward Boucher Stevens, then an associate professor of Classical languages at Hillsdale College. Prior to her position with the WPA, she, too, taught at Hillsdale, as an associate professor of German. Later in her career, she taught in the Honors College at the University of Mississippi (under her maiden name, Raymond).[1371]

van Ingen, Wilhelmina

Wilhelmina van Ingen published figurines—terracotta, bon, alabaster/marble/plaster—excavated from Seleucia between 1927 and 1932.[1372] With a BA in art history from Vassar College, she earned her doctorate from Radcliffe (Harvard) with a dissertation on Attic painted pottery ("A Study of the Foundry Painter and the Alkimachos Painter") in 1932. She held a research position at the University of Michigan from 1930-1935, for which her first project was work on a volume of University of Michigan collections for the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.* This project was followed by her work on the Seleucia figurine corpus. Margaret Cool Root

[1371] Johns Hopkins University 1933, 13; Hillsdale College 1938, 103; Jackson 1940; University of Mississippi [no date]. 1940 United States Federal Census records: Doris Stevens in household of Edward B Stevens, Year: 1940; State: Michigan; County: Hillsdale; NARA Publication: T0627; NARA Roll: 1755; Enum. District: 30-11; Frame: 286; Page: 61B; Line: 50, accessed through https://records.myheritagelibraryedition.com/research/record-10053-685404318/doris-stevens-in-1940-united-states-federal-census

[1372] van Ingen 1939.

offers a robust account of van Ingen's career and work on the Seleucia figurines in a recent chapter.[1373]

Waterman, Donald

Donald Waterman was the son of Leroy and Mabelle. Born August 7, 1915, he was fifteen when he accompanied his father to the Seleucia excavation for Season D, as "chauffer and general helper."[1374] He wrote a number of letters home from the excavation to his mother and sister; these are archived with Leroy Waterman's papers in the Bentley Historical Library. He passed away after illness the following year, on August 13, 1931, at age sixteen, in the tenth grade, while Leroy Waterman was directing a season of excavation at Sepphoris (Palestine).[1375]

Waterman, Dorothea

Dorothea Waterman was the daughter of Leroy and Mabelle (later, her married surname was Ragland). She was present at the site for Season E. Oddly, Leroy Waterman excludes her from his grouping of staff in his foreword to the *Second Preliminary Report*, though he states that she "acted as bookkeeper, typist, and house assistant" (activities corroborated in his daily journal entries).[1376]

Waterman, Leroy

Leroy Waterman directed the University of Michigan excavations at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris from 1927 to 1932, Seasons A through E. Orphaned at age 10, he worked as a cabin boy on Great Lakes ships, then earned a teaching certification and was a schoolteacher by age 15. A few years later, he attended Hillsdale college and subsequently divinity school, but found himself

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[1373] Root 2020. This chapter is the course of this biographical summary; see further details and references therein.
[1374] Waterman 1933a, v.
[1375] Michigan Daily 1931b.
[1376] Waterman 1933a, vi.

choosing to become a professor over a minister ("teaching over preaching"). Waterman's specialties were Biblical, particularly the Old Testament and its reception in the New Testament. He was early in the new trends of historical studies of the Bible in the U.S., rather than a more common literal fundamentalism. His interest in historical study of the Old Testament led to his research into ancient cuneiform texts in addition to Hebrew and Greek. Primarily a philologist, Waterman published extensively on Babylonian and Assyrian texts.[1377] He also directed one season of fieldwork at Sepphoris in Palestine, in 1931, between Seleucia excavation seasons. Fuller accounts of his career are available in chapters by Elise Friedland and Margaret Cool Root, as well as in a short, unpublished autobiography written by Leroy and Mabelle Waterman and edited by their daughter, Dorothea Waterman Ragland in 1972.[1378]

Waterman, Mabelle

Mabelle Alice Walrath Waterman was a member of the excavation staff for Season E; her role is described as "draftsman and recorder."[1379] She also prepared the field drawings of pottery for Debevoise during Season E.[1380] She was the wife of Leroy Waterman (they met at Hillsdale College), and the mother of Donald and Dorothea Waterman. Mabelle was also the primary recipient of the letters archived in Waterman's papers at the Bentley Historical library.

