University of Wisconsin Milwaukee

UWM Digital Commons

May 2021

Archaeological Representation in Speculative Fiction: The Image of the Archaeologist in Star Wars

Karissa A. Annis
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION IN SPECULATIVE FICTION: THE IMAGE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGIST IN *STAR WARS*

by

Karissa Annis

A Thesis Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science

in Anthropology

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

May 2021

ABSTRACT

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION IN SPECULATIVE FICTION: THE IMAGE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGIST IN *STAR WARS*

by

Karissa Annis

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2021
Under the Supervision of Professor Bettina Arnold

The public presentation of archaeology in various media, especially fictional representations in print, film, TV, and video games, is a complex and slippery subject that has been an issue since the field's inception. This thesis compares analyses of popular representations of archaeology in conventional media such as feature films to new examples of such representations that have not yet been studied. The focus of the analysis is how archaeology and archaeologists are represented in the *Star Wars* franchise in products that were published or released on or after 2014. These texts and images are analyzed through the multiple lenses of theoretical approaches to gender, colonialism and pseudo-science to determine whether and how such representations of archaeology and its practitioners have changed since the beginning of the *Star Wars* franchise and what has yet to change in the way archaeology is portrayed in these contexts. This research attempts to peer behind the curtain as well, revealing the conventions used to convey genre-specific representations of archaeology. Genre conventions often determine the outcome and characteristics of the stories told in various media about archaeology, which in turn affect how archaeology is presented and perceived. Lastly, examples of how more accurate and productive representations of archaeology could be developed within the *Star Wars* franchise are provided.

iii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chapter 1. Introduction

Introduction to the Topic

While the past has been popularized and consumed by the public longer than archaeology has been a field, this thesis will focus on modern popular speculative fiction and the themes found within it. The goal of this research project was to investigate how archaeology is represented in the speculative fiction genre. In this paper, speculative fiction is taken to mean, "A super category for all genres that deliberately depart from imitating 'consensus reality' of everyday experience" (Oxford Research Encyclopedias 2017). The most famous sub-genres include fantasy, science fiction, and horror. The speculative fiction genre is particularly relevant because of the way archaeology and the genre have interacted since archaeology first became a recognized field of study in the 19th century. Lyons (1985) defines archaeological fiction as, "the fabrication and documentation of an imaginary culture" (81). Although Lyons is talking about the actual construction of a physical exhibit on a fake culture, this is also a hallmark of speculative fiction. Speculative fiction relies heavily on the concept of worldbuilding, influenced by authors such as J.R.R. Tolkien, the father of modern fantasy (Daly and Lyons 1991:265). Worldbuilding is often described as creating an ecosystem for the fictional characters to live in by creating a model of the world (Vandemeer 2013:212-213). This makes the interaction of archaeology and speculative fiction very interesting, as both are trying to create worlds and ideas for people to imagine, whether that is based in scientific data in an attempt to represent the past, or in a story about a world that does not exist.

Archaeology has been featured in modern popular speculative fiction since at least 1845, the typical example being Edgar Allen Poe's (1845) *Some Words with a Mummy* (Adams 2011:1). This was emphasized particularly in the wake of Lovecraftian horror, which came out during the same time period of "Egyptomania" and popularized archaeology as well as set many precedents for those living at the time. The fear and wonder of what archaeologists were doing, particularly digging deep into pyramids, spawned stories such as *Under the Pyramids* (Lovecraft 1924) and

Rats in the Walls (Lovecraft 1924), both of which emphasize the danger of "digging too deep" (McGeough 2007). Both Lovecraft and his genre sparked popularity through the *Weird Tales* magazine (originally published between 1923-1940), which published many of his short stories and gave rise to many of the archaeological horror tropes continuing to today (Weinburg 1985).

Archaeology has consistently proved to be highly marketable and profitable for Hollywood and other media outlets (Rakestraw and Reynolds 2001:25). With the popularity of such franchises as *Indiana Jones*, it is not surprising that archaeology continues to be at the center of adventures in fiction. *Star Trek* has featured multiple archaeologists throughout its multi-series run, most notably Captain Picard himself (Russell 2002). *Stargate SG-1* also had archaeological themes and characters as a basic premise for the show. Likewise, *Doctor Who* has had similar characters appearing throughout the series (Boyd 2002). *The Mummy* (1932 and 1999) follows the Lovecraftian archetype and enjoyed major box office success (Rakestraw and Reynolds 2001:25). In video games, Lara Croft continues to be a name associated with archaeologists in the *Tomb Raider* series, which has also been depicted in multiple film series (Zorpidu 2004).

Archaeological themes have proved lucrative in print media as well (Rakestraw and Reynolds 2001:25). Agatha Christie is a well-known example, featuring archaeological settings such as the Valley of the Kings for the backdrop of her mystery novels (Rakestraw and Reynolds 2001:25). Michael Crichton and Nora Roberts have both written books featuring archaeological settings or archaeologists as well (Rakestraw and Reynolds 2001:25-26).

The research previously completed on archaeological fiction has shown how authors have represented archaeology and archaeologists in fiction up until recently (Moser 2009:1070). The history of academic research into the field has had multiple goals, including investigating why this type of fiction was so appealing to the public and how it has made meaning (Moser 2009). My research will aim to add something new to this field by examining works that have not been researched by archaeologists before to explore how contemporary examples of archaeological fiction are staying the same or changing.

An important component of every media platform discussed in this thesis is storytelling. Storytelling is the main priority for the creators of the various media forms used to generate something that the audience will engage with and, hopefully, spend money on. The producers want to make a profit. What sells is not always concerned with accuracy, however, and therein lies most of the tension between archaeology and its representation in fictional formats. The ways in which these platforms tell their stories are different, but the goal -- to engage the audience -- is what drives all of them.

To this end I combined my background in English and creative writing and my anthropological training to investigate the elements of storytelling in these representations of speculative fiction using *Wonderbook* (Vandemeer 2013) and the textbook for the course titled "Fantasy Writing" (Kidd 2017), a guide for authors constructing stories in the speculative genre, as my primary sources. I also consulted "The Art of the Graphic Novel" (McWaters 2018) course in analyzing the graphic novels to unpack the interplay between the visual and the written. Lutwack (1984) and Bone (2005) both analyze the role of place in fiction and how the setting situates the reader. Lutwack (1984) in particular makes an interesting argument that links the use of place in fiction to the use of context in archaeology. Place, he states, is a piece of the physical context of a literary work, if context is defined as the "Reconstitution in words of those aspects of the actual environment that a writer puts together to make up the "world" in which his characters, events, and themes have their show of existence" (Lutwack 1984:37). This context is similar to the visual reconstitution of sites, contexts, features and artifacts archaeologists use to produce their reconstructions and put their own interpretations into context.

Significance of the Topic

While the afore mentioned authors have investigated this topic based on past representations, it is important to continue to investigate new contexts and forms of representation. This thesis specifically focuses on case studies drawn from television, comic books, and video games. Moser (2009:1049) has made the case that these representations contribute to the construction of the

public's knowledge of the past and are important for archaeologists specifically because certain representations have come to dominate public discourse above all others. This research matters because as archaeologists our understanding of the public's perception cannot stagnate. Research must investigate new representations in order to understand evolving perceptions. For this reason, I have chosen to look at very recent examples, specifically case studies drawn from the latter half of the decade (2014-2020).

Fiction in particular is an important lens to explore, as the creative license employed by the authors often skews reality in any case. However, it is also consumed by the public at high rates, and theoretically also has a greater influence on people's perceptions than academic books and articles. It is an even more interesting case in genres where the public is expecting a reality that is not their own, such as in fantasy, science-fiction, and horror. These representations are important for the way they show what general audiences regard as archaeology, as well as what their attitude toward it might be (Evans 1989:185). Genre fiction also allows scholars to examine how conventions might be different in specific genres. Tropes vary from genre to genre, and this will influence the way archaeologists and archaeology are viewed as well. With that in mind, it is important to give some more background on the speculative fiction genre and the media forms, including comic books, video games, and television, that were analyzed in this project. This will frame the rest of the thesis by providing an overview of the history of the subject up to the present day.

History of Comic Books

Comic books have a short history compared to other forms of fiction. Moreover, comic books have always had immediate relevance for the present due to their quick turnaround and monthly or weekly publishing cycles (Jensen 2020:4). These qualities provide the researcher insight into the cultural pulse of society at a particular moment in time, which in the context of this study includes impressions of archaeology as a profession and archaeologists as practitioners. McCloud defines the comic book as consisting of "juxtaposed pictorial and other images in

4

deliberate sequence" (McCloud 1993:3), which is too abbreviated to be very useful for this study. A more detailed and comprehensive definition is provided by Eisner (2008:2):

> For more than a century comic book and strip artists have been developing in their craft the interplay of words and images. They have in the process, I believe, achieved a successful crossbreeding of illustration and prose. The format of comics presents a montage of both word and image, and the reader is thus required to exercise both visual and verbal interpretive skills. The regimens of art (e.g. perspective, symmetry, line) and the regimens of literature (e.g. grammar, plot, syntax) become superimposed upon each other. The reading of a graphic novel is an act of both aesthetic perception and intellectual pursuit.

This definition does more to incorporate the intention of the writer and the artist as well as the responsibility of the reader. Moreover, it is important to note that while comic books represent a medium with its own conventions, individual comic books fall under genres (e.g. speculative, action-adventure, superhero) like other work of fiction and as such utilize those conventions as well. Comic books, at least those generated by mainstream publishers such as Marvel and DC comics, usually involve production teams that include writers, pencilers, inkers, letterers, colorists, and editors (Jensen 2020:33), all of which influence the final product.

A comic book consists of panels composed of individual images and words contained with a single frame (Jensen 2020:12). These panels are usually meant to be read in a 'Z' formation, although this differs based on the origin of the comic. Japanese comics, generally referred to as Manga, are read backwards from the traditional American method. Comic books may also feature "splash pages" in which a single image takes up an entire page or more (Jensen 2020:12). Text is generally contained in what are called "bubbles" that are usually stylistically produced to convey the way the character is speaking, and text boxes typically contain narration. A spread refers to two pages that are side-by-side, visible to the reader at the same time (Tano 2012). Canon is a term used by comics and large franchises with branching offshoots such as *Harry Potter, Star Wars,* and *Lord of the Rings* referring to the storyline that is perceived as genuine (Jensen 2020:27). In comics there are often multiple canons depending on the universe in which the story takes place. The Marvel Cinematic Universe (MCU), for example, has a different canon

than the current Marvel comics. For the purposes of this paper, canon refers to the storyline that is at present accepted as the "correct" one, or the one that is accepted as the version of events that "really happened" in the particular context of the *Star Wars* franchise.

Several sources on the history of this medium were critical for this thesis. *Men of Tomorrow* by Gerard Jones (2004) provides a history of the creators of some of the most popular superheroes in comic books today, focusing on Superman, Batman, Captain America, and Wonder Woman specifically. Jones also, by extension, includes an overview of 20th century social history, including Jewish history and the history of immigration and gang development. For the most part, the book is biographical in nature.

Marvel Comics: The Untold Story by Sean Howe (2012) outlines the history and development of Marvel Comics. It begins with the creation of the company by Martin Goodman and ends with the purchase of Marvel Comics by Disney, which now publishes the *Star Wars* comics. However, this book was written before the Disney purchase of LucasFilm, and therefore does not cover any of the history of the new *Star Wars* comics. It does include the history of how Marvel first acquired the rights to *Star Wars* when the movies first came out (Howe 2012:193), which saved Marvel from a financial crisis, but it does not cover much of the history behind why Marvel did not continue the *Star Wars* comics until after the Disney purchase. "Comic Books" (2019) by Nathan Jensen gives a brief introduction to comic books, as well as an outline of the history of comics from their inception to the present day. This also includes commentary on what comic books due for us. Jensen's work also provided many of the sources that are referenced in this section.

Comic books took off in 1938 and Superman appeared on the first issue of Action Comics in June in the midst of the Great Depression, threats inside America from organized crime, and threats outside as in Europe and Asia World War II had already started (Jensen 2020:23). The chief production of comics during Prohibition was through organized crime transporting illegal liquor, as pulp paper could be shipped in bulk at a low cost which was then used to print comics

and delivered to stores as a coverup for the delivery of alcohol (Jones 2004:45). Ironically enough, the earliest villains in comics were often mobsters (Jensen 2020:25). Many of the creators of comics were Jewish and themes related to the social history of Jewish immigration to the US were quite clear particularly at the beginning of the industry (Jones 2004). Between 1938 and 1954, most of the biggest names in DC comics had been established, including Superman, Batman, the Flash, Green Lantern, Hawkman, Wonder Woman, Aquaman, Green Arrow, and Black Canary. Marvel, which was at the time called Timely Comics, was just getting started and had at the time only minor characters such as the Human Torch, Namor, and Captain America, who would all be reinvented and revolutionized later (Howe 2012:14). While superhero comics remained the most popular, others like E.C. Comics, Dell, and Archie Comics were introduced in the late 1930s and produced comics of other genres such as crime, horror, romance, and comedy (Jensen 2020:40). After World World II, the popularity of comics dropped, and the industry nearly collapsed (Howe 2012:27). Perhaps it is not surprising, as the concept of a "superman" had become tainted by German racial philosophy and ideas of biological superiority (Weldon 2016:47), initiating a wave of comics much darker in tone that belong to the horror genre. As the Cold War started, comics shifted with the political climate. Along with the troubles caused by ongoing geopolitical tensions there were now overt attacks on the industry writ large by people like Frederic Wertham who believed comics were causing juvenile delinquency (Jones 2004:270). Companies were expected to submit their work for approval based on the Comics Code that censored them for anything offensive. This led to the rejection of *Judgment Day*, a story of tolerance and hope against racism that was rejected because the last panel had a picture of a black man (Hajdu 2009:322). The decline in comic book fortunes changed nearly overnight with the launch of Sputnik and Marvel's successful first issue of *The Fantastic Four* (Jensen 2020:66). Another successful entrant was Stan Lee, whose comics combined the gritty post-war movement with idealism, creating flawed but relatable characters that made them unique (Jensen

2020:68). Since then, the industry has had ups and downs, but DC comics and Marvel have both survived to the present, and continue to produce films, television shows, and, of course, comics.

Video Games

Rollinger (2020) provides an introduction to the academic study of video games, beginning with a brief overview of video game history. Video games sprang into existence in the late 1950s as rudimentary experiments on college campuses (Rollinger 2020:1). Merriam-Webster (2021) defines video game as, "An electronic game in which players control images on a screen." *Pong* was released in 1972 and was followed by classics such as *Space Invaders* (1978) and *Pac-Man* (1980) (Rollinger 2020:1). After the industry nearly crashed, the availability of personal computers and the advent of the new home video console reinvigorated the industry which has been relatively stable since (Rollinger 2020:1-2). At present, the blockbuster quality of many games has propelled the video game industry to a total global net worth of over $140 billion (Rollinger 2020:2).

There are many different types of games, also referred to as genres. Popular video game genres include First Person Shooters (FPS), Action-Adventure, Role-Playing Games (RPGs), Massive Multiplayer Role-Playing Games (MMORPGs), Sports games, Fighting games, Vehicle games, Strategy games, and Economic or City-Building games (Rollinger 2020:23-24). However, these genres can co-exist with fictional genres in the same game, assuming the game is taking place in a fictional environment. A fantasy RPG or a western FPS could include conventions both from the fictional genre they are referencing and the conventions of the game form they are taking. For example, *The Elder Scrolls V: Skyrim* [(2011), abbr. *Skyrim*], is a fantasy RPG that includes the fantasy conventions of magic and dwarves, elves, and other races typical of fantasy fiction worlds, and also has an RPG system by which the player can create their own character's appearance, abilities, and personality (Bethesda 2021).

In media analyses theoretical approaches often can be transferred from one format to another. While the same can sometimes be true of video games, video games are different from other

8

media in important ways. Malaby (2007, 2009) uses game theory to develop an anthropological approach to video games viewed within their conceptual frameworks. Traditionally, video games have been associated with "play," which is often seen as a set apart space, considered to be separate from work and consequence-free (Malaby 2007:96). While video games may have some of these attributes, they do in fact also have cultural impacts. There is variance in what different games do but they can also be imbued with deep meaning. Malaby argues that game contexts and other aspects of human experience should be viewed as equivalent from a researcher's point of view because, while these experiences can be metaphorical, they can also have profound consequences (Malaby 2007).

Malaby argues that play cannot be both a human experience and a distinct activity (Malaby 2009:208), referring to the history of anthropological theory of play and drawing heavily on Geertz and Bourdieu. He suggests that play is a mode of experience comparable to ritual, in that play can be a cultural form regardless of whether it brings about a specific experience.

Rollinger approaches this topic from a specific cultural perspective rather than a general one, but the discussion of the importance of video games as a research topic is relevant to both Classical and prehistoric archaeology, especially his discussion of "reception", equivalent to archaeological representation (Rollinger 2020:2-4). Rollinger reviews existing scholarship on the subject and introduces the themes covered by the rest of the papers in the edited volume. The popular perception of antiquity based on video games is covered by David Lozano (2020), the representation of women in video games by Sian Beavers (2020), and post-colonialism in video games by Ross Clare (2020).

These sources provided a foundation for this research project by outlining the differences between video games and other entertainment forms, demonstrating why this research is important not just as an academic undertaking but because of its larger societal implications.

Star Wars

Star Wars was originally developed by George Lucas, also the creator of LucasFilm, in *Episode IV: A New Hope* in 1977 (LucasFilm, ltd. "Star Wars: A New Hope" 2021). From the beginning, the series was never just about the movies, as Marvel developed new comics in parallel with the release of the initial movie (Howe 2012:193). Likewise, a novel was published immediately after the release of *Episode IV*, and since then *Star Wars* has had a rich and full Expanded Universe (EU), a term that encompasses everything but the main movies, including books, television shows, comic books, and video games (Hilton 2020). By the time Disney purchased the company in 2012, there was so much content that a simple Google search will not yield results on the exact amount of material that has been produced, although I have attempted to tally numbers from fan-made lists (Table 1.1). However, once the purchase was completed and the company had had time to plan, the entire EU, except the *Clone Wars* movie and TV series, was no longer considered canon. Disney did this to create a clean slate on which to build their own canon and has since labeled everything in the EU prior to the purchase as "Legends" (Star Wars 2014). The purchase took place in 2012, the integration of the material spanned the next year and production began in 2014 (The Walt Disney Company 2014:2)(Table 1.2).

Volume of Material by Media Type

Star Wars Media	Legends (Expanded Universe)	Canon
Films	3	12
Television Series	3	7
Novels	249	38
Short Stories	391	78
Young Readers	388	50
Comics	385*	42**
Video Games	127	25

Table 1.1 The amount of materials produced by media type. These numbers are approximate, tallied from fan-made lists.
*This number includes one-shots and series, not individual issues.
**This number indicates comic book series, not individual issues.

There are currently nine episodic Star Wars films: The "Original trilogy" refers to the first three movies released: *Episode IV - A New Hope* (1977), *Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), and *Episode VI - The Return of the Jedi* (1983). The "Prequel trilogy" refers to the next movies released that take place chronologically before the events of the Original trilogy: *Episode I - The Phantom Menace* (1999), *Episode II - Attack of the Clones* (2002), and *Episode III - Revenge of the Sith* (2005). The "Sequel trilogy" is the only one not produced by George Lucas and takes place after the events of the Original trilogy: *Episode VII - The Force Awakens* (2015), *Episode VIII - The Last Jedi* (2017), and *Episode IX - The Rise of Skywalker* (2019). Collectively, these films are referred to as "The Skywalker Saga". Two standalone live-action films were released to theaters, both by Disney: *Rogue One* (2016) and *Solo* (2018).

Now that I have framed the subject within popular culture, I will provide an overview of the history of interactions between the archaeological perspective and popular culture.

Timeline

1976

Left (Canon)	Timeline	Right
	1976	(Book) Star Wars Episode IV: A New Hope
(Film) Star Wars Episode IV - A New Hope — 1977	1977	(Marvel Comics) Star Wars #1
(Film) Star Wars Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back — 1980		
(Film) Star Wars Episode VI - The Return of the Jedi — 1983		
	1991	(Book) Heir to the Empire
	1992	(Book) Dark Force Rising — The Thrawn Trilogy
	1991	(Book) The Last Command
	1991	(Dark Horse Comics) Dark Empire: The Destiny of a Jedi
(Film) Star Wars Episode I - The Phantom Menace — 1999		
(Film) Star Wars Episode II - Attack of the Clones — 2002		
	2003	(Video Game) Star Wars: Knights of the Old Republic
	2004	(Video Game) Star Wars: Battlefront
(Film) Star Wars Episode III - Revenge of the Sith — 2005	2005	(Video Game) Star Wars: Battlefront II
(Animated Film) Star Wars: The Clone Wars — 2008	2008	(Video Game) Star Wars: The Force Unleashed
	2008 - 2013	(TV Series) Star Wars: The Clone Wars Seasons 1-5
	2010	(Video Game) Star Wars: The Force Unleashed II
	2011	(Video Game) Star Wars: The Old Republic

**Disney Purchase October 2012
Production starts 2014**

Left (Canon)	Timeline	Right
	2014	(Dark Horse Comics) Darth Maul - Son of Dathomir
	2014	(TV Series) Star Wars: The Clones Wars Season 6
	2014 - 2018	(TV Series) Star Wars: Rebels Seasons 1-4
	2015	(Marvel Comics) Star Wars #1
	2015 - 2016	(Marvel Comics) Darth Vader #1-25
(Film) Star Wars Episode VII - The Force Awakens — 2015	2015	(Video Game) Star Wars Battlefront
(Film) Rogue One - A Star Wars Story — 2016	2016 - 2019	(Marvel Comics) Doctor Aphra #1-40
(Film) Star Wars Episode VIII - The Last Jedi — 2017	2017	(Video Game) Star Wars Battlefront II
	2017	(Book) Star Wars: Thrawn
(Film) Solo - A Star Wars Story — 2018	2018	(Marvel Comic) Star Wars: Thrawn #1-6
(Film) Star Wars Episode IX - The Rise of Skywalker — 2019	2019	(Video Game) Jedi: Fallen Order
	2019	(Marvel Comics) Jedi: Fallen Order - Dark Temple #1-6
	2019	(Marvel Comics) Epilogue
	2019 - Pres.	(Disney+ TV Series) The Mandalorian
	2020	(Disney+ TV Series) Star Wars: The Clones Wars Season 7
	2020 - Pres.	(Marvel Comics) Doctor Aphra
	2021	(Disney+ TV Series) Star Wars: The Bad Batch

2021

Key

▬	Legends
▬	Canon
▬	Case Study

Table 1.2 Key timeline of media produced in the Star Wars franchise. Information compiled from various fan-sites.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Archaeological Representation as a Field of Study

Archaeological representation is a topic that broadly speaking delves into different parameters of public engagement with archaeology. Stephanie Moser (2001, 2009) has laid a foundation for engaging with this topic in several publications, arguing that in other social sciences, representation is viewed as a process that involves the "production of meaning via the act of describing and symbolizing" (Moser 2001:267). In several articles, Moser provides a brief history of the subfield of archaeological representation. Efforts to study and contextualize representations in North American archaeology began in the 1980s (Moser 2001:265). Scholars have focused on different aspects of presenting archaeology to the public over the years. Mark Leone (1981) addressed the topic in the context of museums, Tom Patterson (1986) focused on class and interpretations of the past, while Joan Gero (1985) addressed how gender affects the presentation of the discipline (Moser 2001:265). These foundational studies opened the door for the analysis of popular representations in knowledge creation (Moser 2001:265). Moser (2009:1049) provides a list of the major studies of archaeological representations conducted since then in various media, including illustrations, museums, literature, and film.

Her articles discuss the importance of investigating non-academic portrayals of the past, and how they are important for understanding how knowledge is constructed and how some of these representations become more prevalent than others (Moser 2009:1048-1049). Moser is not the only one to come to this conclusion. Other scholars have discussed the recent increase in studying non-academic portrayals of the past and how academics traditionally tended to view "popular" representations as inconsequential or below academia's notice (Christensen and Machado 2010:107; Mitman 1993; Moser 2009:1050; Rollinger 2020:3-4). For a long time, popular representations were seen as by-products of content generated within academia in that that was merely diffused and reused in a one-way process by popular culture (Moser 2001:264). This is demonstrably not the case.

Popular representations of the past and academic scholarship have always had a cyclical and reciprocal relationship, informing each other and drawing on each other rather than one always informing the other (Moser 2009:1051). Moser (2001:264) argues that popular representations inform our opinions of ourselves as professionals and popular representations were what inspired many professional archaeologists to enter the field in the first place. Most of the time, creators of these representations, at least the fictional ones, do not interact with the raw data (the past) but with already interpreted texts, if they interact with archaeologists at all in creating their representations (Evans 1989:203). It has also been argued that the direct link between the past and the cultural present strongly impacts the latter, one reason that academia cannot be said to have a monopoly on the past (Evans 1989:202). Popular representations are important in creating our understanding of archaeology as well as how the public gathers archaeological knowledge (Evans 1983, 1989:185). It is important for academics to understand, at least, that they do not have sole ownership of the past, and that they too are affected by the cultural present. For instance, there have been claims that most of the powerful stereotypes about archaeology and archaeologists are enshrined in films, particularly those in which archaeologists are the main characters (Moser 2009; Hall 2004).

Researchers in the past have often focused mainly on identifying what was wrong with certain representations (Moser 2009:1072), from poor excavation techniques to the poor science shown in films, but this is unhelpful given that films are concerned with dramatic interest and not documentaries on the scientific method in archaeology (McGeough 2007:173-174), such as in the recent film *The Dig* (2021). Other researchers have looked at how representations make the meanings they do but scholars would do well to focus their attention on identifying which of the characteristics shared by representations of archaeology and archaeologists make them such powerful ideas in overt as well as subtle ways (Moser 2009:1072-1073). This includes understanding how representations make arguments on their own behalf. The issue is not just how the past is represented, but its implications for how we understand the past.

