OXFORD STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY

A WORLD HISTORY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGY

Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past

MARGARITA DÍAZ-ANDREU

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To my husband, Angel, and my daughter Anna

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Preface

In 1999, while organizing a one-day conference on 'Nationalism and Archaeology' held in the London School of Economics, I was encouraged by the well-known scholar of nationalism, the sociologist Anthony Smith, to write an overview. By then I was not new to the subject. Over the years I had been contributing to the lively debate over the value of understanding the political context for the development of archaeology. This contested the previously dominant internalist perspective on the history of archaeology, which focused on the progress of archaeological thought while taking little, if any, account of the socio-political and economic framework in which it was formulated. As part of the debate, I edited books on nationalism (Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996b; Díaz-Andreu & Smith 2001), and women in academia (Díaz-Andreu & Sørensen 1998b), as well as producing work more narrowly related to the archaeology of particular countries, Spain and, to a lesser extent, Britain.

Throughout the 1999 conference it became obvious how uneven our understanding of developments in archaeology beyond Europe was. It was unclear how imperialism and colonialism had affected archaeological practice in the colonies, as well as in parts of the world which resisted colonialism such as China and Japan. Also, studies on the growth of professional archaeology as a hegemonic discourse had not been matched by an examination of whether this had been contested by a minority of archaeologists themselves and by the general public, and whether there had been alternative accounts. Such studies had also focused on a narrow period starting in the late nineteenth century, but the literature on the impact on archaeology of the rise of nationalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a topic explored by a handful of history of art scholars, was practically ignored by archaeologists. The organization of a joint conference between archaeologists and sociologists also highlighted the potential for archaeology to profit from insights formulated in other social sciences, such as history, sociology, history of art, the history of science, and literary studies.

I have been working on topics related to the subject of this book for more than a decade and on the manuscript itself for seven years. This has required me to undertake an extremely wide reading and I have needed time to reflect upon previously undetected connections between different parts of the globe. This does not mean that everybody who worked in archaeology anywhere in the world is mentioned here. This would not only be impossible, but also

belong to a different sort of undertaking. My initial aim was to include in this book the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, but I subsequently realized that I could not cover all the issues in a single volume. However, chapters relating to twentieth-century archaeology have already been written and will hopefully form part of a future volume that will most probably take a fair deal of effort to complete. This is a work of synthesis. Nevertheless, it is a more in-depth study than initially intended. To a considerable extent the research conducted for this project is based on three major types of readings. In the first place, I have explored a narrow selection of contemporaneous writings by antiquarians, archaeologists, and other scientists and thinkers. Secondly, this work has greatly benefited from analyses of the history of science carried out by anthropologists, historians, and philologists. Finally and most importantly, I have drawn on many studies on the history of archaeology in several languages, including English, German (to the extent that my knowledge of the language has allowed me), and several Romance tongues (French, Italian, and Spanish), which have helped my work tremendously and of which the bibliography at the end of the book is, I hope, good reflection. Nonetheless, I cannot pretend to have covered the entire literature of the subject. I am constrained by my limited mastery of most of the world's languages, in which a lot of interesting information is no doubt to be found.

While I alone am responsible for what has been written, I would like to acknowledge the great debt I owe to institutions and colleagues for providing essential support. A small—but extremely helpful—dean's fund in the summer of 2004 made it easier for me to use the British Library to access information difficult to obtain otherwise. An invaluable grant from the AHRC allowed me extra time for research during October to December 2004, in addition to the two sabbatical terms provided by the university. This made it possible for me to have a good, first draft of the volume ready by the time I returned to my teaching commitments. The research committee in my department also provided me with financial help to pay for the editing of the English of the original text and later helped to alleviate my administrative commitments at the time when the volume had to be revised in light of the readers' comments in summer 2006. As a non-native English speaker, for the successful completion of the project a team of English editors was needed: I am most grateful to Anwen Caffell, Gary Campbell, Jaime Jennings, Anne O'Connor, Megan Price, Kate Sharpe, and Angel Smith. I am also indebted to the large number of people who, over many years, have assisted with the writing of this project. My greatest debt is to Suzanne Marchand and to two other anonymous readers for Oxford University Press, who offered insightful critiques of my manuscript. My response to their many comments has greatly improved the quality of the book. The following