[1377] Biography, 1972, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Biography of Leroy Waterman, by his daughter Mrs. Dorothea Ragland; Gazda and Friedland 1997; Talalay and Root 2015; Root 2016.
[1378] Biography, 1972, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Biography of Leroy Waterman, by his daughter Mrs. Dorothea Ragland; Friedland 1997; Root 2016.
[1379] Waterman 1933a, vi.
[1380] Debevoise 1934, vi.

Yeivin, Samuel

Samuel (Shmuel, Shemuel) Yeivin was on the excavation staff for Seasons C through F. Described variously as "technical field" adviser and field archaeologist, he was responsible for tombs, and worked extensively on a small finds catalogue that was never published.[1381]

Born in Odessa (then part of the Russian Empire) in 1896, Yeivin emigrated to Palestine as a child. Then a citizen of Ottoman Palestine, he was a reserve officer in the Turkish Army from 1916 to 1918, at the rank of second lieutenant. He studied Egyptology at University College London, receiving his BA in 1923 and his MA in 1928, and Arabic at the School of Oriental Studies (receiving a diploma in 1923). He worked extensively in the field, gaining his first fieldwork experience at the British School of Archaeology in Egypt (BSAE) expedition at Badari and Hemamieh in 1923 and 1924. Among his other fieldwork, he worked at the University of Michigan expedition in the Fayyum, in 1924 to 1926 and 1927/28.[1382] In addition to his work at Seleucia, he was on the staff at the Michigan excavation of Sepphoris in 1931, also directed by Waterman.[1383]

Multiple drafts of his small finds manuscript ("Objects of Daily Life") are extant in both the KMA Archive and Bentley Historical Library; some of the drafts in the KMA were likely transferred to the KMA in 1985.[1384] Correspondence in both Waterman's papers and the IAR files suggest tension that may have contributed to the non-completion of this project. In part, this

[1381] Waterman 1929b, 27, 1931c, v; Yeivin 1931, 1933.
[1382] Samuel Yeivin, C.V. [undated], KMA/Seleucia 5.8; Waterman 1929b.
[1383] Gazda and Friedland 1997, 8, 12.
[1384] Materials originating in Yeivin's personal papers were transferred from the Israel State Archive to the Archive of the Israel Department of Antiquities in May 1985; that summer, as a result of initial discussion between then-IPCAA student Andrea Berlin and Ronny Reich and subsequent correspondence between KMA Registrar Pamela Reister and Israel's Department of Antiquities and Museums head of Research Archive Ronny Reich, material from Yeivin's archive pertaining to UM excavations at Seleucia and Karanis were transferred to the KMA archive (Letter [containing list of contents], Ronny Reich to Elaine K. Gazda, June 16, 1985; Letter, Pamela Reister to [Ronny] Reich, July 5, 1985; Letter, Ronny Reich to Pamela Reister, July 23, 1985; Letter, Pamela Reister to Ronny Reich, August 20, 1985, KMA/Seleucia 5.2).

tension was due to disagreements over salary, publication plans, and obligations, exasperated by the slow rate of correspondence between Ann Arbor and Tel Aviv. This tense correspondence occurred in a time of tensions and restructuring of relationships and authority between Waterman and the IAR (where Waterman's authority to make promises was diminished), and in a context of financial pressure. Yeivin, working essentially freelance, communicates his frustration with what he understood as broken commitments to staff members (including those in temporary positions such as himself) by the IAR (commitments that kept him from pursuing other work).[1385] One also wonders about a potential undercurrent of anti-Semitism that may have aggravated the logistical difficulties of collaborating by correspondence. For example, Waterman wrote to Mabelle during Season C, Yeivin's first on the Seleucia project:

> Yeivin is working in fairly well but like most Jews his backgrounds are all against him and even when he tries hard it is something of a failure. He is very good though does the coins and draws for the register.[1386]

In 1948, Yeivin became the director of the new Department of Antiquities in the new state of Israel; the predecessor to the Israel Antiquities Authority, the department was first housed under the Public Works Department of the Ministry of Labor and Construction, before it was transferred in 1955 to the Ministry of Education and Culture. He held the position until 1961.[1387]

[1385] Add in citations, including IAR 7.4

[1386] Letter, Leroy Waterman to Mabelle Waterman, November 16, 1929, Bentley/Waterman Box 1, Correspondence Aug-Dec 1929.