Representations have their own particular conventions and because they are often dependent on visual cues, they can create meaning by employing devices not always used in writing or in verbal communication (Moser 2001:268). Moser (2001:269) uses the example of a museum display creating meaning by how the objects are arranged, first suggested by Donna Haraway in her article on the significance of the use of taxidermy in displays at the American Museum of Natural History in New York (1984).

Cornelius Holtorf's *Archaeology is a Brand!* (2007) is another important study that examines the meaning of archaeology in popular culture. He outlines the reasons why archaeology is a popular subject and how archaeologists should relate to these popular representations. Part of this examination is based on his own travel log, and his encounters with various references to archaeology in his everyday life. He also highlights popular television shows that reference archaeology and argues that the large numbers involved clearly underscore the popularity of archaeological subjects (Holtorf 2007:32-33). He focuses particularly on television series in Germany, Sweden, and the UK (Holtorf 2007:34-45). In the survey he references, television was the most significant source of information for members of the public about archaeology back in 2002 (Holtorf 2007:52-53). Holtorf also highlights key themes related to representations of archaeologists in popular culture. The first is the adventurer, who takes to explore ancient sites in high boots and treks through the wilderness; this is exemplified by popular figures such as Lara Croft and Indiana Jones (Holtorf 2007:63-75). The second is the detective, who solves mysteries and deciphers codes, and includes characters such as Daniel Jackson from *Stargate,* Jean-Luc Picard from *Star Trek,* and several characters in detective series such as Agatha Christie's novels (Holtorf 2007:75-84). There is also a third theme, often compatible with the first two, in which archaeologists are expected to make wonderful discoveries that, perhaps, are both supernatural and world-saving (Holtorf 2007:84-91). The fourth theme has, at the time of this writing, been gaining more traction; this is the archaeologist as a sort of cultural police officer, which hits closer to home as it focuses on archaeologists as the protectors of ancient sites and artifacts,

15

often above everything else (Holtorf 2007:91-95). The next chapter is spent discussing how archaeologists should engage with the public, and Holtorf offers up three models: the education model, the public relations model, and the democratic model. These models all serve to engage the public in a way that will, theoretically, improve relations between archaeologists and the public and teach the public what archaeologists are as well as what they do. The last chapter is a conclusion in which Holtorf (2007:144) states that, at the end of the day, archaeologists are storytellers and they need to share their stories with the public.

This all provides a foundation from which to move forward to more specific case studies that provide examples of how to analyze source materials in studies such as this one.

Analyses of Archaeological Representations in Fiction

Previous case studies that can serve as helpful models for how to productively investigate representations of archaeological perspectives include Hall (2004), McGeough (2007), and Hiscock (2012), all of which provide analyses of themes within films and archaeology. These studies provided a useful foundation for my original research on Doctor Aphra as presented in this thesis.

Hall (2004) examines archaeology in popular cinema through the theoretical lens of cultural appropriation but also encompasses themes of treasure, politics, and gender, all of which are examined in greater detail in the current project. Hall goes into particular detail about 'Egyptomania' and the way that cultural ideas are perpetuated or used (Hall 2004:161), which was helpful for the themes examined in this thesis.

McGeough (2007) took a similar approach in his analysis of films strictly focused on Near Eastern archaeology. He discusses several issues in this connection, including the structure of archaeology as a profession, the archaeologist as hero or villain, the dangerous or supernatural past, the shift from plain, weak archaeologists to overly sexualized figures, the gender roles of archaeologists, and the othering of "exotic" lands.

16

Hiscock (2012) does much the same but focuses primarily on pseudo-archaeology. Again, he primarily discusses film, although he includes a larger section on how archaeologists themselves have reacted to these themes (Hiscock 2012:161-164). He focuses his analysis on the case study of Roland Emmerich specifically, and how one director has become a type of pseudo-archaeologist. He also discusses the implications of the cinema competing for audiences with other forms of entertainment, and what that means for the narratives being used in representations of archaeology and archaeologists in film (Hiscock 2012:172-173).

Finn (2004) meanwhile provides a framework in which to study in-depth a specific archaeological representation using what he describes as "literary fieldwork" through the "excavation" of the works and histories of two poets who made us of the past in their poems (Finn 2004:1). Finn uses multiple methods to delve into this fieldwork, borrowing from fields such as archaeology, English, science, and history, in order to study change over time in the works of these two poets. Finn convincingly argues that there is a link between archaeology, the ability to continually re-interpret material culture, and the poetic imagination (2004:4).

Gender

Gero (1985) and other first wave feminist scholars examined the field of archaeology in the 1980s and critiqued it for its neglect of gender as a theoretical and methodological focus. Gero investigates the socio-political connection to archaeological research, arguing that it is fundamentally part of state-level institutions tasked with producing and controlling the interpretation of the past (Gero 1985:342). This is important, particularly as representations of the past perpetuate particular ideas that then feed back into the production of knowledge. Gero discusses this problem in terms of gender specifically, and how present ideas of gender structure affect our interpretations of the past, extending far back into proto-human eras (Gero 1985:343-344). This has created divisions in the field itself, where male archaeologists are perceived as engaging in public and physically active field archaeology while female archaeologists must do the "archaeological housework" (Gero 1985:344). NSF funding data at the time corroborated this

17

disparity and suggested that the system works to keep archaeologists bound by the same socio-political norms it seeks to legitimate in the past (Gero 1985:347).

A more recent study on gender disparity in the field analyzed authorship in archaeological publications (Bardolph 2014). This article examined how journal publications control the narrative of the field and the representation of the past (Bardolph 2014:523). Bardolph acknowledges that trends have generally improved with regard to gender parity in journal publications and the ratio of male and female students in doctoral programs, based on the Zeder (1997) survey of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) (Bardolph 2014:524) and her own analysis of SAA membership (Bardolph 2014:526)(Figure 2.1). However, she concludes that the disparity between male and female publishing trends remains quite large. So-called first tier journals, on which tenure and
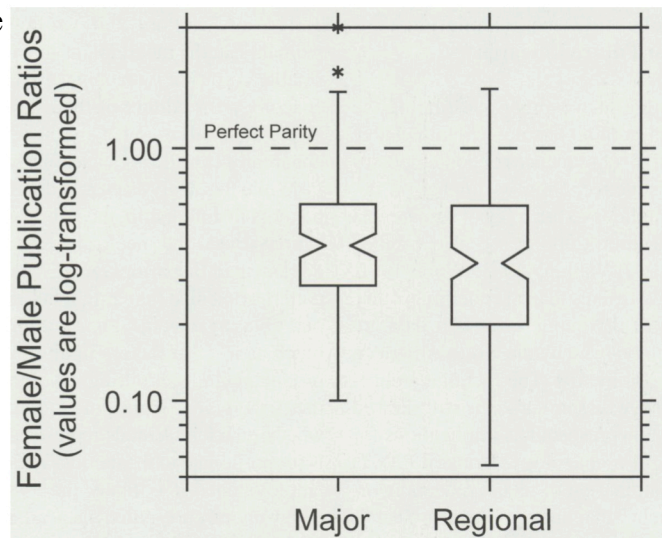
Figure 2.1 Bardolph's chart detailing male-female ratios in all volumes of major and regional archaeological journals from 1990-2013 (Bardolph 2014:533).

promotion are largely based, are especially likely to reflect this continuing inequity. For example, *American Antiquity* has one of the higher disparities, with 76% of lead-authors being male and just 24% being female (Bardolph 2014:527-528). Bardolph suggests that this may be due to submission bias rather than editorial bias, but there is currently not enough data to confirm that (Bardolph 2014:532-533). Moreover, NSF Program Director John Yellen found that while NSF grants are still unequally distributed, men tended to submit requests twice as much as women (Bardolph 2014:533).

Several authors have also analyzed gender in archaeological representations. Hall's (2004:168-169) work on gender in cinema suggests that most films depict a male-dominated archaeological profession with very little space for queer or female individuals. There is,

18

however, a trend mirroring the social change for woman in society since the 1980s when few female archaeologists apart from what Hall terms "aspirational archaeologists" appear other than as support leads to the main protagonists (Hall 2004:169). Hall observes that in 2004 there were only nine leading female characters presented as archaeologists in films (Hall 2004:169).

Likewise, McGeough (2007) explored gender as one of the themes examined broadly in the analysis of Near Eastern archaeology in film. McGeough (2007:180) noticed a change in the portrayal of archaeologists from weak and passive to strong, heroic and overly sexualized figures. The archaeologist often either has a hyperactive sexual appetite or is completely neglectful of his partners (McGeough 2007:181). Moreover, he identifies traits that define a character often associated with male or female archaeologists, such as the male archaeologist's ethnicity, or female archaeologists that either are or become extremely beautiful (McGeough 2007:181-182).

Zorpidu (2004) analyzes the film portrayal of Lara Croft in both *The Tomb Raider* and *The Cradle of Life* films, focusing on an analysis of this figure as a female archaeologist heroine (Zorpidu 2004:101). The main argument is that Lara is sexually female while having otherwise only masculine traits and that these are combined for the gratification of a male-dominated society/audience. The Lara character reveals the artificiality of both gender constructions and demonstrates that female archaeologists on film must have masculine qualities in order to function (Zorpidu 2004:105-106). This not only has implications for the representation of the past, but for current gender issues more generally.

In video games, Beavers (2020) analyzes the representation of women in Classical video games, specifically referencing *Ryse: Son of Rome.* Beavers cites a study that suggests games and gender have a cyclical relationship (Willams 2006): because males are more likely to be represented in games, males are also more likely to play them, and because males are more likely to play video games, more males are likely to be represented in those games. However, Beavers states that while this feedback loop exists, it has also been shown that games can influence

society in that negative portrayals of women can impact the identities of the players (Beavers 2020:78). Beavers then examines the stereotypes of women in video games, particularly ones with a historical focus. Women are often portrayed as weak and vulnerable, which sometimes causes weakness in male characters as well; they are often portrayed as secondary to men in their own stories, and they must go through trauma, frequently sexual, to become strong (Beavers 2020:79-82). In this game, the protagonist's female family members are murdered off-screen, affording them no development and only serving to advance the protagonist's story arc (Beavers 2020:79). Other male characters only have an exposed weakness because they have a vulnerable mother or daughter. In this case, the game changes the historical narrative about Boudica to an alternative one that denies her a story of her own and relegates her to a side character of the male's arc (Beavers 2020:81). To some extent, Beavers argues, this is because part of Boudica's historical narrative is beyond the Limits of Play, in that the sexual violence, which involved the rape of Boudica's teenage daughters, might have been too much for a video game (Beavers 2020:82). Beavers then moves into the trope of women as sexual objects, nude women in particular (Beavers 2020:83). This often intersects with the first trope when the male player gets to feel like a hero by rescuing a fetishized damsel in distress who is naked from the waist up (Beavers 2020:83). The objectification and nudity then imply that the female characters are only there to be looked at and eroticized by the male gaze (Beavers 2020:84). This moves into the third point, which is that violence and sexuality often are strongly connected, which is further enforced by the game's narrative (Beavers 2020:85). For instance, women in video games are often not allowed to be violent unless they are first victimized and weakened (Beavers 2020:87). Boudica herself is not allowed to turn to violence until she has first been victimized herself. Moreover, Boudica's outfit in this game closely parallels Guinevere's in the feature film *King Arthur* (2004), featuring 'bondage' attire that includes some sort of collar (Beavers 2020:85).

In comic books, Jill Lepore (2014) explores the history of Wonder Woman and how she is tied to feminism. Lepore (2014: xiii) argues that, "Feminism made Wonder Woman. And then

Wonder Woman remade feminism, which hasn't been altogether good for feminism." Wonder Woman was first created in 1941, and a year later she joined the Justice Society of America, later called the Justice League, and was the only woman to do so (Lepore 2014: xi). Lepore begins with the history of her creator, William Moulton Marston, who had come very close to committing suicide with cyanide as an eighteen-year-old at Harvard before his philosophy teacher saved his life. Palmer, his teacher, was also the sponsor of the Harvard Men's League for Woman Suffrage (Lepore 2014:8). Marston, at the time, was in Cambridge, MA where a controversy had erupted over whether or not Emmeline Pankhurst could speak at Harvard. This caught his attention, leading him to create a superhero who fights for women's rights. Wonder Woman's only weakness is a man binding her in chains and her nemesis is a chemist who develops a cyanide bomb (Lepore 2014:12). Marston's wife, Sadie Holloway, attended the first college for women, Mount Holyoke College, at a time when an "Amazon" meant any female rebel, a label still applied by many to any woman who went to college at the time (Lepore 2014:17). The book further explores Marston's relationship with Holloway and Olive Byrne, his lover, and their children and how these relationships influenced his creation. Wonder Woman became more popular than any other character apart from Superman and Batman and when Marston revealed his involvement in her creation he stated that his hope in creating her was to, "Combat the idea that women are inferior to men, and to inspire girls to self-confidence and achievement in athletics, occupations, and professions monopolized by men" (Lepore 2014:224). Marston's answer to cries for Wonder Woman to become a domestic woman was reflected in a comic where she loses her power and temporarily becomes a housewife and secretary for Steve Trevor before waking up from the nightmare and continuing to make the world safe for equality (Lepore 2014:230). However, in spite of the elements of women's liberation associated with this character, an element of fetish can be seen in the Wonder Woman comics as well. Not only does Diana appear in chains in every issue, so do many of the other women in this series, similar to the 'bondage' attire in video games described above (Lepore 2014:236). When Marston died and

21

World War II ended, Wonder Woman like many other women of her time got pushed into the background and she suddenly desired to marry Steve Trevor and became a secretary (Lepore 2014:272). By 1968, Wonder Woman did not even have that title anymore, she was known only as Diana Prince and had lost her costume and superpowers (Lepore 2014:286). A new generation had plans to change that, and in 1972 published a new series as well as an anthology to promote the character. However, although Wonder Woman was labeled a revolutionary symbol in 1973, she still had a battle ahead of her. There was fighting on all sides about what she represented, and she was often used as ammunition both for and against feminist movements (Lepore 2014:287). Not long later in 1974, ABC made a movie starring Cathy Lee Crosby as Wonder Woman that ultimately flopped, but the next year ABC launched a television series more closely mirroring Marston's Wonder Woman, starring Lynda Carter who had been a beauty pageant star (Lepore 2014:290-291). At this point, Wonder Woman suddenly lost some of her power as a feminist symbol, as she was transported beyond the 'everywoman' category when she became a perfect superhero and thus became something else, no longer a figure able to fight for equal pay (Lepore 2014:293).

These authors provide a foundation from which to consider the social history of gender roles by outlining past stereotypes that can be compared to the current study to see what, if anything, has changed in the gender dynamics represented in speculative fiction in recent years.

Politics

Political agendas, particularly in colonial contexts, have been intertwined with archaeology from its inception. This close relationship means that any analysis of visual representations of archaeology, archaeologists and past societies must take this variable into consideration. Trigger (1984) provides archaeologists with the terms and definitions to use when analyzing this phenomenon, including signs to look for when identifying these traits in representations of archaeology.

Trigger (1984) identified three categories of political influence on archaeology: nationalist, colonialist, and imperialist. Nationalist archaeology in the past developed out of European prehistoric archaeology as practiced in the post-Napoleonic period (Trigger 1984:358), when it increasingly was used to bolster national pride or morale in states glorifying their past, often in specific ethnic groups (Trigger 1984:360). This is exemplified by movements such as German National Socialism, which used archaeology to create a national identity (Arnold 1990).

Arnold's article focuses on the use of prehistory as a tool in the Nazi propaganda campaign. This began before Hitler's rise to power, when the country already had a history of research on the subject of race and genetic engineering (Arnold 1990:549). In archaeology, Kossinna's theory of cultural diffusion from more advanced societies to lesser ones was applied to prehistoric archaeology in ways that over-emphasized, neglected and/or distorted data associated with Germanic peoples (Arnold 1990:550). After World War I, there was an established connection between politics and prehistory, which allowed the state to create nationalistic visions using evidence from the past (Arnold 1990:551). This especially played a part in Germany's creation of a path to rebuilding after the defeat in World War I and later a more intentional path in the rise of the Third Reich (Arnold 1990:552). Prehistoric archaeology, previously neglected, was suddenly recognized and supported by the government and archaeologists were motivated to support German nationalism using material culture and symbols derived from archaeology in exchange for financial support, greater prestige and more widespread audiences for their research (Arnold 1990:553-555). There was infighting within the party between the Amt Rosenberg and Himmler's Ahnenerbe (Arnold 1990:555), which both sponsored archaeological research, and there was no real respect for the past, beyond its propaganda value and justification of expansion into other countries (Arnold 1990:556). Not all archaeologists fell in line under the Nazi regime, however; many existed on a spectrum between the extremes of those who promoted German superiority fervently, to those who denounced the regime and were forced to retire or emigrate (Arnold 1990:556-562), although some managed to cooperate enough for survival. While many

of the excavations at the time were supported by the regime, some professionals were able to maintain archaeological standards at least in methodological terms (Arnold 1990:562-563). Archaeology has often, not just by the Nazi regime but by others as well, been abused to assert racist doctrines, territorial expansions, and political regimes. Partly this is because professional jargon can be used to obscure meaning and archaeological research in the absence of texts is dependent on limited data and easily manipulatable interpretation (Arnold 1990:565).

Colonialist archaeology, for Trigger, occurs in contexts where people have been overwhelmed, replaced, or ruled by colonial powers and where the colonizers conducted archaeology motivated by the denigration of the subjugated population (Trigger 1984:360-363). Often this included looking for reasons to justify the treatment of the subjugated people, for instance comparing them solely to "primitive" periods of European cultural evolution (Trigger 1984:360). This type of archaeology was closely linked to ethnology which served to confirm public opinion that the modern populations in colonized states were also primitive and justified the colonizers' agenda (Trigger 1984:363). Imperialist archaeology is exemplified by the United Kingdom, which at one point controlled a large percentage of the world's cultures (Trigger 1984:363). It is usually characterized by having an international and controlling interest in world affairs (Trigger 1984:363-368). While Trigger provides a good starting point, later case studies provide more specific examples.

Arnold (2006) analyzes pseudo-archaeology and nationalism in political systems, looking particularly at Nazi Germany. This article discussed some of the motivations for nation-states that search for cultural capital to build the morale and unity that Trigger describes as an essential part of nationalism. This type of nationalism, particularly when motivated by fear, can lead to pseudo-archaeological practices that manipulate the evidence to fit the desired narrative. Nazi archaeologists in particular were searching for objects of power, such as the Holy Grail, the Ark of the Covenant, and the Spear of Longinus (Arnold 2006:158), which makes a comparison between real Nazi archaeology vs. Nazi archaeology as depicted in the original *Indiana Jones*

trilogy useful for this project. This section discusses the idea that the blending of a representation of things that really happened with a fictional backdrop in a movie can be dangerous in that the average viewer cannot determine where the line is between fact and fiction (Arnold 2006:158-160). However, this article also expands on the idea that the Nazis utilized and manipulated archaeological evidence for their own nationalist agenda, and that national powers recognize the power of cultural capital that can be used for their own gain (Arnold 2006).

Hall (2004) also discusses colonialist archaeological representations, including the cultural appropriation represented by 'Egyptomania' and the persistent production of films associating (often supernatural) horror with Egyptian archaeology (Hall 2004:161). Films that take place in and often mystify Egypt tend to uncritically represent archaeology as an extension of western power, underwriting 19th century colonialist agenda (Hall 2004:161-163). Hall also discusses the fiction of Agatha Christie as an example of more general themes found in films set in the Mediterranean and the Orient and argues that archaeology was complicit in the Eurocentric attitude of the early to mid-20th century, both in reality and in fiction (Hall 2004:164).

Hall also examines the "treasure hunt" or quest as a common element in archaeological representations in films (Hall 2004:164-167), many of which involve the search for some sort of mythic object that both sides, the protagonists and antagonists, are obsessed with finding. These objects may be real and usually have some sort of supernatural power, as in the case of The Ark of the Covenant featured in *Indiana Jones and the Raiders of the Lost Ark,* or the chalice in *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade.* These films present what amounts to looting indigenous artifacts as "legitimate collecting", which is another source of cultural imperialism (Hall 2004:164). More rarely, narratives reject the idea of stealing from the indigenous population, such as in *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*, where Indy returns the Shiva Stones to the village they came from, but this is also set against the misleading alternative narrative of looted objects becoming a part of museum storage (Hall 2004:164-165). This is misleading because it is presented as the only alternative and does not consider any others. Often the protagonist's role in

the looting activity being presented in such films is only marginally better than that of the antagonist. A few films manage to question the archaeological appropriation of indigenous material by western powers, but they are not often movies that make it into the mainstream market (Hall 2004:166-167).

In video games, Ross Clare (2020) analyzes two ancient world Computer Role-Playing games (CRPGs), *Nethergate: Resurrection* (2007) and *Titan Quest* (2006) in search of times when players must confront issues of imperialism or colonialism and respond to them. A CRPG gives the player the freedom to role-play their character, whose decisions and behavior they can dictate to some extent, allowing them to engage in play with colonial places and themes (Clare 2020:142). Clare argues that to act on the game, the fundamental process of play must be utilized, and that players must combine their unofficial knowledge of the ancient world with a combination of real-world and pop-cultural access points, as well as interacting with other fictional works they have come across in the past (Clare 2020:143).

Clare first analyzes *Nethergate: Resurrection,* where players may choose either to play as a Roman or Celt, and then operate within those perspectives in the game. The two parties are portrayed as being in conflict and are both assigned traditional stereotypes; the game's state changes based on which side the player chooses (Clare 2020:144-146). There are multiple moments throughout the game when the player must also reflect on and choose how to act as a colonized or colonial individual, for instance whether or not to loot a native and become an aggressive colonizer (Clare 2020:147). The game allows the player to affect the colonial space in which they operate, and through the empathy of role-playing, the player is asked to consider their own position in their world and to consider their interactions with "the Other" (Clare 2020:148). *Titan Quest*, on the other hand, has a largely linear narrative with a more structured gameplay. This affects encounters with the Other as the player moves from the character's homeland of Greece to other regions in the East, often making the player character the only one with agency and power to "save" the other regions' inhabitants (Clare 2020:151). Once the player reaches the

Orient, they find that the inhabitants are literally inhuman, and they are now far away from the privileged center of the world (Clare 2020:151). Moreover, at the end of the game, the player is told that the Greek player character has saved the world and freed it from superstition, which strongly resonates with colonialist ideology (Clare 2020:152). The "savior" trope is common to the video game as well as the comic book representations of protagonists, with weakness being equated with femininity both in individuals and in cultures. The nude or semi-nude female is the equivalent of the colonized culture in that both require the dominant, masculine "hero" to ride to the rescue. While *Nethergate: Resurrection* could be seen as a postcolonial critique, in which the player confronts issues of colonialism and imperialism, *Titan Quest*'s more rigid structure enables and reifies colonialist ideas that the Western hero is saving the vulnerable Other (Clare 2020:152).

Pseudo-archaeology

Pseudo-archaeology, sometimes termed "fantastic archaeology," is abundantly referred to or used, in fictional as well as some ostensibly objective archaeological narratives. Fagan (2006) has produced one of the most-cited discussions of pseudo-archaeology and outlines, identifies, and critiques many of the issues inherent in it. In order to understand what pseudo-archaeology is, it is important to first understand so-called traditional or professional archaeology. Archaeology involves the scientific collection of data using a variety of tools and methods that are then analyzed and interpreted by trained archaeologists (Fagan 2006:24). In this process, context is often the cornerstone of the interpretation (Fagan 2006:26). Pseudo-archaeology, on the other hand, is mostly about interpretation and does not often uncover new data or involve actual excavation (Fagan 2006:27); in fact, most pseudo-archaeology is largely data-free. Practitioners usually come to their opinions of what they will find in advance, and use the evidence to fit their ideas and, crucially, ignore any contradictory data (Fagan 2006:28-29). Two main characteristics define pseudo-archaeologists. The first involves characteristics of attitude, especially the use of old or disproven theories, being combative or disparaging toward

27

academics, and, at the same time, seeking the approval of authorities within academia (Fagan 2006:30-34). The second involves characteristics of procedure, which encompass making larger than life claims, presenting selectively incomplete evidence, weighting down their arguments with the whole "kitchen-sink," giving vague definitions to terms normally used in academia, making superficial and loose connections, being obsessed with finding messages anywhere from the past, harboring logical fallacies, and expecting a reward in exchange for their findings (Fagan 2006:34-42). It is important to remember, however, that not all of these characteristics fit every pseudo-archaeologist and that the presence of one of them may not be an indication of the presence of pseudo-archaeology. The most reliable indicator of pseudo-archaeology is an implausible claim based on what may be real data leading to dead-end, untestable and irrefutable results (Fagan 2006:42-43). Fagan's work provides the foundation for spotting pseudo-archaeology when it appears in popular culture.

Many authors refer to the supernatural aspect of archaeology within pop culture, a trope that in large part owes its existence to Lovecraft (Hiscock 2012). There are many narratives of the past that are not in the main canon accepted by academic archaeologists and historians but are often accepted by much broader audiences (Hiscock 2012:156-157). These pseudo-archaeological narratives are frequently embedded in films, as the cinema has historically tended to represent archaeologists as working directly with or encountering supernatural objects or events (Hiscock 2012:157). The supernatural, in these stories and others, typically refers to something that could not exist in reality as we know it. Indeed, all of the Indiana Jones and Lara Croft films reference the supernatural, in that each film involves the hunt for an object that was manufactured in the past and contains unnatural powers (Hiscock 2012:160-161). Archaeologists have been slow to respond to the presentation of the supposed link between archaeology and the supernatural in these films, while the "accuracy" of the archaeology portrayed onscreen has been critiqued many times (Hiscock 2012:163).