scholars suggested ideas and shared information after having read one or more chapters: Nadia Erzini, Anna Leone, and Stephen Vernoit for North African archaeology, Daniel Schávelzon for Latin America, Jarl Nordbladh for early nineteenth-century European archaeology, Rasmi Shoocongdej for Siam (Thailand), Neil Silberman for the archaeology of the biblical lands, Gina Barnes and Lothar von Falkenhausen for East Asia, Daniel Saunders for the Russian Empire, Charles Higham for Southeast Asia and Dilip Chakrabarti and Sudeshna Guha for India. Many others have been ready to answer specific questions and provided me with interesting ideas. In alphabetical order, these are Lois Armada, Marcello Barbanera, Tim Bayliss-Smith, Gary Campbell, Haydon L. Cherry, B. F. Cook, Per Cornell, Jordi Cortadella, Noël Coye, Chris Evans, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Víctor Fernández, Lucio Menezes Ferreira, Pedro Paulo Funari, Brien K. Garnand, Norman Girardot, Chris Heaton, Christine Hertler, Caroline Humphreys, Jørgen Jensen, Matthew Johnson, Lise Bender Jorgensen, Anessa Kassam, Lars Larsson, José Ramón López Rodríguez, Peter Manuelian, Suzanne Marchand, Jaume Massó, Aron Mazel, Chris Miele, Ignacio Montero, Gloria Mora, Oscar Moro, Tim Murray, Aleksandr Naymark, Elisabeth Nordbladh, Anne O'Connor, Ayse Ozdemir, David W. Phillipson, Peter Rowley-Conwy, Laurajane Smith, Pamela Jane Smith, Ulrike Sommer, Marie Louis Stig Sørensen, Ruth Struwe, Igor L.Tikhonov, Mogens Trolle Larsen, Luis Vázquez León, Guus Veenendaal, Stephen Vernoit, Håkan Wahlquist, Hartmut Walravens, Stine Wiell, Penny Wilson, and Oliver Zimmer. This book owes an intellectual debt to many people in Spain (for the whole list see Díaz-Andreu 2002: 11–13), to Bruce Trigger's work, which has made history of archaeology an acceptable enterprise in the eyes of my colleagues and to the members of the AREA (Archives of European Archaeology) project. This volume should be seen as contributing to the project's goals. I would like to express my sincere thanks to all those mentioned above for their encouragement. Last, but not least, thanks to Durham library, and especially to John Lumsden, Kate Page, Caro Baker, and Heather Medcalf, for having searched and made available a wide range of publications which have greatly enriched this work.

Portions of Chapter 1 were published in the introductory chapter of the volume edited with Anthony D. Smith on *Nationalism and Archaeology* in the journal *Nations and Nationalism* 7.4. Ideas subsequently included in Chapter 2 were first part of a lecture tour of Brazil in 1999 when, thanks to Professor Pedro Funari, I was invited by the FAPESP (the Science Foundation of the State of São Paulo in Brazil) to teach in the universities of Campinas, Joinville and São Paulo. The core of Chapters 4, 7, and 10 was initially drafted during a lecture tour in Mexico (Mexico City, Xalapa, and Mérida), organized by Enrique Florescano and Alain Schnapp in December 1997, and other ideas

in these chapters much later discussed in the conference *Informal Empire?* held in Bristol in January 2007. In addition, sections of Chapters 5 and 8 were delivered at the conference *British Island Stories: History, Identity and Nationhood* organized in 2002 and published in 2004.

Finally, my greatest thanks to my family—my husband Angel and my daughter Anna. This book is dedicated to them.

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List of Abbreviations

ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
BCE	Before contemporary era
CE	Contemporary era
CIAPP	International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology (Congrès International d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique)
HMW	Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenshappen
IHGE	Instituto Histórico, Geográfico e Etnográfico Brasileiro (Historic, Geographic and Ethnographic Institute of Brazil)
n.d.	no date
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund
r.	rule
RGK	Römisch-Germanische Kommission
RLK	Reichslimeskommision
US	United States of America
VOC	Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)

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1

An Alternative Account of the History of Archaeology in the Nineteenth Century

THE MULTIVOCALITY OF ARCHAEOLOGY AS A CHALLENGE TO WRITING THE HISTORY OF THE DISCIPLINE

Historians of science (whether philosophers, epistemologists, historians of science, or sociologists of science) have been stubbornly reluctant to deal with archaeology in favour of other disciplines such as geology and medicine.[1] Most histories of archaeology have, therefore, been written by archaeologists and this book is no exception. Being trained in the subtleties of stratigraphy and typology does not, however, provide archaeologists with the necessary tools to confront the history of their own discipline. Many of the histories of archaeology so far written revolve around a narrow, almost positivistic, understanding of what the writing of one's own disciplinary history represents. This volume attempts to overcome these limitations. Questions addressed have been inspired by a wide range of authors working in the areas of history, sociology, literary studies, anthropology, and the history of science. It uses the case of nineteenth-century world archaeology to explore the potential of new directions in the study of nationalism for our understanding of the history of archaeology. Key concepts and questions from which this study has drawn include the changing nature of national history as seen by historians (Berger *et al.* 1999b; Hobsbawm 1990) and by scholars working in the areas of literature and political studies (Anderson 1991); transformations within nationalism (Smith 1995); new theoretical perspectives developed within colonial and post-colonial studies (Asad 1973; Said 1978); the relationship between knowledge and power (Foucault 1972 (2002); 1980b); and