[1387] King 1983, 135-36; Baruch and Vashdi [no date].

Bibliography

Archival Material Citations

Abbreviations of Insitutions

CMA: Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio

IAR: Institute of Archaeological Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

KMA: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

TMA: Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio

Seleucia Excavation Notebook Abbreviations

Waterman Notebook 1	Leroy Waterman, Notebook 1, December 29, 1927, to March 4, 1928, Item 4, Box 7, Seleucia Expedition Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan
Waterman Notebook 2	Leroy Waterman, Notebook 2, March 5, 1928, to September 29, 1928, Item 5, Box 7, Seleucia Expedition Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan
Waterman Notebook 3	Leroy Waterman, Notebook 3, October 1, 1928, to February 24, 1929, Item 6, Box 7, Seleucia Expedition Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan
Waterman Notebook 4	Leroy Waterman, Notebook 4, February 25, 1929, to October 11, 1929, Item 7, Box 7, Seleucia Expedition Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan
Waterman Notebook 5	Leroy Waterman, Notebook 5, October 12, 1929, to November 30, 1929, Item 8, Box 7, Seleucia Expedition

Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan

Waterman Notebook 6 Leroy Waterman, Notebook 6, December 1, 1929 to January 16, 1930, Item 9, Box 7, Seleucia Expedition Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan

Waterman Notebook 7 Leroy Waterman, Notebook 7, January 17, 1930, to August 16, 1930, Item 10, Box 7, Seleucia Expedition Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan

Waterman Notebook 8 Leroy Waterman, Notebook 8, August 21, 1930, to August 20, 1931, [No folder, no box; on display] Sepphoris Expedition/Excavation, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan

Waterman Notebook 9 Leroy Waterman, Notebook 9, August 21, 1931, to February 19, 1932, Folder 1, Box 1, Sepphoris Expedition/Excavation, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan

Hopkins Notebook Clark Hopkins, Notebook, October to December 1936, Item 11, Box 7, Seleucia Expedition Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan

Anonymous Notebook, Season B Notebook, 1929, Folder 9, Box 7, Institute of Archaeological Research records 1924-1949 subgroup, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology records, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

Matson Medium Notebook Frederick R. Matson, “Medium” Notebook, [1936-1937], Box “N,” Seleucia Expedition Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan

McDowell Notebook, Season F [Robert H. McDowell?], Leather Notebook [1930, 1936-1937], Folder 2, Box 1, Sepphoris Expedition/Excavation, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan

Archival Collection Citations

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Bentley/Guthe Box [#], Folder Title
Carl Eugen Guthe Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

Bentley/KMA/KMA [Box #].[Folder #]
Kelsey Museum records 1891-2001 subgroup, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology records, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

Bentley/KMA/IAR [Box #].[Folder #]
Institute of Archaeological Research records 1924-1949 subgroup, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology records, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

Bentley/KMA/McDowell 1.[Folder #]
Box 1, Robert H. McDowell subgroup, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology records, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

Bentley/Waterman Box [#], Folder Title
Leroy Waterman Papers, 1887-1972, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

CMA/Milliken
Mesopotamian Expedition, 1929-1935 [Folder], Box 28, Series I. Alphabetical Administrative Correspondence of William M. Milliken, Records of the Director's Office, Cleveland Museum of Art Archives, Cleveland, OH.

KMA/Gazda [Box #].[Folder #]
Elaine Gazda, Director's Papers, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan

KMA/Seleucia [Box #].[Folder #]
Seleucia Expedition Records, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Archive, University of Michigan

KMA/Sepphoris
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