There is an entirely separate category of movies with pseudo-archaeological components, in which the idea of the ancient astronaut and the ancient alien involvement in the human past is created and then perpetuated (Hiscock 2012:164-169). Like Arnold (2006), Hiscock makes it clear that the pseudo-archaeological references are used to make such films feel authentic and thus provide the audience with an impression of the past based on the goals of the fictional narrative, with little or no concern for accuracy or misappropriation (2012:173-174). Archaeology in this type of film serves as a prop or backdrop rather than being integrated into the narrative. The preceding review has set the stage for the analysis of the process and reasoning behind the case studies that serve as the core of this thesis.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This project began as a paper on how archaeology was represented in the *Star Wars* universe, both legends and canon, that was written for the graduate seminar "Who Owns the Past?" in 2019. The paper examined as many references to archaeology as could be found in *Star Wars*, using McGeough (2007), Hall (2004), Marwick (2010), and Hiscock (2012) as examples of how to analyze fictional representations. This approach was applied to the character of "rogue archaeologist" Doctor Aphra in the *Darth Vader* #3 (Gillen 2015), as well as the first collected volume of the *Doctor Aphra* series (Gillen 2017a). The other part of this paper focused on larger socio-historical themes. Trigger (1986) was used as a basis for examining themes of imperial and colonial archaeology within *Star Wars* and various academic articles on looting were used to contextualize the character of Rey. The latter part of this paper looked very specifically at what seemed to be one of the most accurate representations of archaeology in *Star Wars*, in the single volume comic of *Age of Republic - Obi Wan Kenobi 1* (Houser 2019)*,* why this was successful and how it worked. This thesis expands on the previous paper by zooming in on the three case studies with the most material using the gender, politics and pseudo-archaeology themes.

Another piece of the methodological and research approach applied in the thesis is based on my undergraduate degree experience in creative writing. Moser (2009:1073) argues that it is critical when analyzing archaeological representation to become familiar with the history and methodology of the fields you are researching. This project was approached from the theoretical and critical perspective of creative writing combined with the anthropological lens of my graduate coursework. This project draws on theory and texts from previous coursework, including prose writing, speculative writing, and the art of the graphic novel. The analysis includes a critique of Evans' (1989:204) statement that literary criticism has nothing to contribute to archaeological writing. The parameters of the data sets and methodological approaches utilized are discussed in more detail below.

Case Study Analysis

For this thesis, I am following a model proposed by Finn (2004) wherein my fieldwork is not meant to be digging at an archaeological site, but rather digging through the contents of examples of archaeological representation. Schnapp (1993:321) describes archaeology as the discovery of the past and suggests that human responses to the past change over time. In this sense, I am hoping to reveal changes in human responses to archaeological representations and the past from the perspectives of gender and politics over time and what they may tell us about the discipline as well as how the public views it. Finn (2004:5) notes that his data set consisted of primary and secondary sources, including the authors' own works and critical works by their contemporaries, and this is the model I utilized in my analysis. Following Finn, I too examine the works in contexts relating both to archaeology and literature, and I excavate these works using various filters, focusing on the relationship between archaeology, storytelling, and popular culture. The case studies were chosen based on several criteria: 1) the recentness of their publication, 2) the number of academic publications in which they are featured, and 3) their relevance to the themes chosen to analyze within them. The specific themes are 1) gender, 2) colonialism, and 3) pseudo-archaeology. These are issues that have been studied in archaeological representations before (McGeough 2007, Hall 2004, Hiscock 2012, etc.), which allows me to look at how they are similarly expressed or changed in media.

Star Wars

Star Wars is an ever-growing popular franchise that constantly reinvents and renews itself (Hiscock 2012:173). The franchise, after the purchase of LucasFilm by Disney in 2012, is still growing and currently has consumers all around the world. This popularity is important because it can expose a global audience to what archaeology is and what archaeologists do, with the potential for misrepresentation as well as education. It is also worth stating that *Star Wars* was originally produced by George Lucas, who also produced the *Indiana Jones* franchise (1981-2008), so archaeology is expected to be featured in a comparable way (and not necessarily with

31

greater accuracy). However, all of the *Star Wars* case studies in this project were published after the Disney purchase and were therefore removed from Lucas' direct influence. In the previous paper on which this in-depth study is based, all instances of archaeology that could be found in the franchise were examined, including "Legends" material. However, for the purposes of this thesis, as stated previously, nothing from the "Legends" category was included to ensure clearly defined research parameters. Also of note is that production is closely regulated by LucasFilm to ensure that anything canonical fits within the parameters of the universe. This used to be monitored by George Lucas but under Disney it is monitored by the Lucasfilm Story Group (Greene 2019), which is composed of roughly a dozen people who filter what content goes into the canonical storyline. While writers, producers and creators are given a lot of creative freedom (Greene 2019), the Story Group has the final say over whether the content is canonical. Authors are allowed to make adjustments and take content in the direction they want it to go so long as it does not contradict anything already set in stone – such as the movies (Greene 2019). This project, then, includes a discussion of the decisions made by the individual authors and creators to see what sort of things are changing. *Star Wars* was selected primarily because of the lack of previous academic research on this category of entertainment by archaeologists, and secondarily because the examples of archaeology that are included are interesting and complex.

I have selected the following examples from *Star Wars*.

Doctor Aphra is described as a "rogue archaeologist" in the comics in which she appears (Gillen 2015: *Vader* #3). She first appeared in the *Darth Vader* 2015 series as a side character. She later was the main protagonist of her own completed comic series and is the main character in a second series of comics that is still in production (Marvel 2020). Her appearance is therefore contemporary and changing, and she provides an emerging representation of archaeology to examine. This character also provides a snapshot of how archaeologists are viewed by a certain segment of the population right now and how that has changed from previous representations, particularly Indiana Jones, her character's main inspiration (Gillen 2017: Writer's Notes).

Throughout Doctor Aphra's arc, there is ample opportunity to look at all three themes used in the analytical framework of this thesis.

I examine the appearances published to date before the end of her first series including *Vader* #3-25 (2015-2016), *Doctor Aphra* #1-40 (2016-2019), *Star Wars: Vader Down* (2015-2016), *Darth Vader* #13-15 (2017), *Star Wars* #13-14, #16-18, and #31-32 (2016-2017), and *"Epilogue"* in *Empire Ascendant* (2019). I was also able to look at the first five comics of the new series, *Doctor Aphra* #1-5 (2020).

Star Wars: Rebels is a television series that was released between October 2014 and March 2018. While this fell slightly behind the targeted timeframe, I will be specifically looking at arcs and characters not introduced until the second season in 2015 and continuing through the end of the series. The second season has one arc searching for a lost Jedi temple and then a similar search for a Sith temple, mirroring the plot of the video game in many ways. The third and fourth seasons introduce the antagonist of Grand Admiral Thrawn, who embodies the archetype of a military antiquarian of the kind that characterized the early British archaeological investigations in the Middle East. The arcs surrounding Thrawn's character include archaeological themes such as native repatriation and colonialism.

Jedi: Fallen Order is a video game that was published in 2019 that follows the character of Cal Kestis, a stranded Jedi Padawan who escaped Order 66. This game was selected because, while not specifically labeled as archaeological, it was built around archaeological themes. Both the protagonist and the antagonist visit archaeological sites in search of a special artifact. The antagonist is sponsored by the Empire, which is conducting colonialist archaeology across the worlds visited in the game according to the principles defined by Trigger (1986). The plot of the video game itself even feels like that of an *Indiana Jones* film, as the characters race to make archaeological discoveries and compete to find one "treasure" in particular (Hall 2004:164-165). This game also provides opportunities to investigate all three themes, colonialism in particular.

Comparative Analysis

The case studies described above were subjected to a qualitative comparative analysis and were chosen for the way they illustrate the chosen themes and fit the proposed criteria. These were compared to other examples reviewed by archaeologists in the past, many of which were discussed in the literature review.

A visual comparative analysis was designed for this project to identify visual cues related to archaeological themes, from artifacts to the appearance of the characters portraying archaeologists. All of the above case studies include visual elements, whether these are flat images, animations, or live-action television. This approach allowed me to draw on creative writing theory as well as archaeological theory. All of these media forms depend on the use of the visual to tell their story and the way those images are chosen and constructed tells the story. On the archaeological side of things, that same interplay is often how archaeologists interpret sites and objects, using a combination of visual clues and texts that accompany or contextualize them. Moreover, the history of archaeological representation depends on contexts that often combine texts and visual elements, such as museum exhibitions, print media, and illustrations (Moser 2009). Print media became a major player in archaeological representations due to its ability to combine "news reporting with compelling storytelling and imagery to create powerful visions of the past" (Moser 2009:1067). For this reason, I approach these case studies in the same way that I would read an archaeological site, analyzing them through the lens of contextual archaeology. Contextual archaeology focuses on the specific features of case studies that are elucidated and emphasized to bring as much information and detail to the analysis as possible (Renfrew 2001:124). Archaeology has long had a close relationship with the visual. Moser (2001:280) demonstrates that from the very beginning archaeologists have interpreted the past by visually representing it. This is even more clear in archaeological representations, which can be defined as "The production of meaning through a visual language of communicating the past" (Moser 2001:266).

Moser (2009:1067) makes it clear that combinations of text and visuals can be a powerful way to create the feeling of experiencing history. Other conventions have established their own manner of creating knowledge and informing the public about the past as well as the present. Graphic novels and productions such as television shows and movies are good examples. They are 2D (for home viewing), illustrative, and use many of the symbols and conventions that are found in archaeological representations.

The conventions that characterize archaeological representation, according to Moser (2001:269), are iconography, autonomy, longevity, authenticity, singularity, dramatist, and persuasiveness. While these conventions are based on her own research looking at pictures and illustrations, she suggests that they could be modified to fit other modes of representation (Moser 2001:269). I list these conventions here and explain how they were used in the visual context analysis of the case studies (Table 3.1).

Conventions in Visual Archaeological Representations

Iconography	Visual motifs that give information about the past/archaeology within the case studies
Autonomy	How creative control and creative decisions in favor of the visual aesthetic create meaning
Longevity	What can be recognized as retaining elements of earlier visuals, particularly ones that have been around for a long time
Authenticity	The detailing and the "reality" of what is being constructed in the various case studies, and how it serves to build the world the consumer is buying into
Singularity	What about the view these various forms have limits the consumer's view to a singular one, or do they allow for multiple viewpoints
Dramatist	How do these case studies use dramatization to engage and gain empathy from the audience
Persuasiveness	What kind of plausibility do these case studies have and what kind of influence does that give them

Table 3.1 Moser's (2001) conventions and characteristics applied to this project.

One of the conventions above that Moser describes as critical is authenticity, which is achieved by including as much detail as possible to give the sense that an image is realistic (Moser 2001:275). Lutwack (1984), likewise, emphasizes the importance of place and setting as building authenticity in a fictional world. In the speculative genre it is important to stay authentic

to the world that has been created; keeping the audience immersed in a strange land often depends on the sense of authenticity that has been generated (Vandemeer 2013:238-244).

This is even more important in immersive in video games, such as the Discovery Tours mode in *Assassin's Creed: Origins* (2017) (French and Gardner 2020:73). This is what makes video games different from the other media forms: it is easier to become involved directly with the world of the video game because the player can move somewhat freely throughout the imagined world. This realism allows the player to become integrated into sites that are only viewable as ruins outside the game, but in the game are vibrant and filled with a living population (French and Gardner 2020:69). However, the visual piece is not the only piece utilized to analyze archaeological themes and representations. Dialogue and text are important as well and provide critical information about what is happening in the visual portion. Frequently, the dialogue and text are used to specifically identify the presence of an archaeologist or archaeological problem. This contextualization is important and the interplay between text and image is a major source of the data analyzed in this thesis.

Video games, television, and comic books are all quite different forms. While I am analyzing all of them very similarly in this thesis, the audience's level of participation in each of those forms is very different. Video games are more participatory, as the player often affects the dynamics happening within the game and can change the outcome depending on the type of game being played. Readers of comic books engage in some of this participation, as they have to work out the order in which the panels should be read and interpret the comic based on their own experience and previous exposure to similar stories. Film and television are very linear and involve more limited audience participation as the consumers are more passive, merely watching the events taking place on screen. These differences were taken into account in this thesis, but due to time and research constraints were not analyzed in depth. In addition, part of the contextualization was carried out in the literature review, as texts by previous authors on other case studies are used to make comparisons. The cues I looked for in those instances included

36

direct references to other case studies that point to archaeology, such as the scene presenting the introduction of Doctor Aphra as compared to the first scene in *Indiana Jones and the Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981). This is illustrated below in Figure 3.1, where the scene is framed very similarly, the characters act in the same manner, and encounter the same traps. Similarly, where references to historical events are appropriate, I draw comparisons to them.

Figure 3.1 The similarities between Aphra's introduction (1st and 3rd panels) and Indiana Jones (2nd and 4th). Image credits Gillen (2015) and Lucas (1981).

Clothing and other cues signify archaeology for the public. For instance, Doctor Aphra's outfit (Figure 3.2), which she wears throughout her series, is a callback to the "myth of the cowboy" that McGeough suggests is built on the myths of older heroes, such as those who tamed the American West (2007:176). Clothing and equipment like Indy's leather jacket, fedora, bullwhip, and revolver and Aphra's clothes in Figure 3.2 exemplify this. Gender, colonialism, and pseudo-archaeology all provide similar cues. The positioning of Doctor Aphra in Figure 3.2 (below) is one such cue. Military activity and imagery surrounding possible sites is a cue for identifying visual references to colonialist archaeology (Figure 3.3). While pseudo-archaeology might be harder to spot without more context, there are some obvious visual cues, such as the search for an ancient power within pyramid structures (Figure 3.3) in the first volume of the Doctor Aphra series (Gillen 2017a). Table 3.2 below provides more detailed explanations of the exact cues that were analyzed in the case studies.

Figure 3.2 Doctor Aphra on the cover of Vader #3, with her droids 000 and BT-1 (Gillen 2015). Cover artist Adi Granov.

Figure 3.3 The presence of military guarding an archaeological site, one that is believed to hold ancient power (Gillen 2016: *Doctor Aphra #2*).

Gender

Clothing	Are the characters wearing stereotypical clothing à la Indiana Jones? How revealing was their costume and what does their clothing implicate, if anything?
Sexuality	How were the characters positioned or posed? How are they portrayed? Does the character have a stated sexuality?
Identity	How did the character identify - their ethnicity as well as their sex/gender?
Individuality	How much autonomy did the characters have? Were the female character's well developed or were they derivative of men?

Politics

Imperialism	Are there signs of this system being imposed on archaeology/archaeological themes, as defined by Trigger (1984)?
Colonialism	Are there signs of this system being imposed on archaeology/archaeological themes, as defined by Trigger (1984), as well as compared to other analyses (Clare 2020)?
Historical Comparison	What references can be made or drawn from history, e.g., Nazi Archaeology?

Pseudo-Archaeology

Supernatural Involvement	How was the supernatural portrayed, and how did science work in the universe?
Powerful Artifacts	In what way were the objects powerful and were they portrayed as having "superpowers"?
Misinterpretation	Were any seeming authorities making claims about civilizations for which there is little to no evidence, e.g., Atlantis?

Table 3.2 The themes that I am specifically looking for, as well as what within those categories I am using to determine what is happening within the case studies.

Chapter 4. Case Study Descriptions and Analysis Parameters

In this section, I have laid out an introduction, plot summary, and results for each of the three case studies being analyzed in this thesis: 1) Doctor Aphra; 2) *Star Wars: Rebels*; and 3) J*edi: Fallen Order*, in that order. I have also included background information on the way each of these examples was received based on the demographic data I was able to acquire. I then break down each example by theme, showing how each case study reflects or does not reflect existing stereotypes before discussing its more general significance. In the discussion at the end of this chapter, I present three changing tropes as well as three perpetuating tropes with respect to the way archaeology is represented in the *Star Wars* franchise.

Doctor Aphra

Doctor Chelli Lona Aphra is a prominent character in the Marvel Star Wars comic book line. She is introduced in the first *Darth Vader* (2015) series. Her character, from the beginning, is described as a "rogue archaeologist" by the omniscient narrator and other characters in the series. She is tasked by Vader to "dig" into his own past, as he expects her to track down information about the rebel that destroyed the Death Star. She works for him but on occasion she uses information he gives her to her own benefit. Aphra manages to track down the information he wants but she knows that one day Vader will realize that her usefulness has run its course and her life will be threatened. She attempts to save herself by telling the Emperor that Vader had been sneaking out on his own, but the Emperor lets Vader deal with her instead. Vader ends up throwing her out an airlock but she is saved because she anticipated this and is rescued by her two droids, Triple-Zero and BeeTee.

Her solo series, Doctor Aphra (2016) begins shortly after the other series ends. She is working with questionable characters to retrieve valuable artifacts and sell them to make money. This comes to a quick stop when her father appears with news that her archaeological accreditation has been temporarily revoked due to an accusation that she might have lied about her doctoral research. He uses the threat of exposing this rumor to bribe her into helping him find

an ancient Jedi order, the Ordu Aspectu, which he believes could be the answer to effecting change in the galaxy. They find the planet inhabited by the Ordu and awaken an ancient computer that believes it was a member of this order. They are chased by an imperial convoy led by Captain Tolvan. Aphra and her father manage to escape, and she replaces the computer with a fake in order to find out how to activate it and sell it. This leads to a run-in with Luke Skywalker along with the rest of the main protagonists of the series. Once the computer is activated, she tries to sell it, but the auction is interrupted by Triple-Zero and BeeTee, who are annoyed by the dearth of opportunities for violence her recent activities have provided them. They invite Darth Vader to the auction in order to bribe Aphra into removing their inhibitors. She succeeds in escaping but is manipulated by the droids into working for them. She ends up in prison, where she uses her connections to Captain Tolvan to engineer a break-out. Their escape is compromised but a convicted murderer saves her only to force her and Triple-Zero to work together because he is entertained by the resulting chaos. Aphra finally manages to free herself and ends up working for an Imperial who wants to use her to assassinate the Emperor. She sees through the plan and actually saves the Emperor, which consequently saves her from Vader's immediate revenge when he learns she is still alive. Aphra is instead conscripted into an Imperial archaeological team that searches for hidden rebel bases. Through that course of events, she manages to get her father, her ward, and her girlfriend away from harm and into Rebel hands; she escapes Vader, giving the Rebels more time to make Hoth safe before the Empire finds them.

Aphra's second series, Doctor Aphra (2020) is not finished. However, the first story arc finds her in a much more archaeologically-centered plot, wherein she helps a grad student and a disgraced professor search for an object that is the focus of their research. They manage to find it, and are chased and nearly killed by a sinister art collector. They part ways, but Aphra has ticked off the art collector's family, and the arc ends with the family threatening to get revenge.

Background

Doctor Aphra was first conceived of by Kieron Gillen for the Darth Vader series. Salvador

Larroca was the artist on Darth Vader and was largely responsible for the original look of Doctor Aphra (Salmon 2020). In her first solo series, Star Wars: Doctor Aphra (2016), Gillen again started out as the writer but with a new artist, Kev Walker. Issue #14 had yet another artist, Emilio Laiso, who traded out with Walker for most of the rest of the series, although there were other artists involved throughout. Simon Spurrier eventually took over for Kieron Gillen as the primary writer and remained for the rest of the series. Aphra's new series, Star Wars: Doctor Aphra (2020), is headed by writer Alyssa Wong and artist Marika Cresta. All of these creators had a fairly free reign in Aphra's creation. Gillen chose the original plot that Aphra's arc would follow, but Larroca designed the look himself (Salmon 2020). And while Gillen worked with Spurrier on the second half of Aphra's 2016 series, Wong and Cresta will have full control of Aphra's arc and look from here on out (Salmon 2020).

Gillen has stated in interviews that they wanted a character who could be involved in the Darth Vader series without making Vader do a lot of talking and exposition, and that this person would hopefully create some lighter notes (Salmon 2020). Gillen was trying to create a sort of mirror of the main Star Wars cast, with a rogue smuggler type, and after passing a statue of Indiana Jones, was inspired to create an ethically inverted Indiana Jones to fulfill this role (Salmon 2020). Moreover, this comic was born around the time that the Disney acquisition created a fairly clean canon, making it possible to use past ideas if and when they suited the plot, and Gillen believed that an archaeologist unearthing and exploring stuff could be a good way to facilitate those transitions (Salmon 2020).

While I was unable to determine demographics for the audience of Doctor Aphra in particular, I was able to acquire a study of a snapshot of comics buyers based on a sample of 72,000-person book buying consumer panel recorded by Kristen McLean in New York in 2017 (Alverson 2017). I compiled these statistics into two separate charts (Figure 4.1). Notably, while the overall population engaged in purchasing comic books skews young, averaging 13-29 years of age, male audiences are much more balanced between the 13-29 and 30-54 age groups. Also

notable is that manga-specific (Japanese comic books) purchasers are divided much more evenly between male and female and between ethnicities (Alverson 2017).However, there is evidence to suggest that there is a growing demographic of women 17-33 is rapidly growing (Weldon 2017). Either way, comics seem to be reaching young adults the most, regardless of gender. For Doctor Aphra specifically, the best guess is that her open sexuality and ethnicity may skew less heavily toward the traditional comics audience, but that cannot currently be verified.
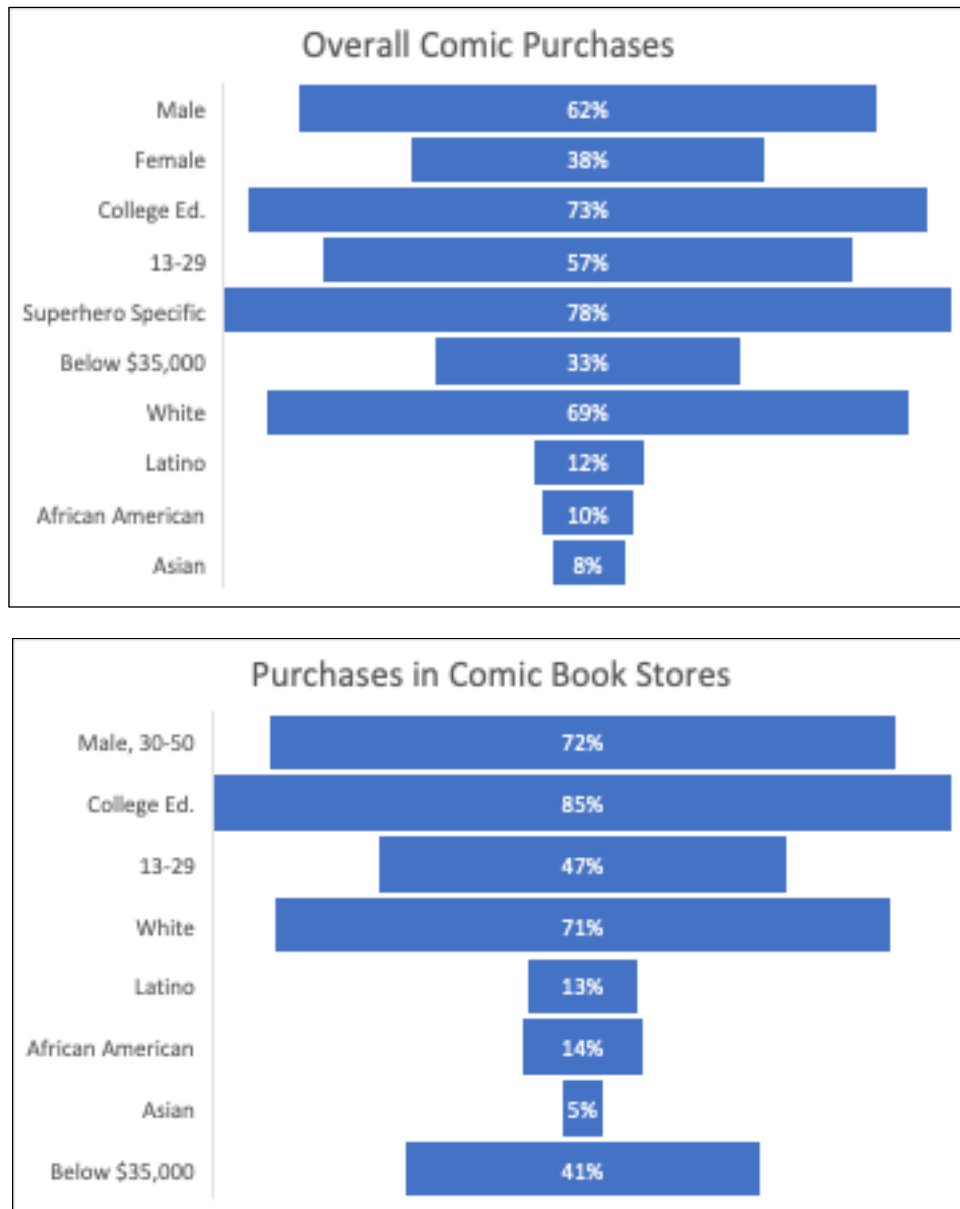
Figure 4.1 Two graphs summarizing the information from the McLean Study (Alverson 2017).

Less ambiguous is the feedback from fans and the entertainment industry that the series and the character have received over the years. The original comic in which her character was introduced, Darth Vader #3, was popular enough that the issue got a 2nd, 3rd, and 4th printing and was given a 9.8 rating by CGC. As of December, the first printing averaged $360 on eBay (Credits and Canon 2021). Originally, Aphra's story was supposed to end at the end of the Darth Vader series, but her popularity saved her. She then got her own title run, making her the only comics-introduced Star Wars character to get her own series (Lavorgna 2018), which ran for 40 issues, followed by another that started its release in 2020. Aphra also received her own action figure, which was included in and won Hasbro's fan vote in 2017 for a Vintage Collection figure, beating out Ahsoka Tano, another Star Wars fan favorite (Star Wars 2017). Neither character has appeared in any of the eleven full-length, live-action movies. Aphra was also part of a San Diego Comic-Con (SDCC) Exclusive set in 2018 (Star Wars 2018). The SDCC itself serves over 130,000 participants annually (Halverstadt 2015) and the second market price for the figure of Aphra averages $75.25 (the original retail price was $19.99) and has gone higher on eBay auctions (Ebay 2021). The fact that the Aphra character has achieved this kind of public recognition without ever having made an appearance on television or in the Star Wars films is quite impressive. Many were surprised when a rumored Disney+ show announced that it would not include her. However, with the roster of many shows slated to be released in the timeline in which she appears [The Mandalorian, Ahsoka, The Book of Boba Fett, Rangers of the New Republic, Andor, and Lando (Ellsworth 2020)] it is possible that she will be featured in some of these upcoming shows before getting her own series, like the character of Ahsoka Tano. Some fans consider an Aphra show inevitable (Credits and Canon 2021). Especially telling is the fact that her original series won the GLAAD Media Award in 2019 for "Outstanding Comic Book" (Doran 2020).