[1] Among historians of science there are a few exceptions: Michael Hammond, Henrika Kuklick, Marc-Antoine Kaeser, and Wiktor Stoczkowski. They were originally trained as archaeologists but took doctorates in the history of science. Historians have also been reluctant to deal with the history of archaeology, but their number is larger, among others Noël Coye, Nathalie Richard (both also originally trained as archaeologists), Raf de Bont, Martijn Eickhoff, Philippa Levine, Gonzalo Pasamar, Ignacio Peiró, Suzanne Marchand, and Rosemary Sweet.

the consideration of social disciplines as products of history (Bourdieu 1993; 2000; 2004).

Perhaps historians and sociologists of science's lack of enthusiasm to engage with archaeology derives from its sheer lack of homogeneity. The term comes from the Greek arkhaiologia, the study of what is ancient. It most commonly encompasses the analysis of archaeological remains, but the emphasis on what body of data lies within its remit has always differed—and still does—from country to country and within a country between groups of scholars of the various academic traditions. For some it revolves around the study of artistic objects, as well as of ancient inscriptions and coins, for others it encompasses all manifestations of culture from every period of human existence. In many parts of the world the teaching of archaeology is tightly bound up with anthropology, in others with history, still in others with geology. University departments in which archaeologists of all sorts of specializations have been put under the same roof are mainly restricted to the English-speaking world, and they are the result of a development that timidly started around the First World War, but differences still remain (see, for example, the contrast between the meetings of the Society for American Archaeology and the American Institute of Archaeology). In most countries medieval archaeology is only taught in departments of history or the history of art, and classical archaeology in those teaching classics and ancient history. The study of the material remains of the past has also attracted historians, philologists, historians of art, architects, doctors, botanists, geologists, palaeontologists, anthropologists, clerics, and members of many other professions. A certain homogeneity has only appeared in the last few years under the umbrella of public archaeology, which seems to have similar objectives everywhere in the world.

This diversity is certainly not new. In the eighteenth century, a distinction was drawn between historians, who focused on rhetoric and grand narratives, and antiquarians. Although both admired and made use of classical antiquity as one of their main sources, the antiquarians believed that antiquities could provide new information not contained in the texts written by the classical authors (Sweet 2004: 3). Further subdivisions appeared in the 1870s and 1880s, when archaeologists became separated from antiquarians. The term archaeologist came 'to signify the trained and respected professional' as opposed to that of antiquarian (Levine 1986: 36, 39, 89). Referring to the nineteenth century, Alain Schnapp (1991) distinguishes between philological archaeology and natural archaeology. The first type had emerged from Winckelmann's work on Greek and Roman sculpture and comprised all of those who studied the monuments of classical antiquity assisted by data from written documents. The second was based on typology and was closer to

geology and anthropology, and they mainly focused their studies in the prehistoric period. The need for training to qualify as a professional, however, would radically change the meaning of archaeology from the late nineteenth century.

The multivocality of the meaning of archaeology in the present as well as in the past makes the attempt to write a history of archaeology a challenge. There are many possible histories of archaeology, as many as understandings of what archaeology is. In this book the widest possible meaning has been chosen. In fact, included in this volume are many individuals who dealt with ancient objects but never defined themselves as archaeologists and perhaps not even as antiquarians. If they—and the institutions that they were associated with—have been incorporated into the account it is because nowadays all of them would most probably define themselves—or be identified by others—as either professional or amateur archaeologists.[2] Consciously, therefore, this history is a teleological account of a discipline that emerged in the nineteenth century and fully matured in the following century, or it fully developed professionally between the two world wars, and especially after the Second World War. Maturity does not mean coherence, for, as explained above, even today archaeology does not have a single meaning. There are, and there were, alternative understandings of what archaeology is and was, as well as complex and multi-layered identities of the actors who practised and practise it. It could be argued that the body of archaeologists who form the basis of this volume were an imagined community of scholars, a group of individuals who perhaps never saw each other or knew each other but imagined themselves as having common interests and were ready to behave fraternally to other members of the community. It started as a very amorphous community that gradually became more finite in its boundaries and whose members, over time, felt increasingly legitimated by the professionalization of their pursuit. It was a community which had elastic boundaries with other, similarly perceived, scholarly communities (cf. Anderson 1991: 6–7). The elaboration of its own realms of memory (cf. Nora 1996–8), as Nathalie Richard (2001) puts it, further promoted an awareness of its existence as a group: the handbook—or, in the nineteenth century, the catalogue—their own history as a group, a set of anecdotes and a group of scholars with whom one could identify, were all nineteenth-century creations.