All of this indicates that her character has a dedicated fanbase that has expanded over the years and, as of now, does not appear to have an end in sight. The following section reviews how

Aphra is perceived by the general public seen through the lens of the three themes of this thesis.

Gender

Both in archaeological representations and in *Star Wars* itself, gender was traditionally one-sided and skewed male. Female characters, let alone leads, were rare for a long time with a few exceptions. How then does Aphra fit into the traditional stereotypes of who an archaeologist is and what an archaeologist does? Does she do anything new or different? I first highlight the ways in which she is comparable to representations of other female archaeologists and how she fits into the model society might expect. I then present the evidence and argument that she is different from past representations.

The Mold Fitter

Women, even in academically informed contexts such as museum exhibits, have often been placed in and confined to roles determined for them by men. Gender representations of past human societies as well as women in archaeology today, even representations of non-human or pre-human male and female animals, tend to follow stereotypical patterns (Haraway 1989). Haraway's article focuses specifically on the stereotypes of the traditional patriarchal family, with the males always appearing virile and dominant while the women are represented as submissive and derivative of the men around them (Haraway 1989). Is the character of Aphra a derivative of men and if so, in what ways?

Aphra's original co-creators Kieron Gillen and Salvador Larroca are both men. The Aphra character was written by men who conceived of her in a supporting role as someone working for Darth Vader, much as other feature film versions of female archaeologists play supporting roles for the leading man, such as Doctor Elsa Schneider in *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989). Gillen was chosen to be on the Darth Vader series team due to his previous work on writing villains, including the Punisher comic series for which he was a lead writer (Brooks 2014). This changed slightly in the 2016 series, in that Aphra was the main lead, although the main writers and artists on the project were still male.

McGeough (2007) and Zorpidu (2004) both point out that often the female archaeologists in speculative fiction no matter the medium are overly sexualized. Aphra, while for the most part dressed modestly, is occasionally presented in a sexualized pose. The cover art in Figure 3.2 is a good example of this. When compared to all the other covers, this is the only instance in which she is standing in a pose that seems intentionally sexualized. There is also one instance in which she is scantily clothed, after it is implied that she has slept with Captain Tolvan; the image shows them asleep next to each other (Figure 4.2), although neither of the women is nude in the image. Aphra herself has several implied sexual encounters with Captain Tolvan in the series, and it is also implied that she had previous encounters with the character of Sana Solo. McGeough (2007:180-181) suggests that archaeologists are often linked to a type of hypersexuality, but although Aphra's character has these encounters her sexuality is not one of her primary characteristics.
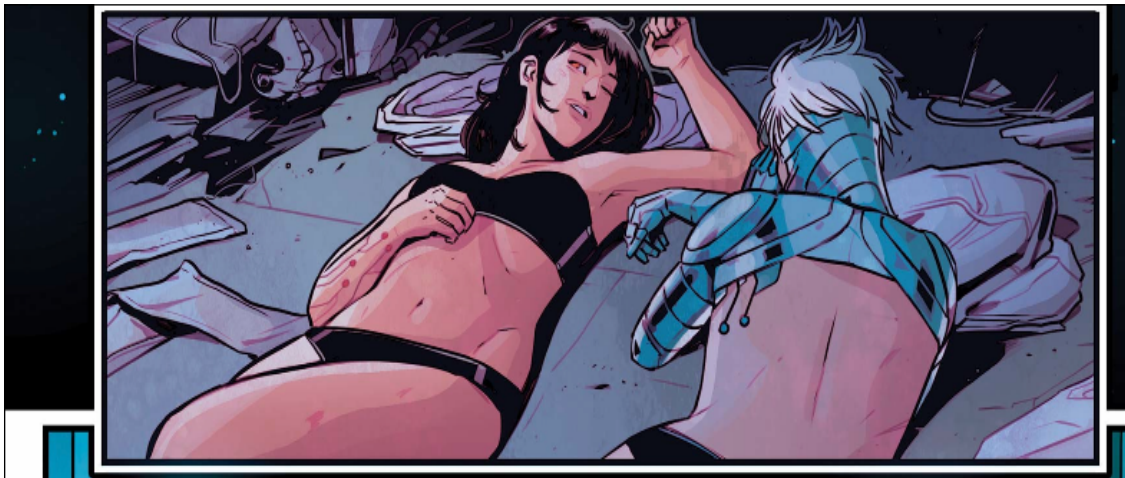
Figure 4.2 Aphra and Captain Tolvan (Spurrier 2019: *Doctor Aphra #39*)

Any moral judgement about her sexual activity is less about her sexuality and more about her ethical and moral compass as a person and her tendency to betray everyone she cares about - whether as a sexual partner, family member, friend, or ward (Figure 4.3). Like Lara Croft, Aphra does have some of the masculine traits associated with other action heroes, particularly those modeled on Indiana Jones (Zorpidu 2004). Her outfits, at least the most iconic ones, do often

mirror the myth of the cowboy as described by McGeough (2007:176) (Figure 3.2). However, there is another side to Aphra that does not fit the hyper-sexualized, gender-stereotyped action figure mold quite so well.

Figure 4.3 Tolvan guessing what happened between Aphra and Starros, based on her morality (Spurrier 2019: *Doctor Aphra #23*)

The Mold Breaker

While Doctor Aphra may have had an ambiguous start as a model archaeologist, with many of her initial problematic characteristics manifesting themselves in the first issue in which she was introduced, the character has grown a lot since then. The fact that Aphra became a female leading character both in her own series and as an archaeologist, unlike most other ancillary Star Wars characters (Hall 2004:169; Credits and Canon 2020), is itself a key deviation from tradition. Moreover, her character was taken over by a female writer and artist beginning with the 2020 series. While she started as a side character for Darth Vader, Aphra has become her own character, and now works for herself. She is no longer a sidekick or a prop.

Moreover, while the first cover presented her in a sexualized pose, later covers did not repeat this theme nor was Aphra featured in any "shower" scenes (Zorpidu 2004) that have no purpose

other than showing off the sexuality of the female character. She is, as far as the series has gone so far, very confident and aware of her own sexuality. She does not allow it to be dictated by anyone, male or otherwise, and is never judged for it. Sana Starros, a past partner, does pass harsh judgement on her, but this is because Aphra left her and not because of the affair itself (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 Starros accusing Aphra of backstabbing her (Aaron 2016: *Star Wars* #18)

Aphra would be considered queer, specifically lesbian, by our standards today (LaVorgna 2018), something that Hall (2004:168-169) discusses is rarely shown in popular fiction except as a metaphor for something else. Nor is Aphra white. The original artist, Salvador Larroca, seemed to have East Asian in mind when creating the character and that has since been confirmed (LaVorgna 2018). A non-white, queer female lead is quite a change from tradition, both in archaeological representations and in Star Wars itself.

While Aphra's iconic outfit resembles the attire associated with other action-adventure archaeologists, she does change her outfits more often. Most would recognize her by the first outfit she is introduced in, but for different arcs she is seen in different attire that is environmentally appropriate and the writers do not go to extraordinary measures to put her in something more revealing (Figure 4.5). Even when she is captured or injured, her outfit never shows more than that, compared to the leading women in the films such as Leia Organa who was

48

forced into a slave bikini (*Star Wars: Episode VI - Return of the Jedi* 1983), or Padmé whose shirt was conveniently ripped in half (*Star Wars: Episode II - Attack of the Clones* 2002).

Figure 4.5 An example of a climate-appropriate outfit change
(Spurrier 2016: *Doctor Aphra #21*)

Likewise, while she has some masculine traits, such as being able to hold a blaster and being assertive, she is not simply a "masquerade of womanliness" (Zorpidu 2004:105) in the same sense that Lara Croft was in her movies. Zorpidu (2004) argues that the only thing that makes Lara Croft female is her figure and that in all other respects she remains a male action figure. Aphra herself seems much more feminine on the whole, without becoming sidelined for it. She has characteristics aside from her body that make her feminine. Her figure is not overdone (an easy and typical thing to do in comics), she has shorter hair, she has emotions, and she feels like a natural human being based on the narrative arc of her series. She performs for no one and everyone, in the sense that she makes her way through the world haphazardly, mostly only out for herself, tricking as many people as she can along the way, but with moments of emotion that make her very human, and therefore relatable. Unlike other female leads, she is not surrounded

by a solely male cast. Many characters, male, female, of multiple species and ethnicities intersect her path. The main cast consists of her and two murder droids. A male Wookie often crosses paths with her, but so do Captain Tolvan and Sana Solo, who are both female. She also picks up a young girl who ends up as a sort of ward under her protection. Even when she is captured by a notorious evil alien, she is not given the "bondage" (Beavers 2020:84-87) treatment we might expect (contrasting with Leia's bondage attire), nor is her sex used against her in any way when she is being otherwise used by powers-that-be.

As far as other archaeologists go, the reader knows that her advisor when she attended university was male, but every other archaeologist we come across that is named is female. One of these females, a former professor who was dismissed but presumably reinstated in the 2020 series, is an alien. The others we meet are graduate students and feature both white and non-white ethnicities. Overall, the cast is quite diverse and audiences seem to find Aphra's non-traditional traits the things they like most about her. Many of those following her story are wondering how long it will be until she gets a live-action adaptation.

While Aphra as a symbol of gender politics may be in line with more progressive contemporary attitudes, there are still two other themes to consider. Aphra's role in the politics of Star Wars is clearly a morally grey area that represents potential problems with regard to how archaeology is represented in the series.

Politics

Aphra grew up and is active in the Imperial period of the Star Wars universe during which the Empire was led by Emperor Palpatine. This means that all existing archaeological institutions fall under Imperial authority and most of the archaeology presented to the reader is conducted under a corrupt system. Aphra, however, is not working by the book, either by our standards or by those of the Empire within Star Wars.

The system for training archaeologists in the Imperial system is comparable to our own: they go to a university, train under a Sava, or advisor, complete a research project, and become

certified doctors (Figure 4.6). However, this apparent comparability is undermined by the fact that, at a site known as Archaeo-Prime, certified archaeologists can sell artifacts to acquire funds (Figure 4.7). Aphra describes the site as a center of archaeological digs and scavenging due to a "historical art rush" because of the intriguing nature of the planet on which it is located (Gillen 2016: *Doctor Aphra #1*). Archaeo-Prime is run by the Archaeological Association, about which little information is provided apart from the brief pronouncements made by Aphra, and it is unknown how legitimate either the Association or Archaeo-Prime are. Even though professional training is required to acquire artifacts on Archaeo-Prime, the Archaeological Association is not necessarily viewed as legitimate by the rest of the community or by the Empire but it reflects a cultural imperialism (Hall 2004:164) in which it is seen as acceptable to take valuable cultural artifacts and sell them. This is contrary to real archaeological associations, such as the Society for American Archaeology (SAA), whose statement of ethics clearly spells out what professional archaeologists should or should not be doing (SAA 2021).

Figure 4.6 Aphra sitting in on her Sava's class (Gillen 2016: *Doctor Aphra #1*)

51

Figure 4.7 Aphra explaining Archaeo-Prime to her companions (Gillen 2016: *Doctor Aphra #1*)

Moreover, the Empire does not use professional archaeologists to search out ancient societies and ruins, at least in Aphra's series. There is evidence of this in both *Jedi:Fallen Order* and *Star Wars: Rebels,* analyzed later in this thesis, but, in Aphra's story, the only archaeologists we find directly hired by the Empire are being used to search for the rebels instead (Figure 4.8) In this encounter, Aphra is forcibly recruited to be part of the archaeological team helping Vader track down the rebels who have been known to hide in ancient ruins, such as on Yavin-4. Both the professor in charge and Aphra's father have made comments about the rebels using ruins as bases, apparently not concerned that the ruins get destroyed along the way (Figure 4.9). The archaeologists themselves do not make any judgements at all on the cultures they encounter, but they are not really basing their search on specific data given that the main goal is to find rebels. The rest of the archaeology the reader encounters, at least thus far, is conducted either with university funding or conducted by rogues, Aphra included, and not sanctioned by the Empire.

The place where we see the most evidence of what could be termed colonial archaeology as defined by Trigger (1984:360-363) is in the first arc in Aphra's 2016 series. A large troop presence surrounds the now abandoned ruins of Yavin-4 and the military follows Aphra and her

crew to the ruins of the Ordu Aspectu (Figure 3.3). The evidence for this in Star Wars will be examined in more detail in *Jedi:Fallen Order* and in *Star Wars:Rebels*, below. Aphra does, however, have several encounters that could fall under the pseudo-archaeology theme. These instances will be examined next to see how they conform to that category.

Figure 4.8 Aphra being tasked to find Rebel bases
(Spurrier 2019: *Doctor Aphra #37*)
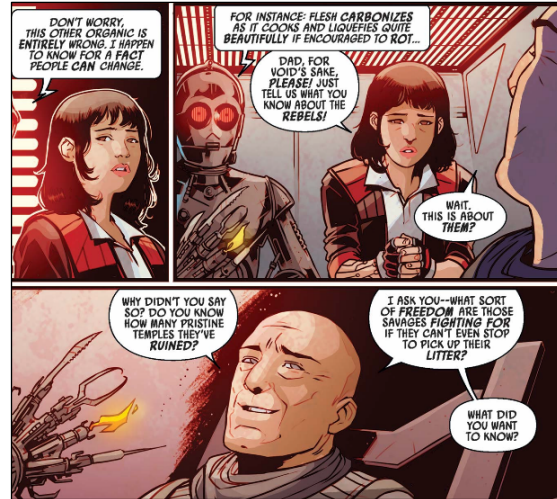
Figure 4.9 Korin's concern for artifacts over people
(Spurrier 2019: *Doctor Aphra #38*)

Pseudo-Archaeology

Doctor Aphra herself does not typically engage in what would be considered legitimate archeological practices in the "real" world and does not concern herself about this all that much. She is, and has always been known as, a "rogue" archaeologist, and the very nature of that term means that she is almost certainly engaged in pseudo-archaeology whenever she engages with archaeology. Although she engages in looting, to her credit, she does not often actually take part in interpretation without evidence or data (Fagan 2006), but her father, Korin Aphra, does. Eventually revealed to have an archaeology PhD, he has an obsession with the Ordu Aspectu that he believes is the answer to fixing what is wrong with the Empire. He himself conforms to the distant and neglectful parent stereotype, too obsessed with his own work to take care of his family (McGeough 2007:181). Korin uses the knowledge that Aphra cheated on her dissertation against her by blackmailing her into looking for evidence of the Ordu Aspectu. This leads them to Yavin-4 and then to the Citadel of Rur in search of this ancient Jedi order. Her father then

gives his own interpretation of what the Ordu Aspectu was and how it ended up being destroyed, a story he has little evidence for (Figure 4.10).
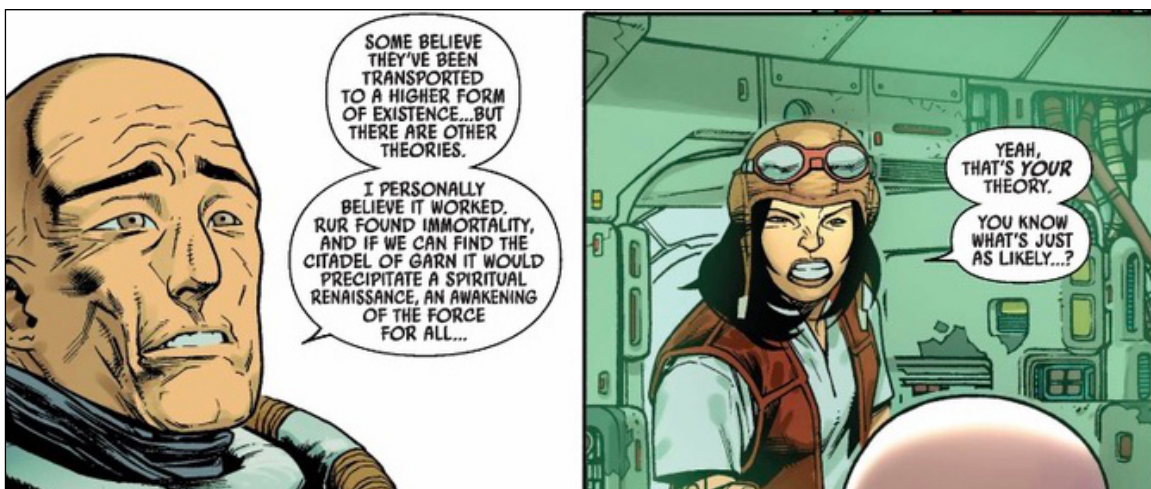
Figure 4.10 Korin espousing his theory and Aphra challenging him (Gillen 2016: *Doctor Aphra #2*)

Aphra calls him out on this, and she proceeds to give him an interpretation that is just as likely, pointing out that they have no actual idea what actually happened. Despite the fact that Aphra ends up being proven right, her father continues to chase after the Ordu Aspectu when he reappears in the story at the end of the 2016 series (Figure 4.11). A worrisome part of this is that later a different ex-professor in archaeology states that he *is* the one performing ethical archaeology (Figure 4.12) - although the reader could find more than a few reasons to state why that is not the case. Korin's continued search for the Ordu Aspectu could be compared to other searches by pseudoarchaeologists for lost civilizations such as Atlantis. The Atlantis myth is derived from two of Plato's dialogues, specifically the *Timaioss* and *Kritias*, which describe a great city that exists in a sort of utopia but was eventually destroyed due to the inhabitants' greed. Ignatius Donnelly is perhaps the closest parallel to Korin; a 19th century antiquarian, he sought to prove that the Maya and other early civilizations were descended from Atlantis (Camp 1954:39). Donnelly came up with thirteen "theses" associated with Atlantis (Camp 1954:39) that are based on scant evidence, much like Korin's theories about the Ordu Aspectu. Both men reconstructed the myths of their cultures to fit their theories (Camp 1954:42). The difference

between them is that while Aphra's father is wrong about his interpretation of the Ordu Aspectu, he does eventually find that their civilization existed. Moreover, although he finds physical evidence of this culture, his obsessive pursuit of it and his abandonment of his family detract from that discovery.

Figure 4.11 Aphra confronting her father for continuing to chase the Ordu Aspectu (Spurrier 2019: *Doctor Aphra #38*)

Figure 4.12 Eustacia claiming Korin is the ethical archaeologist in the family (Wong 2020: *Doctor Aphra #1*)

This episode also includes Aphra's first encounter with the supernatural and archaeology. The Citadel appears at first glance to be corrupted by the spirit of Rur, who has gone mad and tries to kill everyone (Figure 4.13). As seen in the literature review, these supernatural encounters are popular in non-academic representations of archaeology, whether this takes the form of a powerful artifact such as the Ark of the Covenant in *Indiana Jones and the Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981) or the encounters in the *Mummy* franchise. In this case, it appears at first glance to be something inspired by Lovecraftian horror, in that the archaeologists dig too far and unleash an ancient power that was better
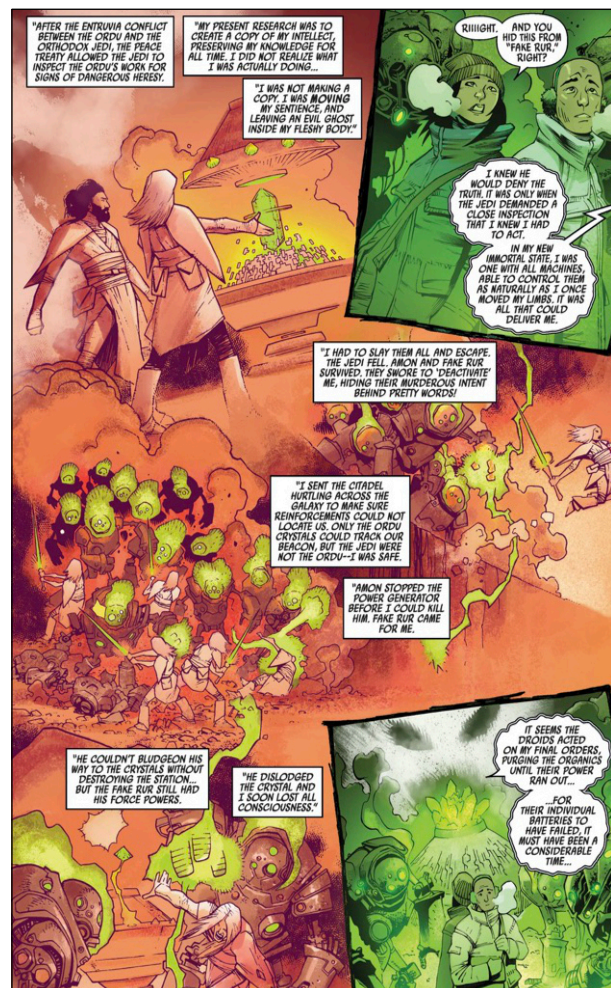
Figure 4.13 The revelation of the Immortal Rur (Gillen 2017: *Doctor Aphra #6*)

left alone, as in *The Mountains of Madness* (1936) or *Under the Pyramids* (1924), both by H.P. Lovecraft. However, in the end, there turns out to be nothing supernatural about the encounter, which is due to the corrupted programming of an ancient computer (Figure 4.14).

Figure 4.14 Aphra explaining the Rur crystal to Luke Skywalker (Gillen 2017: *The Screaming Citadel #1*)

The same computer is the plot point of the next arc, which was a crossover with the main arc in the headline *Star Wars* (2015) series. The first episode took place in a standalone comic, titled *Star Wars: The Screaming Citadel* which was released on May 10, 2017, also written by Kieron Gillen. Parts two and four of "The Screaming Citadel" were released in the *Star Wars* (2015) series in issue #31 and #32 and parts three and five were released in the *Doctor Aphra* (2016) series in issue #6 and #7. This series definitely has a darker feel, but despite the gothic horror arc that involves various people becoming mind-controlled or "drained" by a vampire-like woman, there are still scientific explanations (by the standards present in Star Wars) for what happens. As it turns out, the citadel, and the Queen, are all controlled by a hive of Abersyn Symbiotes. These are the same type of parasite that Aphra is credited with discovering during her doctoral research (Figure 4.15). In a hive, the most powerful being that they control is the queen who is also Force Sensitive, and she can use the life force of others to feed herself.

Later, in Aphra's 2020 series, a graduate student comes to her asking for help in finding some ancient rings that are supposedly imbued with both power and a curse. They reach the ancient city where the rings are held, only to find doors that move, a noise only some of them can hear, and more than one member of the party experiences hallucinations, which leads some of them to believe the curse is real (Figure 4.16). They end up trapped in the city for a little while, where they encounter even more odd things.

Figure 4.15 Aphra talking about her research (Gillen 2016: *Doctor Aphra #1*) and then her explanation of how they work to Luke Skywalker, Leia Organa, and Sana Starros (Gillen 2017: *Doctor Aphra* #7)

Figure 4.16 Aphra teasing Lucky when he is experiencing hallucinations that it must be the curse (Wong 2020: *Doctor Aphra #2*)

However, on the way out, the professor with them explains that the dead city is "living." The previous inhabitants used an advanced security system to protect the rings that targets human brain waves. This is what drove the original people mad and it is a scientific explanation for why the crew is seeing and hearing things too (Figure 4.17). In fact, Aphra herself states that she has often found that everything people believed cursed that she has come across has an explanation, and that she fears people more than any curse (Figure 4.18). This seems to represent an explicit repudiation of pseudo-science on the part of the writers of the series, which is noteworthy considering the more ambiguous way archaeology is represented as a profession in the series.
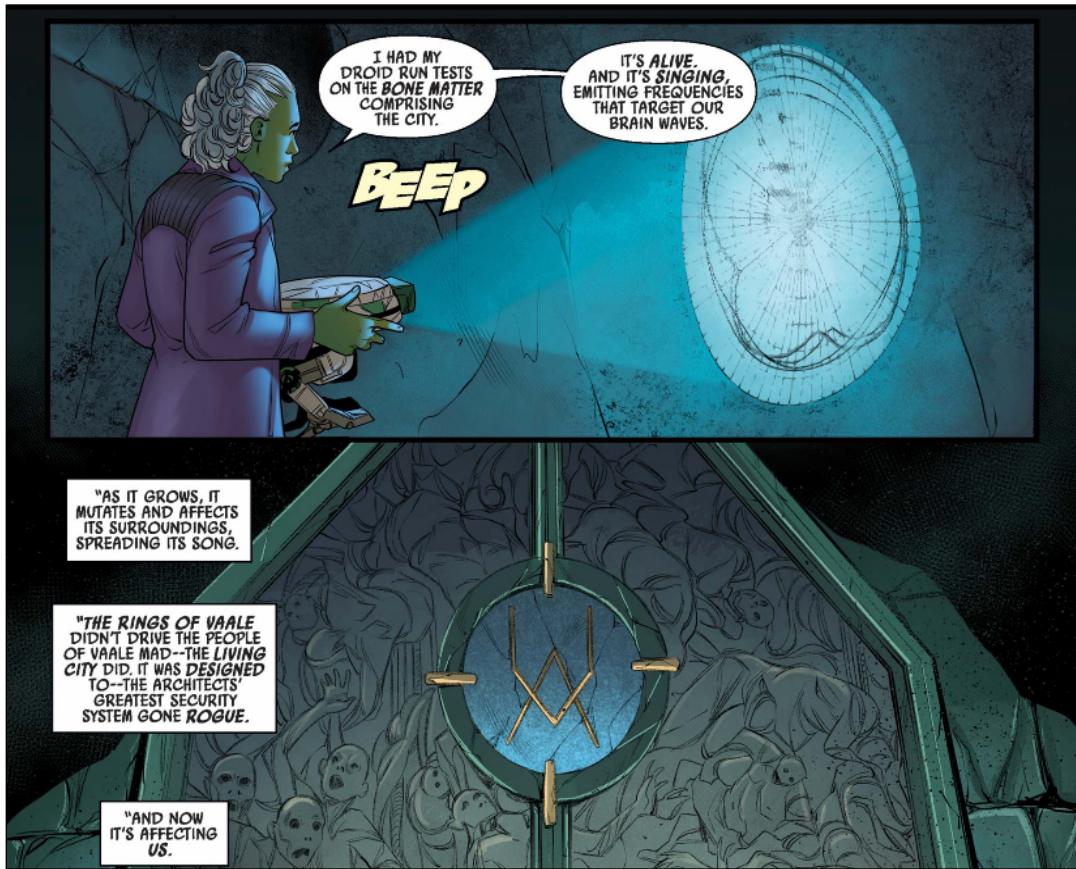
57

Figure 4.17 Eustacia explaining why they are experiencing odd sensations (Wong 2020: *Doctor Aphra #4*).

Figure 4.18 Aphra stating that people are the most dangerous concern (Wong 2020: *Doctor Aphra* #1)

While the plots do often revolve around searching for and collecting artifacts in Aphra's series, she is unusual in that she corrects those who interpret things in a way that the evidence does not support and she always looks for the scientific explanation, as seen in the examples described above. At least viewed in the context of the natural laws of the universe in which she exists, the supernatural events that she is involved in usually have scientific explanations or involve Force Users. In the Star Wars universe, the Force is part of the fabric of the universe itself, supporting all living things (Filoni "Voices" 2014) and binding the universe together (Filoni "The Disappeared - Part I" 2014). Force Users are people who have the ability to manipulate that energy, due to their own biochemistry. The real-world audience may view this as supernatural but anyone living in that universe would view it as a natural law even if some people are unaware or ignorant of it. There are many people who are, for whatever reason, unaware or oblivious to how our universe works as well; this obviously includes ignorance of archaeology as a field of study. The fact that Aphra has what at first glance appear to be supernatural encounters that are then debunked by her or by another archaeologist is a positive point of change that is historically different from previous fictional archaeological representations (Hiscock 2012), particularly in similar genres. It also deviates from pseudo-archaeological interpretations in our world. That all being said, the characters do often end up in danger, mortal or otherwise from these encounters, which could perpetuate the idea that archaeologists disturb the past, often at great cost, which has been the case both in fiction (Lovecraft) and in reality, such as with Howard Carter's "curse of the mummy" trope. A survey of students revealed that 8% believed in a curse and nearly half did not know whether or not it was real (Feder 2011:271). The rumor of the curse started when Lord Carnarvon, the financial backer of Howard Carter's excavations in the Valley of the Kings, died four months after the discovery of King Tut's tomb (Feder 2011:273). However, most of the other individuals involved lived on average for twenty-four years after the opening the tomb, with Carter himself living sixteen (Feder 2011:274-275). Despite that, many people still believe in the curse, and the trope

59

of peril being caused by disturbing the past continues in popular culture, as exemplified by the *Mummy* franchise, most Lovecraftian-inspired works, and even the *Indiana Jones* series. This trope seems to be reflected in the Aphra series also but it is important to look at the other case studies to see what differs in those examples. The next example makes fewer explicit references to archaeology but shows a much deeper perspective of the politics of the Empire.

Star Wars: Rebels

Star Wars: Rebels was an animated television series that originally aired on Disney XD on September 26, 2014. The television show begins with a band of five rebels, consisting of the team's leader Hera Syndulla, a female Twi'lek, a now grown Jedi Padawan named Kanan Jarrus, who escaped the events of *Star Wars Episode III – Revenge of the Sith* (2005), the Lasat enforcer Zeb, the Mandalorian Sabine Wren, and the droid Chopper, who are living on a modified freighter called the *Ghost*. During the series premiere, the band comes across a young Aladdin-like thief named Ezra Bridger, who becomes the center of the television show. Ezra is a Force-sensitive orphan who lives on the planet of Lothal, where the Empire's presence is often quite oppressive, due to the presence of an Imperial weapons factory. Kanan realizes that the boy is Force-sensitive, and he offers to teach Ezra how to become a Jedi if he joins their crew.

Over the course of the series, the focus, while it occasionally shifts to something bigger, remains on Lothal and the band of rebels that becomes known as the "Spectre cell." The first season centers on their struggle against an Imperial Inquisitor, a Force-sensitive who has been trained by Darth Vader to hunt down Jedi. This, in turn, brings them to Vader's notice during the second season, and they have to flee Lothal for a little while in order to escape from him. With them is Vader's former Padawan, Ahsoka Tano, who helps both Kanan and Ezra as they track down the other Inquisitors and attempt to discover who Darth Vader is. The third season reintroduces Grand Admiral Thrawn, who had been part of the pre-Disney canon. It is in this season that the archaeological thread is cemented, in that Thrawn is presented as a type of art historian, and the story engages with the topic of who controls the past and artifacts from the

past. The rebels seek to build the rebellion while Thrawn has moved in and is a much bigger threat than anticipated. They also encounter Darth Maul, who is seeking Obi-Wan Kenobi to finally extract revenge for his defeat in *Star Wars Episode I - The Phantom Menace* (1999). Season Four continues the fight against Thrawn against the larger backdrop of the growing Rebel Alliance and the fight against the Empire. The series ends where it began, back on Lothal.

Background

Star Wars: Rebels ran from September 2014 to March 2018 and was one of the first Disney releases after the de-canonization of most of the expanded universe, restricting the stories that remained canon to the Original Trilogy, the Prequel Trilogy, the *Star Wars: The Clone Wars* movie and television series, and a few miscellaneous small productions (Lindbergh 2018). *Star Wars: Rebels* was touted as the first original entertainment produced by both Disney and Lucasfilm and was an indication of how Disney would handle Star Wars going forward (Lindbergh 2018). Dave Filoni, the supervising director from *The Clone Wars*, also served as supervising director on this project.

Demographic data based on information from The Nielsen Company indicated that the primary target demographic was boys between the ages of 6 and 14 (Kissell 2016). The Season Two live finale had a total viewing audience of 1.2 million viewers, and the entire season generated 3.2 million views on the Disney XD app and over 8.8 million video on-demand orders throughout the season (Kissell 2016). It also scored very well in the season finale, which ranked as the No. 1 cable TV telecast in the hour among boys 6-14, and No. 2 in kids 6-11 (Kissell 2016). Moreover, "Roughly 22 million people watched at least six minutes of "Star Wars Rebels," including 5.5 million kids 6-11, 3.2 million boys 6-11 and 7.6 million adults 18-49" (Kissell 2016). Season Four scored well, but not quite as well as Season Two, but the demographic data were comparable (The Futon Critic 2018).

The show's legacy can be seen in the inclusion of the main characters in other Star Wars media, including references to General Hera Syndulla in *Rogue One: A Star Wars Story* (2016).

61

Kanan Jarrus got his own series of comic books (2015). Grand Admiral Thrawn is the focus of a series of books and comics. Perhaps most tellingly, the show spawned quite a few of the Disney+ shows to be released in the coming years, including *The Mandalorian, Ahsoka,* and *Rangers of the New Republic* with expected appearances of at least some of the main cast. Because the character of Thrawn is involved with the *Ahsoka* show there have been strong hints that these shows will have a crossover event in the next few years (Ellsworth 2020). At first glance, it may not seem that there are many archaeological references in *Star Wars: Rebels*. However, the ones we find are very telling and are worth examining to see what they project about archaeology to the viewing audience.

Gender

There are no characters in *Star Wars: Rebels* that can be identified as archaeologists, although two people come close. Grand Admiral Thrawn is something of an art historian or antiquarian, as indicated by the large private collection of curiosities and antiquities he curates in his quarters (Figure 4.19), often from places where he has served as a military officer. In one of the first episodes the rebel crew has an intense encounter with him in which he tells a fellow soldier, "To defeat an enemy you must know them. Not simply their battle tactics, but their history, philosophy, and art" (Filoni 2016 "Hera's Heroes"). Thrawn is male but he is not human. His particular species is known as the Chiss (Star Wars "Databank: Grand Admiral Thrawn" 2021). His full name is Mitth'raw'nuruodo. Another minor character, an Imperial Minister, has some characteristics of an archaeologist. Near the end of the series, the crew arrive at the borders of the Lothal Jedi Temple that they had previously visited, only to learn that the Empire had set up an excavation around it (Figure 4.20). The excavation is being run by Minister Veris Hydan, an advisor to the Emperor who is also a scholar of Jedi and Sith history and lore. The character was originally conceived to have a much bigger part as a villain working directly for the Emperor with a background in archaeology, who would have been searching for Jedi Temples both to

destroy them but also to extract their secrets first (Macias 2018). He is human and male. This in and of itself is fairly typical for previous representations.
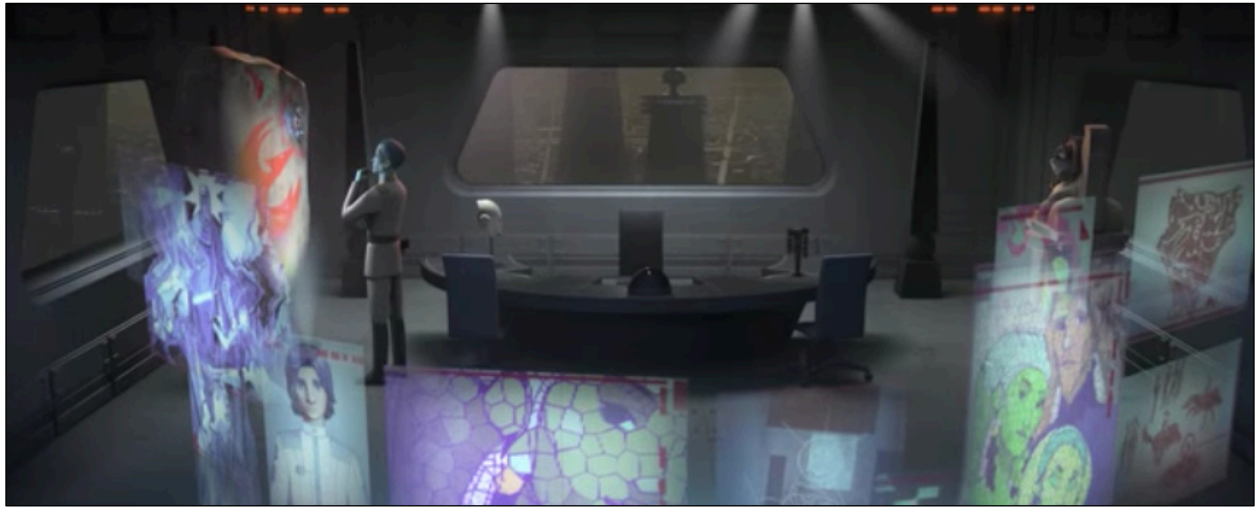
Figure 4.19 Thrawn's office and artifact collection (Filoni 2016 "An Inside Man")

Figure 4.20 The excavation led by Minister Hydan surrounding the Jedi Temple on Lothal (Filoni 2018 "Wolves and a Door")

As for the show at large, the rebel crew of main characters is diverse in some ways. There are two non-humans on the team, including its leader, and later General, of the rebellion, Hera Syndulla. Hera and the Mandalorian on the team are both female. However, the show mostly centers on Ezra and his journey, and he is human and male. In the animated show, he has no clear ethnicity, although with a possible live-action appearance that could change. Early reports

63

indicate that they are looking for a performer of color, specifically Asian (Gilman 2020). His voice actor was white, but other possible actors who have said they are interested in the live-action role are Middle Eastern and South Asian (Gilman 2020). Kanan Jarrus, the other Jedi, is similarly human and male and is also played by a white voice actor. In the animation, he appears to have brown hair, blue eyes, and tan skin. The whole crew can be seen below in Figure 4.21.

Figure 4.21 The Rebels (L to R): Sabine, Zeb, Hera, Kanan, Ezra, and Chopper (Filoni 2016 "Homecoming")

In any case, in its representation of archaeological characters the show displays some traditional stereotypes at least with respect to the gender of the archaeologists. Thrawn and Hydan are both male, although neither are seen to be involved in any romantic encounters at all. Nor do either of them have any family, based on what has been seen of their characters so far. While Thrawn is a Grand Admiral and is shown to be very good and efficient soldier on the occasions when he engages in combat in several episodes (Figure 4.22), it is not often that the viewer sees him doing so. Most of the time, he has a very cool, calm demeanor, preferring to study his enemies and strike where they are weak. Hydan himself is more obviously acquisitive, comparable to a looter in today's antiquity's market, when the audience sees him make sure that no one else is to touch anything in the excavation, as they might ruin the artifacts (Figure 4.23).

While the show might not include much of a range of complex archaeologist characters, it does include material relevant for the way archaeology's relationship with native populations is presented to the public in today's world. How the show depicts the symbiotic relationship between archaeology and politics is discussed in the next section.

Figure 4.22 Thrawn's combat expertise (Filoni 2017 "Through Imperial Eyes")

none of you are to touch the artifacts!

Figure 4.23 Hydan protecting the artifacts (Filoni 2018 "Wolves and a Door")

Politics

Star Wars: Rebels, more than any of the movies, presents its audience with a clear sense of the politics of life in the multi-cultural, multi-species Empire. By focusing on the exploits of a crew that, even if they go elsewhere for a little while, are always drawn back to Lothal, the show is able to dive into a detailed depiction of Imperial oppression. The cruelty of imperialism is shown not by a narrative involving the destruction of life on a planetary scale, such as the Death Star blowing up Alderaan, but by focusing on the kinds of everyday atrocities that spawn a resistance movement containing the seeds of something much bigger (Lindbergh 2018). This includes things like land grabbing, enforced curfews, forced labor in factories and other such things. Later the Spectre crew runs into a much bigger rebellion (Figure 4.24), and there is the same sort of perspective but on other planets and systems as well. However, the show always returns to Lothal, which allows the audience to see the Empire's impact on the crew's home specifically.

Figure 4.24 The Rebels running into the larger Rebellion for the first time (Filoni 2015 "Fire Across the Galaxy")

The show does not shy away from current topics that complicate and trouble the practice of archaeology in our own world. Thrawn, in one of the first scenes in which the audience learns more about him, is introduced as an oppressor on Hera's home planet (Filoni 2016 "Hera's Heroes"). In this episode Hera tries to reclaim her family's Kalikori, a traditional object of ritual

significance in her culture, that ultimately makes its way into Thrawn's collection instead. Throughout the episode, Thrawn displays his knowledge of the Kalikori and the Twi'lek culture, and he tries to interrogate Hera about its exact meaning. Thrawn even loses his calm demeanor when a captain calls the Kalikori, "Some primitive native trinket," and tells the captain off (Filoni 2016 "Hera's Heroes"). Hera, when Thrawn tells her that he will keep the Kalikori, states that she would rather it be destroyed, and that it belongs with her people alone and not with a collector. The arc between Hera and Thrawn continues later in the final season, when Thrawn asks her about it again while she is being held prisoner, and she tells him that he isn't worthy of it (Filoni 2018 "Jedi Night"). Thrawn merely expresses in return that she should be glad the Kalikori was with him and not destroyed, because at least it is appreciated by its new owner. Today, museums and antiquities dealers deal with similar problems in respect to looting and repatriation. Many have argued that these artifacts are safer in the Western world, such as the British arguing that the Elgin marbles would have been destroyed if they had not taken it first (Mallonee 2015). In a similar case where Ethiopian treasures were requested to be returned from their current location in the British Library, it was argued that the library could take better care of the artifacts than their home country (Jeffrey 2018). In contemporary contexts, this is described as the "rescue" defense, which attempts to make the case that the seizing of cultural patrimony by colonizing forces saves it from being lost to scholars and to humanity as a whole (Brodie 2011:12).

When Hera is rescued by Kanan, he also manages to reclaim the Kalikori and return it to her. Throughout this example, Thrawn continually leverages his Imperial rank and power to collect the pieces he finds interesting, conducting a type of salvage archaeology (Trigger 1984:623) before enslaving or destroying a people or ethnic group. There have been many historical examples of this. The Nazi party was infamous for looting, which is reflected in films such in *The Monuments Men* (2014), which represents the American effort to return looted art pieces to their owners or other safe keepers. However, the Nazis did not just loot valuable works of art, but

also items of Jewish cultural heritage. The *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (ERR) alone looted 30,000 objects that are recorded in a digital database (ERR Project 2020). Homes that were left empty as Jews fled the country were looted in the same way that Thrawn removes the Kalikori from Hera's abandoned home (Campbell 2020:801).

Likewise, Minister Hydan's excavation is backed by the Imperial army, with stormtroopers protecting the site from any rebel involvement (Figure 4.25). Hydan is also personally backed by the Emperor, even being seen in direct communication with him (Figure 4.26). Hydan tells Sabine that he is not a puppet, but a direct reflection of the Emperor's power (Filoni 2018 "A World Between Worlds"). When Sabine is not cooperative under questioning, he has one of the Death Troopers, a type of Stormtrooper, hit her on the head with his rifle.

Figure 4.25 Hydan and Stormtroopers examining the temple (Filoni 2018 "Wolves and a Door")

Figure 4.26 Hydan receiving orders from Emperor Palpatine (Filoni 2018 "Wolves and a Door")

The end of the episode has the rebels sealing the portal in the temple for good, and Minister Hydan runs toward it screaming that everything will be lost, before the temple collapses beneath him and he is lost with it (Filoni 2018 "Jedi Night"). Both Thrawn and Hydan use the power they have been granted by the Empire to freely access and despoil other cultures, past and present, of their heritage. There are elements of Trigger's colonialist and imperialist archaeology (Trigger 1984) here; Thrawn uses his knowledge to further the takeover of the native population while Hydan carries out the program of territorial expansion established by the Emperor. Ezra later confronts first Thrawn and then the Emperor about this when he challenges Thrawn by stating, "You think you can take whatever you want, things you didn't make, didn't earn, things you don't even understand! You don't deserve to have this art or Lothal" (Filoni 2018 "Family Reunion and Farewell"). He likewise accuses the Emperor of theft and cultural appropriation: "I see part of the Jedi Temple that you stole from Lothal" (Filoni 2018 "Family Reunion and Farewell").

Thrawn replies that that is irrelevant, that what matters is who has power. Similarly, the Emperor states that Ezra should thank him, and that it was the activities of his rebel friends that made it imperative to remove the temple to a safe location. This is an argument often used by museums in the real world in order to argue that they should keep their artifacts instead of repatriating them, stating that they are much safer in their hands than they would have been otherwise. This is famously the case in the ongoing debate about the Elgin Marbles, as the British continue to argue that if they had not taken them, the marbles would have been destroyed or looted and therefore they should keep them (Mallonee 2015). I personally have heard this argument from the mouths of many members of the public. One British gentleman told me on a train to the self-same British Museum that I had to see the Assyrian artifacts, because groups labeled as terrorists by the American government had destroyed what was left in that region of the world. Similarly, American friends who have no background in history or archaeology have stated they think Britain should keep what they have due to the fact that the artifact's home could

not be trusted to do so properly. When I argued against it, stating, for example, that Greece has an entire museum now that could house the Elgin marbles were they to be returned, the friend stubbornly refused to see that point of view and continued to argue in favor of Britain, when he himself had no stake in the matter. Whether or not the argument has any merit, it is certainly a discussion much of the Western world only hears one side of and this one-sided perspective has been so successfully communicated that many laypeople casually and uncritically support it. This episode, at least, gives the viewer the perspective of the native challenging that of Thrawn and the Emperor, and could be used as a non- threatening way to introduce the public to an alternative narrative in favor of repatriation.

This case study demonstrates how the Star Wars television series delves into some deeper themes than most of the movies in the franchise, at least with regard to the impact of the politics of the Empire on the lives of everyday people. Some of these impacts relate directly to the representation of archaeology as an activity that can be harmful as well as valuable.

Pseudo-Archaeology

There are not many examples of this theme in this particular show. Minister Hydan was supposed to be searching for secrets from Jedi Temples before the plot for Season Three changed (Macias 2018), but he was only shown being involved in two episodes in Season Four instead. While the temple itself did prove to have "secrets," this was known to viewers long before Minister Hydan was involved. However, the fact that he is involved and was at least meant to be interested in Jedi secrets does follow the stereotype that archaeologists seek items of power, mirroring the roles of Rene Belloq in *Indiana Jones and the Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981) and Colonel Ernst Vogel in *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989). These films were influenced by real life events, as there were actual Nazi archaeologists searching out the Holy Grail, the Ark of the Covenant, and the Spear of Longinus (Arnold 2006:158-159). Himmler himself sought out the origins of the Aryan race using the supernatural as an instrument, and the Reichsführer SS sent expeditions in search of supernatural relics that they believed would make the Nazi party

more powerful (Kurlander 2012:542). Otto Rahn, an SS Ahnenerbe archaeologist, was actively engaged in searching for the Holy Grail, which he was convinced was hidden in the French Pyrenees (Arnold 2006); the character of Ezra takes on some of these characteristics. Once again, however, the audience is very familiar with the power that Jedi temples have in general, and this is the same episode that shows the audience how the Force binds the universe together, as Ezra enters the portal and discovers a place where there are pathways connecting different times and places (Figure 4.27). The next and final case study, *Jedi: Fallen Order*, brings the link between politics and pseudo-archaeology in Star Wars into more clear relief, and does so in an entirely different experiential mode, that of the video game.

Figure 4.27 Ezra walking along the pathways (Filoni 2019 "The World Between Worlds")

Jedi: Fallen Order

Jedi: Fallen Order is a 2019 video game developed by Respawn Entertainment and published by Electronic Arts (EA), released for Windows, PlayStation 4, and Xbox One. It was directed by Stig Asmussen, with Aaron Contreras serving as the narrative lead for the writers (IMDB 2019). The playable character is Cal Kestis. The game opens with Cal and Prauf working on Bracca as scrappers, people who take vehicles and other old technology and break them down for usable parts and materials. They are working for the Empire, who uses the materials to build new things. Cal and Prauf are given a dangerous assignment, and Cal must use the Force to save

71

Prauf from falling to his death, whereupon he reveals that he was a Jedi Padawan that survived the Purge, the name given the massacre of the Jedi that happened at the beginning of the Empire's formation in *Star Wars Episode III - Revenge of the Sith* (2005). Cal attempts to leave to hide off planet, when they are apprehended by a Purge Trooper, as well as two Inquisitors, the Second and Ninth Sisters. They state they are looking for a Jedi, and Prauf attempts to sacrifice himself. This in turn leads to Cal giving himself away.

Cal manages to flee with some help, and is picked up by the *Mantis*, a ship piloted by an alien named Greez Dritus and rescuer Cere Junda. Cal does not trust them at first, but Cere reveals she knew something about the Jedi and takes him to Bogano, a planet the Empire has not touched yet. There he meets BD-1, who shows him the way to the Vault on Bogano where a hologram stored inside BD-1 is triggered. It shows Eno Cordova, once Cere Junda's Master and BD-1's former owner, who instructs the viewer that he has hidden a Jedi holocron in the Vault, but that only those who understand his journey could reach it. This leads to the main plot of the game, in which Cal attempts to follow Cordova's footsteps to find a way to get the holocron. Cere hopes that if they are able to get to the holocron, they can track down the Force-sensitive children who are listed on the holocron to form a new Jedi Order to oppose the Empire. It is also revealed that Cere can no longer use the Force, and that Cal has an ability called psychometry, a Force technique that Cere describes as rare, that allows him to touch an object and feel the echo of the Force within it to give him a sense of the history of the object and the people who came into contact with it. This is what gives the game an archaeological feel from the beginning.

Cal first goes to the planet of Zeffo, which was once home to a group of Force-sensitive aliens, where he discovers a tomb that he must enter to find clues related to Eno Cordova's journey. That, in turn, sends him to Kashyyk, the home of the Wookies, where he finds an early group of rebels led by Saw Gerrera. Cal helps the rebels free Wookie prisoners, but leaves the rebels to finish his mission. He returns to Zeffo after Cere intercepts a transmission stating that the Empire was close to unearthing another tomb on Zeffo. He finds an Imperial excavation

taking place near the second tomb, and has another encounter with the Second Sister, who reveals her name is Trilla Suduri, Cere's former Jedi Padawan. In the tomb, he learns that the device to open the Vault on Bogano is called an Astrium. Cal is interrupted by a bounty hunter who captures him, but he then returns to Kashyyk to find the Astrium. He has to climb the Origin Tree, where Cordova had originally found the Astrium, and they discover that Cordova thought Dathomir might have another.

Depending on whether or not the player had previously visited Dathomir, this could be the first or second visit. If it is the second visit, Cal would have found evidence of Zeffo iconography on Dathomir and encountered one of the sole surviving Nightsisters named Merrin. Merrin does not trust him and orders the Nightbrothers to kill him. He then runs into a stranger who calls himself the Wanderer and is also studying Zeffo ruins but Cal is forced to leave as he cannot get past the gap separating him from the ruins. If this is the first time Cal visits Dathomir, the same thing happens but Cal is able to continue because he has remembered how to control his Force abilities. He is forced to crawl through Dathomir before finally returning to the Zeffo tomb, where a vision forces him to relive his Master, Jaro Tapal, sacrificing himself to ensure that Cal survived the Purge. It ends up destroying his lightsaber, and the Wanderer reappears, revealing himself to be Taron Malicos. Malicos was once a Jedi but turned to the dark side in order to gain power over the inhabitants of Dathomir. Merrin then reveals herself, sending the undead to destroy both of them, and Cal escapes back to the *Mantis*.

Cal goes to Illum to rebuild his lightsaber, discovering an Imperial mining operation on the way out, and returns to the *Mantis*. He then reenters the tomb on Dathomir, overcoming his past trauma as he does. Merrin and Cal then have a discussion, during which he tells her that Malicos is no longer a Jedi and lied to her about his purpose, at which point they trust each other. They work together to defeat Malicos, and Merrin helps him find the Astrium. Merrin then decides to join the crew, and they return to Bogano and retrieve the holocron. Trilla, however, confronts him and takes the holocron, and Cal returns to the *Mantis* where Cere sees fit to grant him the

title of Jedi Knight. They then all work together to successfully retrieve the holocron from the Fortress Inquisitorius on Nur. However, Cal decides that the only way to protect the children and keep them from being tortured and turned into Inquisitors like Trilla is to destroy the holocron so the Empire can never get it.

Background

The game was originally developed by Asmussen as a non-Star Wars game but shifted gears when Electronic Arts (EA), the company producing the game, saw early footage and asked them to develop it in the franchise (Hussain 2019). The combat and game system closely mirrors those in FromSoftware's *Bloodborne* and *Dark Souls* series, generally referred to as Soulsborne games, which often require players to have "thoughtful combat" instead of mindlessly attacking every enemy (Hussain 2019). Asmussen himself confirmed that he was heavily inspired by Soulsborne games, but that he knew it could not be quite as punishing as those games tend to be (Hussain 2019). However, the inspiration behind the game is still there, with meditation spots taking the place of bonfires in *Dark Souls,* and even a clearer nod to the game when Cal comes across an actual bonfire (Figure 4.28).

Figure 4.28 Cal comes across a *Dark Souls*-esque bonfire (Asmussen 2019)

As for reception and demographics, the CEO of EA published the following statement during the EA Quarter 4 2020 Earnings Call: "Star Wars Jedi: Fallen Order is one of the breakout titles

over the last several years. More than 10 million unique players have joined the game since launch, a rare achievement for a first title in an entirely new franchise. It's a meticulously well-crafted game and it continues to give fans a deeply engaging and original Star Wars experience" (Motley Fool Transcribers 2020). Wilson also stated that based on the success of the game, it would be the first title in a new franchise. Metacritic gave the game a score of 81/100 (Metacritic 2020), and Dan Stapleton on IGN gave the game a 9/10, comparing Cal to Nathan Drake from Uncharted and Lara Croft (Stapleton 2019).

Based on its success and the above quotes from Andrew Wilson, it's clear that the game will have a sequel. The game also got a prequel comic series, Star Wars: Jedi Fallen Order - Dark Temple (2019). This series follows Cere Junda and her Master, Eno Cordova, while they take part in an excavation near a temple. The situation is more tense than it seems, involving two corrupt governments and a corrupt corporation who all want what is in the temple. Cordova and Cere attempt to negotiate between the competing stakeholders, and Cordova enters the temple to search for answers. The comic series ends a bit dark, with the destruction of the land and a lot of dead people, but Cere is knighted, and Cordova begins his search for other similar temples - the beginning of his journey to uncover the Zeffo Civilization. What else LucasArts will do with the characters remains unclear at this time, but they are part of the Disney canon and will likely be seen again.

Gender

While Cal is not specifically described as an archaeologist, both he and the Inquisitors perform many actions that suggest such a role, as indicated by the comparison to Nathan Drake and Lara Croft by reviewers described above. His gift of psychometry allows him to understand the past through objects that the player is encouraged to find and use to uncover the history of the various regions explored by the game's characters (Figure 4.29). His journey takes him deep into several Zeffo tombs, where he has to learn how they function in order to find what he needs to continue his journey. His counterpart, Trilla, both in the game and the prequel series, also

searches the tombs for answers and even taunts Cal as he treks through the second Zeffo tomb about collecting amazing artifacts that they will study (Figure 4.30).
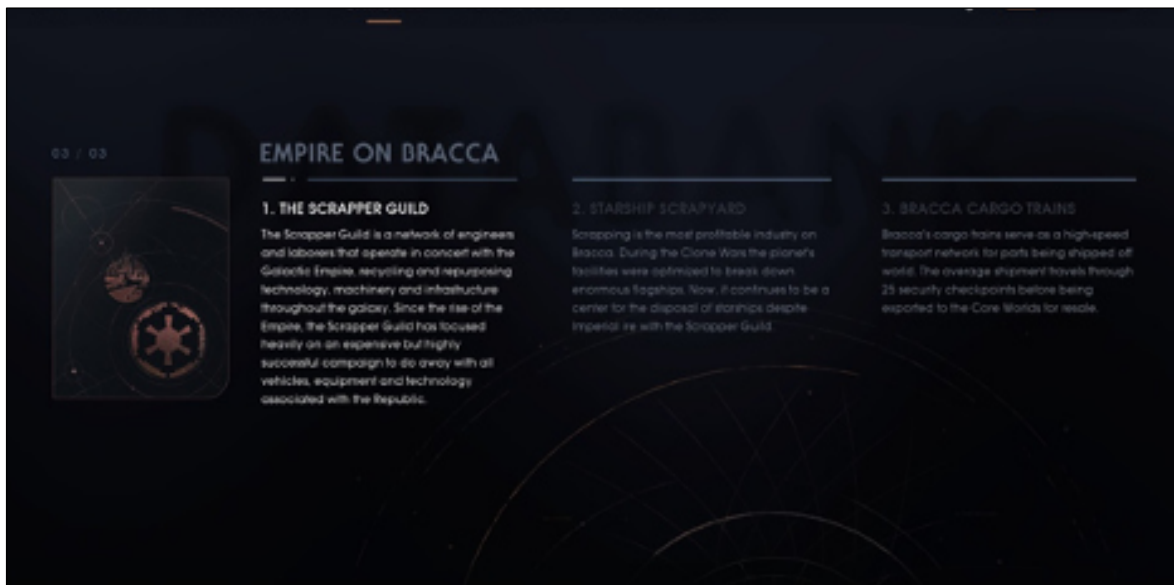
Figure 4.29 An example of the information the player can expect to find as they traverse the game (Asmussen 2019)

The game, particularly at first glance, is not obviously different from many other Star Wars stories. Cal Kestis is a white male and the sole playable character. This was a fact many bemoaned when the trailer was first released (Trent 2019). However, the game does several things with Cal's character and the other characters in the game that break tradition. First of all, while Cal is an action hero, in that he can climb walls, perform stunts, and wield a lightsaber, he does not have the same masculinity of previous characters with similar roles. McGeough (2007:181) points out that these characters tend to be either adventurous, roguish individuals that often have drinking problems, or serious, intellectual people who solve their problems by thinking, neither of which applies to Cal. When the player first meets Cal, he is keeping his head down, trying not to be noticed. He is intimidated, wary, and does not easily trust anyone, even when Cere and Greez first save his life (Figure 4.31). However, he quickly takes in BD-1, making sure to fix the droid's broken hinges and trusting it to lead him to the Vault (Figure 4.32). Cal is smart, but he is not presented as a know-it-all intellectual. He starts his journey searching

for the Zeffo with no sense of what he is getting into, and he cannot interpret at random any language or runes he comes across. The tone of the game overall is quite dark, given that it takes place in a harsh time, but Cal is allowed to have a sense of humor, often trading jokes with BD-1 while the player traverses the planets. Cal is also allowed emotional beats that are not always allowed for the serious action hero. He is allowed to fail and get back up. At multiple points in the game, he is shown to be the clearly inferior fighter to the Inquisitors (Figure 4.33), only being able to face Trilla at the end of the game and even then only just managing to injure her enough to take the holocron.
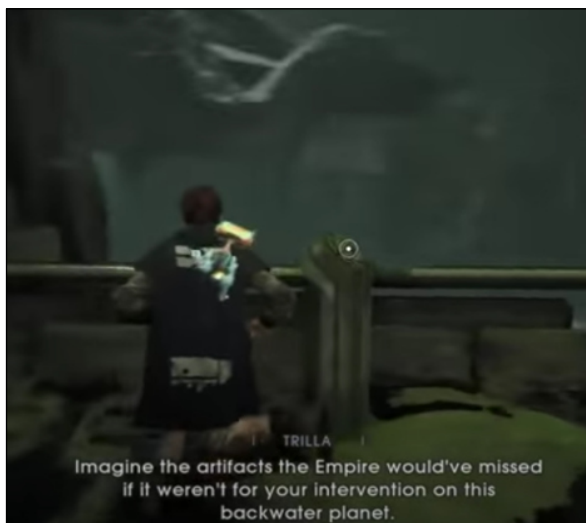

Figure 4.30 Trilla taunting Cal about finding valuable artifacts (Asmussen 2019)

Figure 4.31 Cal questioning Cere and Greez when he meets them (Asmussen 2019)

Figure 4.32 Cal offers to help BD-1, shortly after meeting him (Asmussen 2019)

Figure 4.33 Cal getting thrown back by Trilla, only saved by BD-1's intervention (Asmussen 2019)

Darth Vader, the leader of the Inquisitors, shows up at the end, and Cal only gets away by flooding the chamber they are in with water, short circuiting Vader's suit (Figure 4.34). Cal's Force-abilities are weak and scant at the beginning of the game, and even by the end, he remains much less powerful than previous Jedi protagonists, particularly in the game environment (Stapleton 2019). Cal never exhibits any signs of sexualizing the many women surrounding him and he never puts them down for their gender. In fact, his first instinct upon meeting Merrin is to try to communicate with her in an attempt to talk as equals, and he later earns her trust by making himself vulnerable by giving her his lightsaber (Figure 4.35). This is in direct opposition to Malicos, who uses Merrin's grief as a way to dominate her and her remaining people.

Figure 4.34 Cal breaking the window to flood the room with water (Asmussen 2019)

Figure 4.35 Merrin holding Cal's lightsaber after he hands it to her (Asmussen 2019)

In fact, while Cal is the playable character, the game surrounds him with women. The primary antagonist, Trilla, is a human woman. Cere, who becomes his mentor and who struggles with her own history, is a human woman of color. The only other main cast member who is male is the alien pilot, Greez. The other Inquisitor the player encounters is a female alien, the Ninth Sister. And Merrin shows up several times throughout the game in Cal's journey through Dathomir before finally joining their crew, and she is also a female alien. Saw Gerrera shows up

briefly, but Cal's main source of contact within that rebel cell is another woman, Mari Kosan. Eno Cordova is a human male but is only seen in holograms while Cal's Master, Jaro Tapal, is a male alien. Most leading protagonists in the Star Wars franchise writ large have human masters, so Jaro's alien ethnicity makes him stand out. None of the women in the franchise are ever sexualized like they would have been in *Uncharted* or *Tomb Raider*, and nearly all of them, with perhaps the exception of Mari Kosan, are more powerful than Cal is himself. The comic series prologue mentioned previously focuses almost exclusively on Cere and Trilla, with Cordova being more in the background than front and center (Figure 4.36).

Figure 4.36 Cast of characters: Top row (L to R) Greez, Cere, Cal, Merrin, Trilla, the Ninth Sister
Bottom row (L to R) Eno Cordova, Jaro Tapal, Mari Kosan, Prauf

So while the game is led by a character who at first glance appears to be consistent with tradition, the diversity of the characters immediately surrounding the protagonist is much higher

than in past products in this franchise. Cal himself does not quite fit the stereotypes one might expect of an archaeological action hero.

Politics

The game leans heavily on the dark side of Imperial oppression, much like the *Rebels* show. However, the difference between the two is that while *Rebels* features the oppression of ordinary people, in this case it is the absence of ordinary people that is striking. The player sees the regular inhabitants of this world only at the very beginning of the game, on Bracca, where the inhabitants work hard, dangerous jobs for minimum pay and have little hope to move on. Prauf has been there nearly his whole life (Figure 4.37). After that, the next planet the player comes to that should be inhabited is Zeffo. Through the memories Cal is able to uncover, he finds that the Imperials have relocated or moved all the inhabitants out. When the Empire rose to power, they removed the people, destroyed the community, pillaged the historical sites and sacred tombs, and then failed to excavate anything of military value (Star Wars Databank "Zeffo" 2020). At one point, Cal overhears a Stormtrooper say that all the archaeologists have been sent elsewhere after not finding anything worthwhile. Zeffo felt to me as the player like an archaeological excavation, despite having to defeat Stormtroopers on the way. There was a sense of a place that had been inhabited and was then forcibly abandoned, particularly when the player comes across an object that Cal interacts with and feels the memories of what happened to the owner. There are abandoned houses, doors with notices on them, and the village he comes across already has some nature overtaking it (Figure 4.38). It is then the present absence of the inhabitants (and the presence of Stormtroopers) that makes the past feel much weightier as the player explores the planet. Moreover, the original inhabitants, the Zeffo, have been gone even longer than that, and the tombs themselves are even more overgrown than the village.

Kashyyk is, perhaps, where the colonialist exploitation of other cultures in the world of Star Wars is most noticeable. Throughout the world of Star Wars, Kashyyk has always been oppressed by outsiders and the Wookies have been enslaved and taken away from their home in

80

more than one instance. For example, the first two episodes of *Rebels* when the crew meets Ezra are about finding Wookies captured by the Imperials and freeing them (Filoni 2014 "Star Wars Rebels: Spark of Rebellion"). When Cal arrives on Kashyyk, he is immediately dropped into a battle between the Imperials and the Rebels trying to help the Wookies.

Figure 4.37 Prauf commenting that he had been on Bracca for most of his life (Asmussen 2019)

Figure 4.38 Cal standing in front of a sign in the desserted village on Zeffo (Asmussen 2019)

The forests that once covered the planet have been greatly reduced (Figure 4.39), and the Wookies are imprisoned and forced to help in destroying their home. When Cal returns to Kashyyk, the Rebels have been chased off, leaving the Wookies to defend themselves for the most part, although Mari Kosan remained behind to help the Wookies fight as much as possible. Cal, aided by the Shyyyo bird, which flies him to the top of the Origin Tree, sees Kashyyk from up high and comments to BD-1 that the Imperials hadn't managed to destroy everything, as he sees a part of the planet which is still very lush (Figure 4.40). Dathomir, like Zeffo, tells the story of its oppression through the absence of its inhabitants. Merrin tells Cal that all her sisters were destroyed by an attack during the Clone Wars, which was shown in an arc in the *Star Wars: The Clone Wars* television series (Filoni 2012 "Massacre"). She is completely alone, a sole survivor living in the ruins of her people's city, with only the dead to keep her company. The

Nightbrothers are still alive in their own cities, but although they listen to her, they are not seen as equals, as previously the Nightsisters ruled over the Nightbrothers and lived separately from one another (Filoni 2011 "Monster"). After Dathomir's fall, Malicos came and used Merrin to take over what was left of Dathomir and give himself power. And on every planet Cal visits, there is evidence of the Empire mining whatever resource the planet is rich in, slowly stripping it and not caring what gets destroyed in the process.

Figure 4.39 The Imperial destruction of Kashyyk for it's natural resources (Asmussen 2019)

Figure 4.40 Cal seeing Kashyyk from the sky and realizing there's more left that the Empire hasn't destroyed (Asmussen 2019)

Pseudo-Archaeology

The most obvious example of pseudo-archaeology in this game comes from the Imperials. They do not care about the actual artifacts or archaeology; in fact, they killed or drove off-planet all

the archaeologists that were living on Zeffo when they arrived (Star Wars Databank 2020 "Zeffo"). If there was nothing of immediate military value, they would leave a planet to its fate.

The only thing that brought them back to Zeffo was Cal's search for answers and the possibility that there could be useful knowledge or power inside the Zeffo tombs after Cal's opening of the first tomb changed some of the wind patterns on Zeffo (Figure 4.41). The player sees through Cal the consequences of the damage done to the planet by the Imperial excavations, as described in the previous section. There is a difference between Cal (and Cordova before him) and the Imperials that follow. Cal leaves the tombs for the most part intact (unless the player chooses to break all the pots – which has no benefit in game), save for taking the Astrium from the final tomb on Dathomir, which Merrin both helps him find and allows him to take. The Imperials, however, strip what they want out of the tomb, and then use the rest however they want. For example, Trilla has the Imperials cut the sarcophagus of the second tomb from where it had been suspended in an effort to kill Cal (Figure 4.42).

Figure 4.41 Cal emerges from the tomb and finds that the wind patterns have changed (Asmussen 2019)

Figure 4.42 The now suspended sarcophagus, partially destroyed in effort to kill Cal (Asmussen 2019)

There is no evidence that the Imperials or the archaeologists they hire ever publish anything on what they find, nor do they appear to interpret what they uncover. They simply take what they need and leave. The hunt for the Astrium can be seen as a stereotypical "treasure hunt" for a

looted item. In this case, however, the Astrium itself has no power of its own, it is merely a key to unlock the Vault containing the holocron. The holocron itself, while immensely valuable, does not have any mystical properties that other objects such as the Holy Grail or the Ark have in the Indiana Jones series. It is instead a data storage device containing valuable information, making it perhaps more similar to some of the *Mission Impossible* movies. Unlike in other stories, the narrative is questioned. Merrin questions Cal as to the validity of his plan and the ethical issue of whether or not the children on that holocron would be safer if he left it where it was. In the end, Cal agrees with her and destroys it so the Empire can never get it. With the evidence for each of the themes laid out, it is important to look at what they do together and what they mean as a representation of archaeology when viewed holistically.

Discussion

All three of the themes that have been discussed in the case studies present archaeology and archaeologists in only very limited and stereotyped ways. Fictional representations of the field are a double-edged sword for the profession for a number of reasons, since they both increase the visibility of what archaeologists are and do and misrepresent in potentially harmful ways; the Star Wars franchise is no exception. However, this research project has demonstrated that there some of these traditional stereotypical tropes are changing while others are appear to be more resistant to change.

Changing Tropes

The first trope that has changed as reflected in the representations featured in these case studies, especially compared to previous examples of the archaeologist-as-adventurer in film and comics, is that the gender and diversity of the actual archaeologists and the characters surrounding them appear to be more representative of actual archaeologists than before. Aphra herself, and the other archaeologists she encounters, are good examples. Over the course of her creation and development, she has moved from being in the shadow of a more powerful man to working on her own and her story is now being written by a woman after having been initially

conceived of by a male writer. There are more ethnic minorities among the characters in the case studies discussed here than in earlier manifestations of the franchise, although Jedi do still tend to be white males, which is unfortunate. It should be noted that there is another archaeologist within the Star Wars universe that I analyzed in a previous paper (Annis 2020/2021), a female Togruta named Clatriffe. She is one of the only archaeologists the audience sees in the time period before the Empire. While she is not the leading character of the series, which focuses on Obi-Wan Kenobi and a young Anakin Skywalker, she conforms most closely to what would be considered a traditional professional archaeologist in today's world in the Star Wars franchise. Moreover, the audience sees several normal graduate students and professors in the background during Aphra's flashbacks to finishing her studies, and they seem to be a diverse crowd (Figure 4.43). Moreover, none of the women the audience sees are over-sexualized in the same way other female archaeologists in films, games and comics, especially Lara Croft, have been and are all wearing mostly sensible clothes. This is particularly noticeable in Merrin's case, in contrast to another infamous Nightsister whose clothing is more revealing (Figure 4.44). Most of these examples are still targeting a largely male audience based on the demographic evidence available and this would need to change to reach more of the public. However, there is some hope that moving forward this may be changing. For example, the Ahsoka television show has a female, minority lead who is attempting to find Grand Admiral Thrawn (Ellsworth 2020) and the Doctor Aphra series is being rebooted with a new female writer who hopes to broaden its target audience (Brooks 2020). Despite the original outrage after the reveal of Cal's gender and ethnicity, with critics arguing that he was so generic that he was completely forgettable (Trent 2019; Luby 2019; Whalen 2019), that attitude changed when the game was released, and its sales exceeded all expectations (Lunning 2021). And, as far as archaeologists and characters reminiscent of them go, white human males are in the minority in the more recent entries in the franchise so far. This is a change that is happening society-wide, as can be seen in more recent data of comic demographics (Weldon 2017), where more and more diverse crowds are starting to be seen both

represented in the comics and reading them. Female superheroes are starting to get their own movies, e.g. Wonder Woman (2017 and 2020), Captain Marvel (2018), and Black Widow (scheduled for 2020, now anticipated July 2021). Moreover, these shifts are happening in real life within archaeology as well, where Native peoples and other descendant groups are increasingly conducting archaeological research into their own pasts (McNiven and Russell 2005:233-235).

Figure 4.43 The glimpses the reader gets into others at Aphra's university (Wong 2020: *Doctor Aphra #1*) and Gillen (2016: *Doctor Aphra #1*)

Likewise, other minorities are getting involved as well, such as the African American population involvement in the excavation and interpretation of the African Burial Ground in New York City (Johnson 2010: 206-208).

Figure 4.44 Comparison of Nightsister Asajj Ventress' outfit [(front and back) Filoni 2008 "Ambush" and "Cloak of Darkness"] to Merrin's [(front and back) Asmussen 2019]

The second changing trope is that, particularly in Aphra's series, the involvement of the supernatural is usually set up to meet the audience's expectations and is then turned on its head and given a scientific explanation, usually by Aphra herself or by another academic. Likewise, Cal's quest does not require a supernatural resolution in the way many of the Indiana Jones movies do. Ezra's journey into the "World Between Worlds" at the archaeological site is likewise something that may seem supernatural to the audience, but in the Star Wars universe as it is now explained, Ezra has managed to discover a part of the place where the Cosmic Force is binding the space and time of the universe together. This is positive in the way that the audience's expectations are subverted, in the sense that there is a scientific reasoning behind the "supernatural" occurrences, particularly in that the archaeologists do have some academic authority to explain these encounters.

The third change is that there is an overwhelming amount of evidence that all three examples provide a critical commentary on the destructive impact of imperialism as represented by the Empire. The emphasis is on the aftermath and destruction of outside forces going in and using archaeology, among other things, to displace and otherwise abuse native inhabitants. Everything the Empire can use to further subjugate the people is exploited. The Imperialists even drive other archaeologists off if they are not directly working for them, as was the case on Zeffo. Traditional archaeological representations often confirm colonialist ideas and practices (Hall 2004:161-164), in that they are often used to reify and justify the actions of the colonial powers, which are also represented as the only ones who can interpret the material record of the past (Hall 2004:161). Even when the narrative is changed, it is not always that the protagonist seems right, or that the alternative is skewed in a way that is not realistic (Hall 2004:165). In the above examples, particularly in *Rebels,* the other side of the coin is presented as positive and sympathetic far more than the Imperial side is. Thrawn and Hydan are allowed to speak and give their opinion, as they both do to one of the protagonists, but the protagonists are also allowed to speak for themselves. Hera speaks against Thrawn, stating that he does not understand and is incapable of grasping

why what he is doing is destructive and not a sign of respect for the cultures he despoils. Ezra refutes Emperor Palpatine and states that what he did in taking parts of the temple on Lothal was wrong. Cal sees the atrocities against the inhabitants in Zeffo, Kashyyk, and Dathomir and forcefully states that the Empire was wrong to do so, and he asks Merrin if he can proceed instead of doing the same thing to her. I found Hydan to be a powerful example when he states that he is a reflection of the Emperor's power. This was particularly true of archaeologists in the past working under colonial powers, in that they did help shape the narrative of those nations (Trigger 1984). This is another change that appears to be happening in society writ large. Both *Black Panther* (2018) and *Thor: Ragnorak* (2017) involved political commentary on colonialism. At archaeological conferences, there are often panels on issues like these, and archaeological authors like McNiven and Russell (2005), among others, have been writing about these issues. While all three of these signs are encouraging, some tropes still linger in these case studies.

Perpetuating Tropes

While the audience sees more diverse archaeologists, the first trope where less change is seen is that, while the diversity represented comes closer to reality than in past franchise products, the fact remains that the consumers of these films, comics, and games are still predominantly male and this remains the primary target audience. This is why characters like Ezra, Kanan, and Cal, the Jedi these media center on, are male and, for the most part, white. Although there are signs that this may be changing it is but something both the public and archaeologists need to remain aware of. The demographics on the *Star Wars: Rebels* TV show revealed a direct example of this, in that the only demographic to be singled out was "Boys" vs. "Other Kids" and "Adults" (Kissell 2016). This to some extent reflects modern trends in archaeology as well, in that while there are many more females entering the professional field than before (Bardolph 2014; Gero 1985), the narrative based on the amount of publishing still remains predominantly male (Bardolph 2014). It is relevant to note that, while some of these projects are being developed by male directors (Filoni and Asmussen), the current president of LucasFilm is Kathleen Kennedy, a

female American producer (LucasFilm Ltd. 2021). Academia as a whole still has departments dominated by male faculty, particularly in the sciences, despite more women receiving degrees (Catalyst 2020).

The second trope in which there has been little change over time in the franchise is that archaeologists are still most often depicted as involved in a treasure hunt that is little better than looting. Aphra in particular is the most blatant example of this phenomenon, commenting on it herself multiple times (Figure 4.45). In most cases when a named archaeologist is engaged in looting the series does present it as something bad. However, no explanation is provided for why this is inappropriate or unethical behavior, or what would make the recovery of artifacts sanctioned rather than looting. Not enough members of the public understand the difference as it is (Rakestraw and Reynolds 2001), and this does not improve the situation. There are some instances that give an archaeologist hope, however. For example, in the comic prequel

Figure 4.45 Aphra's commentary on "recovering" an artifact (Gillen 2016: Doctor Aphra #1)

to *Jedi: Fallen Order*, there is a commentary on what a professional excavation might look like (Figure 4.46), and Cordova himself is described as a scholar of the Zeffo Civilization who does not loot or destroy anything he encounters along the way. In the comic, the government of the Ontothons has agreed to allow the Daa corporation to excavate a temple, but it is on land inhabited by the Fylari. In the end, there is a large loss of life and the temple is lost entirely (Rosenburg 2019).

Figure 4.46 A conversation between Cordova, young Cere, and Dylanto Daa what a proper excavation might be (Rosenberg 2019: Star Wars: Jedi Fallen Order - Dark Temple #1)

While the artifacts may not be as supernatural as they seem, they are still obviously valuable to someone. Aphra's series does engage in some commentary about how archaeology should be conducted, which is to its credit, but that is not the main focus of any of the case studies. Granted, part of this is due to the narrative and the fact that it would not be an engaging comic or video game for the mass public if there was not some amount of adventure involved. It is still problematic if that is the only thing the public knows about archaeologists. In addition, this is

still a perpetuated trope in archaeology, at least at some level, in the sense that many museums are filled with looted items, and that auction houses are still being used to bring looted goods into Western countries without the proper documentation (Gill 1997). This has been particularly true in recent years, with groups such as ISIS smuggling art out of their countries to sell for their own profit by pushing them into countries such as Lebanon or Turkey, where it can then be sold to first world markets, often ending up in the hands of Western museums or collectors (Raggi 2014). This is something archaeologists often have to deal with, but the public has little knowledge and understanding of the issues involved.

The third perpetuated trope is that, overwhelmingly, archaeologists are represented as the bad guys, continuing the same themes that archaeological antagonists have shown in the past when they appear in popular representations (McGeough 2007:178). Aphra herself was created as a "morally-inverted Indiana Jones" and while she later became the protagonist of her own series, she remains more of an anti-hero than Indy. Thrawn and Hydan are both antagonists. Aphra's advisor was also an ethically questionable man, having hidden illegal parasites in a secret lab and expressing that he would have never passed Aphra, even if she had done her own research (Figure 4.47). Cal is not an explicitly named archaeologist, and the ones the player hears about are working for the Empire. In this case perhaps the sudden switch in the commentary about the Imperials as antagonistic is a problem in that the audience only sees the archaeologist as the villain. Another way this trope is perpetuated is in real life, where archaeologists have problems with people not understanding what it is they do and questioning their legitimacy in many ways already (Rakestraw and Reynolds 2001). If these representations are the only exposure a member of the public has to the profession the antagonistic quality makes it problematic. The real issue is that there are not enough counterexamples of archaeologists who are doing their jobs ethically and professionally. Perhaps that is merely the timeframe these examples are set in, as they all exist during the Empire's reign and thus, all archaeologists would have to work for the Empire to be able to conduct research. This is much like archaeology under the National Socialist regime in

Germany in the 1930s and 40s, when the few archaeologists who actively disagreed with the regime were no longer able to work in the field and often emigrated to avoid persecution (Arnold 1990:556-562). Moreover, whether "good" or not, archaeology remains a tool of political propaganda and continues to be used for political gain. This can be seen in contexts such as the use of Classical archaeology in the conflict between Greece and the Republic of North Macedonia over which of the two could lay claim to the ancient heritage of the Macedonian Empire under Philip II and Alexander the Great (Hamilakis 2007). Clatriffe is an exception in the Star Wars context, as is an ex-professor from Aphra's 2020 series, but they are less prominent than one might hope. Moving forward, I believe this could change if there was a counter example staged in the Republic or the new High Republic lore releasing in the next few years.
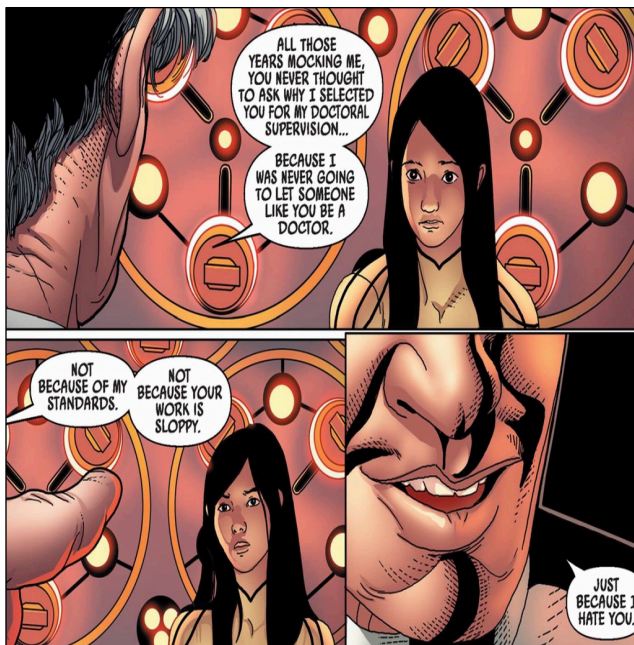

Figure 4.47 Aphra's Sava (advisor) revealing that he never would have passed her (Gillen 2016: Doctor Aphra #1)

These changing and perpetuating tropes are things that archaeologists should be, and have been, thinking deeply about. Overall, the signs of progress in gender parity and decolonization are concerns that society at large and archaeologists themselves are actively debating and attempting to rectify. There are entire conference sessions dedicated to both subjects, and popular culture films like *Black Panther* are prompting similar conversations. While conditions are not necessarily improving rapidly, the issues involved are at least being discussed. The improvements that are occurring are clearly a reflection of the trajectory of the society within which these media are being produced. The scientific take on pseudo-archaeological tropes in particular is more nuanced than other recent representations, even when the stories dip into other horror tropes, and it is refreshing to see the claim that these phenomena can be explained scientifically. However, the remaining

92

tropes are still a problem, perhaps worse for archaeologists because of the persistence of ideas about the profession that date back to the 19th century. The existing ambivalence toward and general ignorance of archaeology on the part of the general public certainly will not be helped by the association of archaeologists with looting, while in the Star Wars series the archaeologists are mostly on the wrong side of history. That being said, archaeologists do need to deal with our own colonialist legacy (McNiven and Russell 2005:1-10); these types of representations could help archaeologists understand their own past. However, it also means that archaeologists will have to work harder to earn the public's trust by more effectively explaining the difference between what we do and what looting is, and why what we do is necessary. There is commentary in these case studies that presents arguments against looting, but not as much about what archaeology does that is good and different from that. The idea of archaeology as a treasure hunt is not necessarily wrong in the sense that archaeologists are searching for something that they deem valuable but the intangible nature of the data that are the actual focus of that search makes it difficult to communicate its significance to the general public. The value of what archaeologists do should not be understated, and perhaps these media and this franchise represent an opportunity to talk to the public about how what we do is a treasure hunt for information first and treasure second. The treasure hunt is not necessarily about the shiny object but seeking things that help us understand the human past and how that affects and informs people and cultures today. If archaeologists cannot explain to the public why there is value in what we do, then there is no point in doing it (Pyburn 2008). Star Wars may provide a way to represent the field accurately and positively while still presenting an entertaining story that the public wants to engage in.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

Based on the previous discussion, what are the implications for archaeology as a whole? Given the population's general ignorance about real archaeology, and media representations that suggest that archaeologists really are the bad guys or do nothing useful (Nilsson Stutz 2007:2), professional archaeologists have a lot of work to do when it comes to explaining their profession to the public. While archaeologists have examined and engaged with their own past, both within the discipline and in public venues, the problems that still exist in the examples highlighted here will not make us any more accessible to the public - or will they?

Aphra's fanbase has spoken out about her in quite a few reviews. Among the reasons the fanbase describes her as the "best character in all of Star Wars," is that she has, "Questionable, crazy morals" (Black 2020). Others, including her writer Alyssa Wong, love the unpredictability that gives her a lot of freedom to be anywhere or do anything as a character (Brooks 2020). The "fantastically interesting" places Aphra is able to go as a "space archaeologist" make her a compelling character to engage with (Black 2020), and all of this in combination, along with her personal struggles and emotions, are what make her a character that people are willing to engage with and be charmed by sufficiently that her character was saved from death and given her own series by the franchise.

However, the things that make Aphra a "bad" archaeologist are the same as those highlighted in the persistent problems discussed in this thesis: sexism, racism, colonialism among them. These tropes have persisted in the franchise at least in part because they sell. Everyone likes a bad archaeologist until they exist in the real world and cause problems for indigenous peoples or engage in trafficking stolen goods across borders. What makes good fiction does not often translate well into real life, and archaeologists that have tried to criticize the realism of the Indiana Jones series, among others, often find they are not reaching the public and are speaking mainly to themselves (Marwick 2010:395-396). In a genre like speculative fiction and in a world like Star Wars, we cannot expect there to be a fully accurate representation of what an

archaeologist does in the role of a lead protagonist very often. Clatriffe might be the exception, but she is relegated to a side character because the day to day digging for the equivalent of pot sherds will not make exciting reading for the general public. Much the same criticism has been leveled at popular magazines that cover archaeological research, in particular National Geographic (Gero and Root 1986), where guys in shorts abseiling into sinkholes and luscious close-ups of gold idols are much more likely to appear than someone hunched over a microscope in the lab counting charred wheat grains. Is there a way to represent archaeology with fewer problematic tropes while retaining the spirit of the genre and its goals?

Here I argue that the built-in appeal of *Jedi: Fallen Order* presents an opportunity that could lead to increased public interest in archaeology and what archaeologists actually do in much the same way that the Indiana Jones films did beginning in the 1980s. The success of *Jedi: Fallen Order* demonstrates that something that is infused with archaeological themes can resonate with the audience. A video game platform allows the audience to connect much more deeply and quickly with the protagonist, as the player takes on that character's role to some extent to engage with the game. The strong sense of the past communicated through this game, and the extent to which every collectible artifact was connected to learning about the past history of the player's current location while collecting these objects can be used to make an archaeological game more content-rich and appealing at the same time. Moreover, Cal's explorations do not require excavation and often do not disturb the contents of the site he explores unless the Empire intervenes. I believe that a similar game in a different setting could have a comparable impact with fewer of the problems inherent in the previous examples.

The stage is set for a new era of *Star Wars* with the expansion into the High Republic Era (Star Wars "The High Republic" 2020). So far this era has only been introduced in comic books and novels, but there are plans to expand into television shows and other platforms as well, given time. The High Republic Era is set five hundred years before the Prequel trilogy and there is lots of room for new growth and exploration. The first set of High Republic comics have hit the real

and virtual shelves and Aphra specifically references this era when she finds High Republic artifacts in her new series (Mably 2021). The High Republic also showcases various types of Force users, not just the traditional Jedi and Sith, leading the way to a possible protagonist with Force abilities who does not have to be connected to either Order (Outlaw 2021). The following is a quote from LucasFilm Vice President, James Waugh, on the subject of the new era:

> This was a golden age for the Jedi, and also a time of galactic expansion in the Outer Rim. So expect there to be rich tales of exploration; charting out the galaxy, meeting new cultures, and discovering what pioneer life in the Outer Rim was like. (Star Wars "The High Republic" 2020).

Based on this description, the High Republic would be the perfect stage for an archaeologist to set out on an adventure that would be both compelling and completely new for the audience. Star Wars story arcs are almost always team affairs, so the archaeologist protagonist could be part of an expedition team sent to explore new planets and locations. Ideally such a team should be a diverse with respect to genders, races, and ethnicities. The protagonist could have a similar power as Cal, learning things by touching objects, which I felt was a good metaphor for what it is archaeologists actually do when I was playing the game myself. This could even include doing ethnoarchaeology or pure anthropology as well, as video games have proven they can now handle rich, inhabited open worlds such as the *Assassin's Creed* series, the *Elder Scrolls* series, or *The Witcher 3*. RPGs often include elements of charisma and persuasion to negotiate with people instead of defaulting to violence, to such an extent that there are games you can navigate without murder. This could be an element in such a game where you must navigate socially instead of violently. Often these games still involve some combat, mostly with monsters or raiders, but that might be a concession to having a successful game. Instead of looting, there could be sanctioned excavations based on your interactions with the locals, and the artifacts could be brought to a museum or academic institution. Or, if the game has town-building elements, the artifacts could be used to set up local museums on each planet the player visits. Either of these would work in traditional games, as most games have a collectible mechanic and many of these games have a

96

place the player can go to view these collectibles. Some RPGs, like the *Red Dead Redemption* series or *Star Wars: Knights of the Old Republic*, have an honor system where if the player commits acts of violence or behaves questionably, their honor score is reduced, and this often affects whether or not the player gets the "good" ending. This could be used in this game to make the player question whether they interact well with the locals or whether they choose to follow conventions and loot everyone. This may not be a perfect solution, but I believe it could address many of the problems I have seen in the examples I studied and would still result in an entertaining game. Public response indicates that this type of game would be marketable based on recognizable themes from *Jedi: Fallen Order*; it has been suggested in a new article that a sequel to the game could have Cal himself become a professionally trained archaeologist who explores the galaxy and its past (Lyonsdove 2021).

The question remains, what does this have to do with archaeologists right now, given the dearth of accurate let alone ideal representations of the field? I argue that it does several things that are useful to archaeologists. Firstly, the age range that the demographics have been shown to reach are the same that museums are attempting to reach and often fail to engage (Gelles 2014). Even *Star Wars: Rebels,* whose target audience consisted of children, would reach the same audience since their parents would likely have some contact with the show in some form. Many museums have not been able to reach the Millennials, and that trend will probably continue with younger generations (Gelles 2014). If these examples *are* reaching that age group, then there are opportunities to engage with the material in the context of that audience. A museum exhibit using this material could compare it and real-life archaeology side-by-side to draw in the younger audience and use it as an educational tool. Moreover, comic books and graphic novels have an educational potential that archaeologists are in a prime position to utilize. The combination of text and image in these media forms give more people the ability to understand the message without using a lot of academic jargon and terms that may turn more general audiences off. The graphic novel *Here* by Richard McGuire (2014) is a good example; the same place is shown over

time using a visual representation of stratigraphy. Secondly, this thesis project shows us where we have failed and where we have succeeded. The writers are clearly aware that Aphra is doing a poor job at being an archaeologist, as Aphra herself occasionally comments on the fact that her actions are not entirely ethical or moral. This is a sign that archaeologists have at least gotten across the idea that good archaeologists are not looters. However, it also shows that archaeologists have not fully explained what makes sanctioned excavations by professionally trained practitioners different from looting in the sense that there is no real commentary on the distinction in the examples analyzed here. Thirdly, it provides educational opportunities that archaeologists can take advantage of now. The fantasy world provides a good way to discuss difficult topics with members of the public who might otherwise be offended by them. While indigenous repatriation might immediately spark heated debate based on preconceptions and attitudes, a conversation about Hera and Thrawn's interaction might be a less stressful way to engage with this topic by invoking empathy with Hera. Similarly, a scientific explanation for a strange phenomenon in a "cursed" place might evoke conversations about real-life excavations in places that might be considered such in real life. A discussion about why Aphra's looting is wrong is less politically charged than a conversation about real subsistence looters in Iraq, for example. Games such as *Assassin's Creed: Origins* (2017) have proven that working with archaeologists and other professionals to create a learning experience can work, particularly with the Discovery mode in which players do not have access to any combat but rather go on an interactive tour of a living, inhabited ancient Egypt to learn what the Pyramids were really like and how they were built (Rollinger 2020:39). Many museums and educators have already used this mode of the game as an educational tool and have succeeded in doing so (Maguid 2021).

More research needs to be done to study the effect of potential new delivery systems on popular culture overall. Other works published in recent years in speculative fiction could provide insight into other aspects of these themes, including specifically Lovecraftian-inspired works like Lovecraft Country (2020) and The Wake (2014). There are also variations on

historical material that could prove useful to study, such as First Knife (2020) which is set in the far future as the inhabitants search for evidence of the city and traditions buried beneath the current culture, and for that reason has many archaeological themes. Comparative studies particularly in speculative fiction examining differences between how the sub-genres handle archaeological themes would also prove useful, as horror, science fiction, and fantasy often have different tropes. Has realistic fiction done better than speculative fiction when it comes to representations of archaeology as well as gender, race and culture? Despite the obvious problems, change is happening, albeit slowly (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 Aphra and company walking through an archaeological site, discussing what they find (Wong 2020: *Doctor Aphra* #2)

Media References

Aaron, Jason
    2015 Star Wars: Vader Down #1. Mike Deodato (artist). Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
    2015-2016 Star Wars comic series. Issues #13-19. Mike Deodato, Mike Mayhew, and Leinil Francis Yu (artists). Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
    2017 Star Wars comic series. Issues #31-32. Salvador Larroca (artist). Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
Abrams, J.J.
    2015 Star Wars: Episode VII - The Force Awakens. Lucasfilm Ltd.
    2019 Star Wars: Episode IX – The Rise of Skywalker. Lucasfilm Ltd.
Asmussen, Stig
    2019 Jedi:Fallen Order. Electronic Arts.
Edwards, Gareth
    2016 Rogue One: A Star Wars Story. Lucasfilm Ltd.
Filoni, Dave
    2008-2014, 2020 Star Wars: The Clone Wars. Created by George Lucas. Lucasfilm Ltd. Cartoon Network, Netflix, Disney+.
        October 3, 2008. Ambush. Bullock (dir), Melching (wr), season 1, episode 1.
        December 5, 2008. Cloak of Darkness. Filoni (dir), Dini (wr), season 1, episode 9.
        January 14, 2011. Monster. Dunlevy (dir), Arkin (wr), season 3, episode 13.
        February 24, 2012. Massacre. Lee (dir), Lucas (wr), season 4, episode 19.
        March 7, 2014. The Disappeared – Part I. Lee (dir), Rinzler (wr), season 6, episode 8.
        March 7, 2014. Voices. Keller (dir), Taylor (wr), season 6, episode 11.
    2014-2018 Star Wars Rebels. Television Series. Lucasfilm Ltd, Disney XD.
        October 3, 2014 Spark of Rebellion. Lee and Lee (dir), Kinberg (wr), season 1, episode 1-2.
        March 2, 2015 Fire Across the Galaxy. Filoni (dir), Kinberg (wr), season 1, episode 15.
        February 17, 2016 Homecoming. Ng (dir), Melching (wr), season 2, episode 16.
        October 15, 2016 Hera's Heroes. Zwyer (dir), Dubuc (wr), season 3, episode 5.
        December 3, 2016 An Inside Man. Lee (dir), Dubuc (wr), season 3, episode 11.
        February 25, 2017 Through Imperial Eyes. Ruiz (dir), Dubuc and Gilroy (wr), season 3, episode 16.
        February 19, 2018 Jedi Night. Ruiz (dir), Filoni and Gilroy (wr), season 4, episode 10.
        February 26, 2018 Wolves and a Door. Filoni and Ng (dir), Filoni (wr), season 4, episode 12.
        February 26, 2018 The World Between Worlds. Filoni and Lee (dir), Filoni (wr), season 4, episode 13.
        March 5, 2018 Family Reunion and Farewell. Filoni, Ng, and Paez (dir), Filoni, Gilroy, season 4, episode 15-16.
Gillen, Kieron
    2015 Star Wars: Darth Vader comic series. Issues #1-25. Salvador Larroca (artist). Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
    2016-2017 Star Wars: Doctor Aphra comic series. Issues #1-14. Kev Walker, Andrea Broccadro, and Emilio Laiso (artists). Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
    2017 Star Wars: The Screaming Citadel. Marco Checchetto (artist). Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
Gillen, Kieron and Simon Spurrier
    2017 Star Wars: Doctor Aphra Issue #15. Emilio Laiso (artist). Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
Houser, Jody
    2019 Age of Republic – Obi-Wan Kenobi #1. Cory Smith (artist). Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
Howard, Ron
    2018 Solo: A Star Wars Story. Lucasfilm, Ltd.

Johnson, Rian
    2017 Star Wars: Episode VIII – The Last Jedi. Lucasfilm, Ltd.
Lovecraft, H.P.
    1924 Under the Pyramids. In, The Complete Fiction of H.P. Lovecraft: 289-311.
    1924 Rats in the Walls. In, The Complete Fiction of H.P. Lovecraft: 257-271.
    1931 At the Mountains of Madness. In, The Complete Fiction of H.P. Lovecraft: 776-830.
Lucas, George
    1977 Star Wars: Episode IV – A New Hope. Lucasfilm Ltd.
    1980 Star Wars: Episode V – Empire Strikes Back. Lucasfilm Ltd.
    1981 Indiana Jones and the Raiders of the Lost Ark. Lucasfilm Ltd.
    1983 Star Wars: Episode VI – Return of the Jedi. Lucasfilm Ltd.
    1989 Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade. Lucasfilm Ltd.
    1999 Star Wars: Episode I – The Phantom Menace. Lucasfilm Ltd.
    2002 Star Wars: Episode II – Attack of the Clones. Lucasfilm Ltd.
    2005 Star Wars: Episode III – Revenge of the Sith. Lucasfilm Ltd.
Marvel
    2016 Star Wars: Doctor Aphra (2016 – 2019) comic series. Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
    2019 Star Wars: Jedi Fallen Order – Dark Temple (2019) comic series. Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
    2020 Star Wars: Doctor Aphra (2020 – Present) comic series. Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
Rosenberg, Matthew
    2019 Star Wars: Jedi Fallen Order – Dark Temple comic series. Paolo Villanelli and Ruairi Coleman (artists). Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
Spurrier, Simon
    2017-2019 Star Wars: Doctor Aphra comic series. Issues #15-40. Kev Walker, Andrea Broccadro, Emilio Laiso, Cris Bolson, Wilton Santos, and Caspar Wijngaard (artists). Marvel Worldwide, Inc.
Wong, Alyssa
    2020 Star Wars: Doctor Aphra comic series. Issues #1-5. Marika Cresta (artist). Marvel Worldwide, Inc.

Bibliography

Adams, Laura Marie
    2011 Archaeology in Fiction: The Impact of Perception. Master's thesis. Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Alderman, Kimberly L.
    2012 Honor Amongst Thieves: Organized Crime and the Illicit Antiquities Trade. Indiana Law Review 45(3): 602-627.

Alverson, Brigid
    2017 NYCC Insider Sessions Powered by ICV2: A Demographic Snapshot of Comics Buyers. ICV2. https://icv2.com/articles/news/view/38709/nycc-insider-sessions-powered-icv2-a-demographic-snapshot-comics-buyers

Annis, Karissa
    2020/2021 Digging Through Space: Archaeology in the *Star Wars* Franchise. Field Notes 11. In progress.

Arnold, Bettina
    1990 The Past as Propaganda: Totalitarian Archaeology in Nazi Germany. Antiquity 64(244): 464-478.
    2002 Justifying Genocide: Archaeology and the Construction of Difference. In Alexander L. Hinton (ed.), Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide, pp. 95-116. Berkeley: University of California Press.
    2006 Psuedoarchaeology and Nationalism. In Garret G. Fagan (ed.), Archaeological Fantasies: How Psuedoarchaeology Misrepresents the Past and Misleads the Public, pp. 154-179. London: Routledge. (3)

Bardolph, Dana
    2014 A Critical Evaluation of Recent Gendered Publishing Trends in American Archaeology. American Antiquity 79(3): 522-540.

Barkman-Astles, Marc
    2016 The Archaeology of Star Wars strikes back! Heritage Daily. https://www.heritagedaily.com/2016/05/the-archaeology-of-star-wars-strikes-back/111007 Web.

Beavers, Sian
    2020 The Representation of Women in *Ryse: Son of Rome*. In Christian Rollinger (ed.) Classical Antiquity in Video Games: Playing with the Ancient World, pp. 77-91. Bloomsbury Academic: London.

Bethesda
    2021 The Elder Scrolls V: Skyrim. https://elderscrolls.bethesda.net/en/skyrim

Black, Joshua
    2020 Why Doctor Aphra is the Best Character in All of Star Wars. Fansided. https://dorksideoftheforce.com/2020/06/03/star-wars-doctor-aphra-best-character/

Blakey, Michael
    1990 American Nationality and Ethnicity in the Depicted Past. In Peter Gathercole and David Loventhal (eds.), The Politics of the Past, pp. 38-48.

Borodkin, Lisa J.
    1995 The Economics of Antiquities Looting and a Proposed Legal Alternative. Columbia Law Review 95(2): 377-417.

Boyd, Brian
    2002 "The Myth Makers": Archaeology in *Doctor Who*. In Mike Russell (ed.) Digging Holes in Popular Culture: Archaeology and Science Fiction, pp. 30-37. Oxbow Books: Oxford.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)
    2009 Bones of Contention: Native American Archaeology.

https://digital.films.com/p_ViewPlaylist.aspx?AssignmentId=2XMZL7 Web.

Britt, Ryan
2019 Exclusive: Secret Star Wars Live-Action Show May Hit Disney+ in 2020. Inverse.
https://www.inverse.com/article/61649-star-wars-disney-plus-doctor-aphra-2020-jason-ward
Web.

Brodie, Neil
2011 Scholarship and Insurgency? The Study and Trade of Iraqi Antiquities. Presented at
Illicit Traffic of Cultural Objects: Law, Ethics, and the Realities. An Institute of Advanced
Studies Workshop, 4-5 August 2011, University of Western Australia. https://
traffickingculture.org/publications/brodie-neil-2011-scholarship-and-insurgency-the-study-
and-trade-of-iraqi-antiquities-in-illicit-traffic-of-cultural-objects-law-ethics-and-the-realities-
an-institute-of-advanced-studies-works/

Brooks, Dan
2014 SDCC 2014: Inside Marvel's New *Star Wars* Comics – Exclusive. Star Wars Blog. TM
& Lucasfilm Ltd. https://www.starwars.com/news/sdcc-2014-inside-marvels-new-star-wars-
comics-exclusive
2020 "You Never Know What's Going to Happen": Alyssa Wong on Her Upcoming *Doctor
Aphra* Series – Exclusive. Star Wars Blog. TM & Lucasfilm Ltd. https://www.starwars.com/
news/alyssa-wong-doctor-aphra

Calvin, Alex
2020 Star Wars Jedi: Fallen Order is Second Highest-grossing Game in US in Last 12
Months. PC Games Insider. https://www.pcgamesinsider.biz/news/71700/star-wars-jedi-
fallen-order-is-second-highest-selling-game-in-us-in-last-12-months/

Campbell, Elizabeth
2020 Claiming National Heritage: State Appropriation of Nazi Art Plunder in Postwar
Western Europe. Journal of Contemporary History 55(4): 793-822.

de Camp, Lyon Sprague
1954 Lost Continents: The Atlantis Theme in History, Science, and Literature. New York:
Dover Publications.

Catalyst
2020 Women in Academia: Quick Take. Catalyst. https://www.catalyst.org/research/women-
in-academia/

Clare, Ross
2020 Postcolonial Play in Ancient World Computer Role-Playing Games. In Christian
Rollinger (ed.) Classical Antiquity in Video Games: Playing with the Ancient World, pp. 141-
156. Bloomsbury Academic: London.

Clark, Grahame
1969 Archaeology and Society: Reconstructing the Prehistoric Past. Barnes & Noble, Inc.
New York.

Cœuré, Sophie
2017 Cultural Looting and Restitution at the Dawn of the Cold War: The French Recovery
Missions in Eastern Europe. Journal of Contemporary History 52(3): 588-606.

Cole, John R.
1980 Cult Archaeology and Unscientific Method and Theory. Advances in Archaeological
Method and Theory 3: 1-33.

Credits & Canon
2021 The Inevitability of a Star Wars Doctor Aphra Series (And Why She's Worth It). Credits
& Canon Blog. https://creditsandcanon.com/2021/01/13/the-inevitability-of-a-star-wars-
doctor-aphra-series-and-why-shes-worth-it/

Cuno, James
2014 Culture War: The Case Against Repatriating Museum Artifacts. Foreign Affairs
93(6):119-124,126-129.

Daly, Norman and Beauvais Lyons
    1991 "The Civilization of Llhuros": The First Multimedia Exhibition in the Genre of Archaeological Fiction. Leonardo 24(3): 265-271.
Davis, Chris
    2019 Blockbusters and the Ancient World: Allegory and Warfare in Contemporary Hollywood. Great Britain: Bloomsbury Academic.
Doran, Michael
    2020 Star Wars Series Doctor Aphra Wins GLAAD Outstanding Comic Book Award. Gamesradar. https://www.gamesradar.com/star-wars-series-doctor-aphra-wins-glaad-outstanding-comic-book-award/
el Dorry, M.A.
    2011 Why Do People Loot? The Case of the Egyptian Revolution. Alrawi: Egypt's heritage Review 2. Web.
Ebay
    2021 Hasbro Star Wars SDCC Doctor Aphra Action Figure. Ebay. https://www.ebay.com/p/15021553500
Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)
    2020 Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume. Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/
Eisner, Will
    2008 Comics and Sequential Art. W.W. Norton: New York.
Elia, Ricardo
    1997 Looting, Collecting, and the Destruction of Archaeological Resources. Nonrenewable Resources 6(2): 85-98.
Ellsworth, Kate Tully
    2021 Here's Every New Star Wars Series Coming to Disney+. USA Today. https://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/reviewedcom/2020/12/11/heres-every-new-star-wars-series-coming-disney-plus-kenobi-ahsoka-and-more/3893616001/
Elphinstone, Margaret and Caroline Wickham-Jones
    2012 Archaeology and Fiction. Antiquity 86: 532-537.
Evans, Christopher
    1983 Wildmen, Pulp and Fire – Archaeology as Popular Fiction. Archaeological Review from Cambridge 2: 68-70.
    1989 Digging With the Pen: Novel Archaeologies and Literary Traditions. Archaeological Review from Cambridge 8(2): 185-211.
Fagan, Brian
    1984 Archaeology and the Wider Audience. In Ernestine L. Green (ed.), Ethics and Values in Archaeology, pp. 175-182. The Free Press.
    1996 The Oxford Companion to Archaeology. Oxford University Press.
Fagan, Garret G.
    2006 Archaeological Fantasies: How Pseudoarchaeology Misrepresents the Past and Misleads the Public. London: Routledge.
Feder, Kenneth L.
    1984 Irrationality and Popular Archaeology. American Antiquity 49(3): 525-541.
Finn, Christine
    2004 Past Poetic: Archaeology in the Poetry of W.B. Yeats and Seamus Heaney. London: Duckworth.
Flint, Hanna
    2020 We Want Our Doctor Aphra Solo Movie, Lucasfilm. SyFy Wire. https://www.syfy.com/syfywire/we-want-our-doctor-aphra-solo-movie-lucasfilm
Flood, Alison

2015 World Fantasy Award Drops HP Lovecraft as Prize Image. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/nov/09/world-fantasy-award-drops-hp-lovecraft-as-prize-image

French, Tristan and Andrew Gardner

2020 Playing in a 'Real' Past: Classical Action Games and Authenticity. In Christian Rollinger (ed.) Classical Antiquity in Video Games: Playing with the Ancient World, pp. 63-76. Bloomsbury Academic: London.

The Futon Critic

2018 Disney XD's "Star Wars Rebels" Concludes with a Season-Best Performance Across Key Demographics. The Futon Critic. http://www.thefutoncritic.com/ratings/2018/03/12/disney-xds-star-wars-rebels-concludes-with-a-season-best-performance-across-key-demographics-472410/20180312disneyxd01/#:~:text=During%204Q17%2C%20%22Star%20Wars%20Rebels,%2C%203%2F5%2F18.

Gale, John

2002 Are We Perceived to be What We Say We Are? In Mike Russell (ed.) Digging Holes in Popular Culture: Archaeology and Science Fiction, pp. 1-7. Oxbow Books: Oxford.

Gareth

2019 Why the Outrage Over the Lack of a Minority Lead in Jedi: Fallen Order May Be Misplaced. Skewed & Reviewed. http://sknr.net/2019/04/17/why-the-outrage-over-the-lack-of-a-minority-lead-in-jedi-fallen-order-may-be-misplaced/

Gelles, David

2014 Wooing a New Generation of Museum Patrons. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/20/arts/artsspecial/wooing-a-new-generation-of-museum-patrons.html

Gero, Joan M.

1985 Socio-Politics and the Woman-at-Home Ideology. American Antiquity 50(2): 342-350.

Gero, Joan and Dolores Root

1996 Public Presentations and Private Concerns: Archaeology in the Pages of National Geographic. In Robert Preucel and Ian Hodder (eds.) Contemporary Archaeology in Theory, pp. 531-548. Blackwell Publishers Ltd: Oxford.

Gill, David

1997 Sotheby's, Sleaze and Subterfuge: Inside the Antiquities Trade. Antiquity 71: 468-471.

Gilman, Andrew

2020 Multiple Actors Express Interest In Playing Live-Action Ezra Bridger. The Direct. https://thedirect.com/article/multiple-actors-express-interest-in-playing-live-action-ezra-bridger

Girdwood, Allison

1984 The Imaginative Response to Archaeology in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Literature. Archaeological Review from Cambridge 3(1): 29-37.

Gowlett, John

1990 Indiana Jones: Crusading for Archaeology? Review of S. Spielberg (dir.), Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade. Antiquity 64: 157.

Gramuglia, Anthony

2021 Star Wars: A New Force User Comes to the High Republic's Rescue. Comic Book Resources. https://www.cbr.com/star-wars-zeen-mrala-helps-jedi/

Greene, Jamie

2019 How Star Wars Authors Work With Lucasfilm And Earn Creative Control. SyFy Wire. https://www.syfy.com/syfywire/how-star-wars-authors-work-with-lucasfilm-and-earn-creative-control

Hajdu, David

2008 The Ten-cent Plague: The Great Comic-book Scare And How It Changed America. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Hale, Mike
2014 Like Leia and Luke's Old Gang, but With Anime-ish Introspection. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/03/arts/television/star-wars-rebels-an-animated-series-on-disney.html

Hall, Mark A.
2004 Romancing the Stones: Archaeology in Popular Cinema. European Journal of Archaeology 7(2): 159-176.

Hallman, Robert
2005 Museums and Cultural Property: A Retreat from the Internationalist Approach. International Journal of Cultural Property 12(2): 201-223. Oxford.

Halverstadt, Lisa
2015 Comic-Con, By the Numbers. Voice of San Diego. https://www.voiceofsandiego.org/topics/economy/comic-con-by-the-numbers/

Hamilakis, Yannis
2007 The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Haraway, Donna
1984 Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936. Social Text 11: 20-64.

Hasbro
2021 Star Wars The Black Series Star Wars Doctor Aphra Comics 6-Inch-Scale Doctor Aphra Figure. Hasbro. https://starwars.hasbro.com/en-us/product/star-wars-the-black-series-star-wars-doctor-aphra-comics-6-inch-scale-doctor-aphra-figure:28985BD2-20FD-4BC7-B5AB-6BAABD7C3585

Hilton, Michael
2020 Youtini's Five Foundational Books Every Star Wars Fan Should Read First. Youtini https://www.youtini.com/guide/youtinis-five-foundational-star-wars-books

Hiscock, Peter
2012 Cinema, Supernatural Archaeology, and the Hidden Human Past. Numen 59(203): 156-177.

Hodder, Ian
1991 Interpretive Archaeology and Its Role. American Antiquity 56(1): 7-18.
2001 Archaeological Theory Today. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Holtorf, Cornelius
2004 Doing Archaeology in Popular Culture. In Hans Bolin (ed.) The Interplay of Past and Present, pp. 42-49. Södertörns högskola.
2005 Beyond Crusades: How (Not) to Engage with Alternative Archaeologies. World Archaeology 27(4): 544-551.
2007 Archaeology is a Brand! The Meaning of Archaeology in Contemporary Popular Culture. Left Coast Press, Inc. Walnut Creek, CA.
2010 Meta-stories of Archaeology. World Archaeology 42(3): 381-393.

Howe, Sean
2012 Marvel Comics: The Untold Story. New York: HarperCollins Publications.

Hussain, Tamoor
2019 Jedi Fallen Order Director Talks Bringing A Bit Of Bloodborne To Star Wars – E3 2019. Gamespot. https://www.gamespot.com/articles/jedi-fallen-order-director-talks-bringing-a-bit-of/1100-6467508/

Jameson Jr., John H., John E. Ehrenhard, and Christine A. Finn
2003 Archaeology and the Arts. The University of Alabama Press.

Jeffry, James

2018 Why the Debate Continues Over Repatriating Looted Ethiopian Treasures. Global Post.
Web.

Jenkins, Tiffany
2016 Making an Exhibition of Ourselves: Using the Dead to Fight the Battles of the Living.
In Howard Williams and Melanie Giles (ed.), Archaeologists and the Dead: Mortuary
Archaeology in Contemporary Society, pp. 251 – 267. Oxford University Press.

Jensen, Nathan
2019 Comic Books. Unpublished Manuscript. University of the Southwest.

Johnson, Matthew
2010 Archaeological Theory: An Introduction. Second Edition. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell
Publications.

Jones, Gerard
2004 Men of Tomorrow: Geeks, Gangsters, and the Birth of the Comic Book. New York:
Basic Books.

Jordan, Alexis
2013 Dealing with Electric Pandas: Why It's Worth Trying to Explain the Difference between
Archaeology & Pseudoarchaeology. Field Notes: A Journal of Collegiate Anthropology 5(1):
66-75.

Kidd, Jessica
2017 English 408: Advanced Creative Writing: Fantasy Writing. Spring 2017. University of
Alabama. Course.

Kirk, Trevor
2016 Writing About Death, Mourning, and Emotion: Archaeology, Imagination, and
Creativity. In Howard Williams and Melanie Giles (eds.), Archaeologists and the Dead:
Mortuary Archaeology in Contemporary Society, pp. 396 – 408. Oxford University Press.

Kissell, Rick
2016 Ratings: Disney XD's 'Star Wars Rebels' Hits One-Year High With Season Finale.
Variety. https://variety.com/2016/tv/news/ratings-disney-xd-star-wars-rebels-finale-
1201757980/

Kurlander, Eric
2012 Hitler's Monsters: The Occult Roots of Nazism and the Emergence of the Nazi
'Supernatural Imaginary'. German History 30(4): 528-549. Oxford University Press.

LaVorgna, Bria
2018 Doctor Aphra Creator Kieron Gillen, Co-Writer Si Spurrier Discuss What's Next For
The Fan Favorite Rogue. Star Wars Blog. TM & Lucasfilm Ltd. https://www.starwars.com/
news/doctor-aphra-creator-kieron-gillen-co-writer-si-spurrier-discuss-whats-next-for-the-fan-
favorite-rogue Web.

Leone, Mark
1991 The Relationship Between Artefacts and the Public in Outdoor History Museums.
Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 376: 301-314.

Lepore, Jill
2014 The Secret History of Wonder Woman. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Lindbergh, Ben
2018 How 'Star Wars Rebels' Set the Tone for Disney's Franchise Success. The Ringer.
https://www.theringer.com/2018/3/5/17082886/star-wars-rebels-series-finale-disney-
franchise-success

Lozano, David
2020 Ludus (Not) Over: Video Games and the Popular Perception of Ancient Past Reshaping.
In Christian Rollinger (ed.) Classical Antiquity in Video Games: Playing with the Ancient
World, pp. 47-62. Bloomsbury Academic: London.

LucasFilm, Ltd.

2021a Kathleen Kennedy: President. Lucasfilm, ltd. https://www.lucasfilm.com/leadership/kathleen-kennedy/

2021b *Star Wars: A New Hope*, The Debut of Star Wars in 1977 Changed the World. LucasFilm, ltd. https://www.lucasfilm.com/productions/episode-iv/

Luby, Luke

2019 Star Wars Jedi: Fallen Order's Ridiculous Explanation for Forgettable Hero. CCN. https://www.ccn.com/star-wars-jedi-fallen-order-hero-backlash/

Lunning, Just

2021 Everything You Need to Know About Jedi: Fallen Order 2. Inverse. https://www.inverse.com/gaming/star-wars-jedi-fallen-order-2-release-date-plot-timeline

Lutwack, Leonard

1984 The Role of Place in Literature. Syracuse University Press.

Lyons, Beauvais

1985 The Excavation of the Apasht: Artifacts from an Imaginary Past. Leonardo 18(2): 81-89.

Lyonsdove, Malachi

2021 Star Wars Jedi: Fallen Order 2's Cal Kestis May Need to Be Tweaked. Gamerant. https://gamerant.com/star-wars-jedi-fallen-order-2s-cal-kestis-may-need-tweaked/amp/

Mably, Thomas

2021 Star Wars: Doctor Aphra Officially Connects To High Republic's New Villains. ScreenRant. https://screenrant.com/star-wars-doctor-aphra-high-republic-villain/amp/

Macias, Johnamarie

2018 Highlights of the 'Star Wars' Animation Panels at Dragon Con 2018. The Wookie Gunner.https://web.archive.org/web/20200214162955/https://thewookieegunner.com/2018/09/08/star-wars-animation-panels-highlights-dragon-con/

Maguid, Youssef

2021 Why Three Egyptologists Are Teaching History Through Assassin's Creed Origins. Ubisoft News. https://news.ubisoft.com/en-us/article/7Lp5YHoYIlN7k54Jf0JkpA/why-three-egyptologists-are-teaching-history-through-assassins-creed-origins

Malaby, Thomas

2007 Beyond Play: A New Approach to Games. Games and Culture 2(2): 95-113.

2009 Anthropology and Play: The Contours of Playful Experience. New Literary History 40: 205-218.

Malchow, Howard L.

1993 Frankenstein's Monster and Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Past & Present 139: 90-130.

Mallonee, Laura C.

2015 A Patronizing Argument Against Cultural Repatriation. Hyperallergic. https://hyperallergic.com/198798/a-patronizing-argument-against-cultural-repatriation/

Marwick, Ben

2010 Self-image, the Long View and Archaeological Engagement with Film: An Animated Case Study. World Archaeology 42(3): 394-404.

Matsuda, David

1998 The Ethics of Archaeology, Subsistence Digging, and Artifact Looting in Latin America: Point and Muted Counterpoint. International Journal of Cultural Property 7(1): 87-97.

McCloud, Scott

1993 Understanding Comics. Kitchen Sink Press: Princeton, Wisconsin.

McGeough, Kevin

2007 Heroes, Mummies and Treasure: Near Eastern Archaeology in the Movies. Near Eastern Archaeology 69(3-4): 174-185.

2016 Victorian Archaeologies, Anthropologies and Adventures in the Final Frontier: Modes of Nineteenth-century Scientific Exploration and Display in *Star Trek*. Science Fiction Film and Television 9(2): 229-251. Liverpool University Press.

McNiven, Ian J. and Lynette Russell
2005 Appropriated Pasts: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology. Oxford: AltaMira Press.

Metacritic
2019 Star Wars Jedi: Fallen Order. Metacritic. https://web.archive.org/web/20200507022958/ https://www.metacritic.com/game/pc/star-wars-jedi-fallen-order

Mitman, Gregg
1993 Cinematic Nature: Hollywood Technology, Popular Culture, and the American Museum of Natural History. Isis 84: 637-661.

Morrison, Grant
2011 Supergods: What Masked Vigilantes, Miraculous Mutants, And A Sun God From Smallville Can Teach Us About Being Human. New York: Spiegel & Grau.

Moser, Stephanie
2001 Archaeological Representation: The Visual Conventions for Constructing Knowledge about the Past. In Ian Hodder (ed.) Archaeological Theory Today. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 262-283.
2009 Archaeological Representation: The Consumption and Creation of the Past. In Chris Gosden, Barry Cunliffe, and Rosemary A. Joyce (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Archaeology, pp. 1048-1077.
2015 Reconstructing Ancient Worlds: Reception Studies, Archaeological Representation, and the Interpretation of Ancient Egypt. Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory 22(4): 1263-1308.

Mostafa, Joshua
2019 In Search of Lost Time: Fiction, Archaeology, and the Elusive Subject of Prehistory. Australian Humanities Review 65: 69-88.

Motley Fool Transcribers
2020 Electronic Arts (EA) Q4 2020 Earnings Transcript. The Motly Fool. https://www.fool.com/earnings/call-transcripts/2020/05/05/electronic-arts-ea-q4-2020-earnings-call-transcrip.aspx

Nichols, Stephen
2006 Out of the Box: Popular Notions of Archaeology in Documentary Programmes on Australian Television. Australian Archaeology 63: 35-46.

Nilsson Stutz, Liv
2007 Archaeology, Identity, and the Right to Culture: Anthropological Perspectives on Repatriation. Current Swedish Archaeology 15: 1-16.

Nwakanma, Adaku
2018 Britism Museum Offers to Loan Stolen Benin Bronzes to Nigeria. https://thenerveafrica.com/author/adaku-nwakanmathenerveafrica.com/ Web.

Outlaw, Kofi
2021 Star Wars: The High Republic May Finally Explain Ahsoka Tano's Jedi Status. Comicbook. https://comicbook.com/starwars/news/star-wars-high-republic-wayseeker-jedi-orla-jareni-ahsoka-tano-connections/

Oxford Research Encyclopedias
2017 Speculative fiction. Oxford University Press. Web.

Patterson, Thomas C.
1986 The Last Sixty Years: Towards a Social History of Americanist Archaeology in the United States. American Anthropologist 88: 1-26.

Perry, Sara Elizabeth
2002 Picturing Prehistory Within (and Without) Science: De-Constructing Archaeological

Portrayals of the Peopling of New Territories. University of Victoria.

Pyburn, Karen Anne
2008 Public archaeology, Indiana Jones, and Honesty. Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress 4(2): 201-204.

Poe, Edgar Allan
1845 Some Words with a Mummy. American Review: A Whig Journal 1: 365-370.

Raggi, Michael
2015 How ISIS Created a Terrorist Art Market. Fox News. https://www.foxnews.com/science/how-isis-created-a-terrorist-art-market

Rakestraw, Tamara and Amy Reynolds
2001 Archaeology and the Public: Exploring Popular Misconceptions. Anthropology Inquiry 2: 25-19.

Renfrew, Colin
2001 Symbol Before Concept. In Ian Hodder (ed.) Archaeological Theory Today. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 122-140.

Richards, Dave
2014 SDCC: Gillen Explores the Dark Side in "Star Wars: Darth Vader." Comic Books Resources. https://web.archive.org/web/20201113081301/https://www.cbr.com/sdcc-gillen-explores-the-dark-side-in-star-wars-darth-vader/

Rollinger, Christian
2020a An Archaeology of Ancient Historical Video Games. In Christian Rollinger (ed.) Classical Antiquity in Video Games: Playing with the Ancient World, pp. 19-43. Bloomsbury Academic: London.
2020b Playing with the Ancient World: An Introduction to Classical Antiquity in Video Games. In Christian Rollinger (ed.) Classical Antiquity in Video Games: Playing with the Ancient World, pp. 1-18. Bloomsbury Academic: London.

Russell, Lynette
2002 Archaeology and Star Trek: Exploring the Past in the Future. In Mike Russell (ed.) Digging Holes in Popular Culture: Archaeology and Science Fiction, pp. 19-29. Oxbow Books: Oxford.

Russell, Mike
2002 Digging Holes in Popular Culture: Archaeology and Science Fiction. Oxbow Books: Oxford.

Salmon, Will
2020 How New Star Wars Icon Doctor Aphra was Created. Techradar. https://www.techradar.com/news/how-new-star-wars-icon-doctor-aphra-was-created

Schablitsky, Julie
2007 Box Office Archaeology: Refining Hollywood's Portrayals of the Past. Left Coast Press, Inc.

Schnapp, Alain
1993 The Discovery of the Past: The Origins of Archaeology. British Museum Press.

Schofield, John
2010 Archaeology and Contemporary Society: Introduction. World Archaeology: 42(3): 325-327.

Seidel, Jamie
2018 Exposing the Star Wars Code – the Atlantis Connection. News Corp Australia Network. https://www.news.com.au/entertainment/movies/exposing-the-star-wars-code-the-atlantis-connection/news-story/1aae97d63ce040a076f09ca1c37819ad. Web.

Smiles, Sam and Stephanie Moser
2005 Envisioning the Past: Archaeology and the Image. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Society for American Archaeology (SAA)

2021 Ethics in Professional Archaeology. https://www.saa.org/career-practice/ethics-in-professional-archaeology

Stapleton, Dan
    2019 Star Wars Jedi: Fallen Order Review. IGN. https://www.ign.com/articles/2019/11/15/star-wars-jedi-fallen-order-review

Star Wars Databank
    n.d. Grand Admiral Thrawn. Star Wars. TM & Lucasfilm Ltd. https://www.starwars.com/databank/grand-admiral-thrawn
    n.d. Zeffo. Star Wars. TM & Lucasfilm Ltd. https://www.starwars.com/databank/zeffo

Star Wars
    2014 The Legendary Star Wars Expanded Universe Turns A New Page. Star Wars Blog. TM & Lucasfilm Ltd. https://www.starwars.com/news/the-legendary-star-wars-expanded-universe-turns-a-new-page Web.
    2017 Doctor Aphra Wins Hasbro's *Star Wars* Fan Figure Vote. Star Wars Blog. TM & Lucasfilm Ltd. https://www.starwars.com/news/doctor-aphra-wins-hasbros-star-wars-fan-figure-vote
    2018 Check Out the Doctor Aphra Comic Set and More of Hasbro's SDCC 2018 Exclusives. Star Wars Blog. TM & Lucasfilm Ltd. https://www.starwars.com/news/doctor-aphra-comic-set-hasbro-sdcc-2018-exclusives
    2020 The High Republic: Lucasfilm to Launch *Star Wars: The High Republic* Publishing Campaign in 2021. Star Wars Blog. TM & Lucasfilm Ltd. https://www.starwars.com/news/star-wars-the-high-republic

Stoll, Julia
    2021 Marvel Studios Movie Viewership in the U.S. 2018, by Age. Statista. https://www.statista.com/statistics/807367/marvel-movie-viewership-age/

Stone, Peter
    1997 Presenting the Past: A Framework for Discussion. In John H. Jameson, Jr. (ed.), Presenting Archaeology to the Public: Digging for Truths, pp. 23-34. Altamira Press.

Tach, Dave
    2019 Respawn Had to Earn Lightsabers and Jedi in Fallen Order: This is not Stig Asmussen's 'God of Star Wars.' Polygon. https://web.archive.org/web/20190612002142/https://www.polygon.com/interviews/2019/6/11/18658217/star-wars-fallen-order-jedi-lightsabers-respawn-entertainment-lucasfilm-canon

Tano, Duy
    2012 Comic Book Glossary: Splash Page and Spread. The Comics Cube. http://www.comicscube.com/2012/10/comic-book-glossary-splash-page-and.html

Trent, John
    2019 Some Fans Upset Star Wars Jedi: Fallen Order Protagonist is a White Guy. Bounding Into Comics. https://boundingintocomics.com/2019/04/14/some-fans-upset-star-wars-jedi-fallen-order-protagonist-is-a-white-guy/

Trigger, Bruce
    1984 Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist. Man N.S. 19: 355-370.
    1986 Prospects for a World Archaeology. World Archaeology 18(1): 1-20.

Vandameer, Jeff
    2013 Wonderbook: The Illustrated Guide to Creating Imaginative Fiction. Abrams Image.

The Walt Disney Company
    2014 Fiscal Year 2013 Annual Financial Report and Shareholder Letter. https://web.archive.org/web/20140207154930/http://thewaltdisneycompany.com/sites/default/files/reports/10k-wrap-2013.pdf

Weldon, Glen
    2017 Beyond The Pale (Male): Marvel, Diversity And A Changing Comics Readership.

NPR.https://www.npr.org/2017/04/08/523044892/beyond-the-pale-male-marvel-diversity-and-a-changing-comics-readership

Whalen, Andrew
2019 'Jedi: Fallen Order' Arrived at White Guy Default Because Rey Exists. Newsweek. https://www.newsweek.com/jedi-fallen-order-main-character-male-protagonist-rey-1448158

Wyke, Maria
1997 Projecting the Past: Ancient Rome, Cinema and History. London: Routledge.

Zorpidu, Sultana
2004 The Public Image of the Female Archaeologist: The Case of Lara Croft. In Hans Bolin (ed.) The Interplay of Past and Present, pp. 101-107. Södertörns högskola.