[2] Until the final years before the First World War there was no sharp contrast between professional and amateur archaeologists. In 1996 Marchand complained about what she called the 'manichean dichotomy between "politicized" pseudo-scholarship and "disinterested" pure scholarship', which, she argued, 'has obstructed our understanding of their dialectical interdependency' (Marchand 1996a: 155). In this book, the term amateur has been used instead of avocational, to avoid the modern connotations of the latter concept, of recent creation.

NATIONALISM, IMPERIALISM, AND COLONIALISM IN ARCHAEOLOGY

In this book it is argued that archaeology is not a value-free and neutral social science as previously presumed. I will argue, therefore, that for a correct understanding of the history of archaeology it becomes essential to evaluate the impact of the framework in which it developed. It is only when this is done that a more critical and deconstructive history of archaeology becomes possible. The perspective adopted in this volume, therefore, contrasts with that taken in other major overviews of the history of archaeology, from Michaelis' early study, *Die archäologischen Entdeckungen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (*A Century of Archaeological Discoveries*, 1908), to Glyn Daniel's *A Hundred Years of Archaeology* (first published in 1950, later published as *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology*), and Gran Aymerich's more recent *Naissance de l'Archéologie Moderne* (*The Birth of Modern Archaeology*, 1998). These syntheses focus on the internal development of the discipline, centring their attention on the role of particular individuals in the evolution of ideas and the progress of the discipline. They generally pay little attention to external circumstances—the political, social and cultural context which shaped the practice of archaeology. The exception to this is when moments of crisis are discussed, particularly during the totalitarian regimes of National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy. Implicitly, the assumption is that archaeology is normally isolated from political or social realities except sporadically, in extreme cases, and that the consideration of external factors is not indispensable to comprehend the development of the discipline. There are authors, however, who have adopted a more critical line, from Kristian Kristiansen (Kristiansen 1981) to Tom Patterson (Patterson 1995b), and many recent thinkers who will be mentioned in the pages of this book.

This volume aligns itself with the latter group of scholars and argues that taking into consideration external factors—the socio-political context in which archaeology developed—is key to the understanding of the processes that underpin the changes within the discipline. In this volume archaeology is seen as a social science, that is, a discipline that studies human aspects of the world, often making use of quantitative and qualitative methods. Archaeology is described as a historical and cultural product, a socially created set of practices and body of work that cannot be isolated from the contemporary socio-cultural and historical framework in which it is and was formed. It is considered that the archaeological past interpreted by scholars at any particular time is mediated by their own experiences as individuals. The study undertaken in this volume aims to dissect the changes taking place in

nineteenth-century archaeology by plotting them against the evolution of the idea of the nation and the interest in the past. Connected to this were the political practices of colonialism and imperialism, whose links with archaeology are explored later in this chapter.

Nationalism

Nationalism is a term that has been defined in many ways. The sociologist Ernest Gellner and the historian Eric Hobsbawm saw it as 'primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent' (Gellner 1983: 1; Hobsbawm 1990: 9). Before them, Kedourie, in his oft-reprinted post-war work *Nationalism*, had aptly defined nationalism as a

> doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century... Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.
>
> (Kedourie 1993: 1).

Nationalism is distinguished from patriotism[3] in that the latter only encompasses feelings of support for, loyalty to or belief in a nation, whereas the first also refers to an organized political doctrine and movement which aimed at the political self-determination of the nation. Patriotism, also defined by some as proto-nationalism, was operative earlier in history, certainly during the medieval period. Although some see nations as having existed for millennia before our era in places such as Egypt (Smith 2005), this view is not widely held (for an update on the debate see Scales & Zimmer 2005). The argument proposed in this book aligns itself with those who think that the nation only became constitutive of state power and legitimacy from the late eighteenth century onwards.

Nationalism is a complex and diverse ideology that can be subjected to a variety of typologies. One of them is the distinction made by many experts between civic or political nationalism and cultural or ethnic nationalism. In the first case, the concept of the nation is coupled with a universal recognition of both individual rights and the sovereignty of the people within the nation, and with the notion of popular freedom, which individuals are ready to defend even at the cost of their lives (Hobsbawm 1990: 18–19; Smith 1991a: 10).

[3] Several authors such as Linda Colley (Colley 1992) confusingly discuss eighteenth-century nationalism as a term interchangeable with patriotism. I will follow Hobsbawm (1990) and others in their contention that nationalism only appears as a political ideology at the end of the eighteenth century.

The historian Hans Kohn argued that this type of nationalism emerged in the West and was 'rational' as against cultural or ethnic nationalism which was 'mystical' (Kohn 1946: 3–4). In ethnic or cultural nationalism nations are defined as units formed by individuals who share a *common history*, and therefore form part of the same ethnic group—or *race* as expressed in the nineteenth century—, speak the same *language* and evince a distinctive set of customs or culture (Smith 1991a). This typology is not without its critics. The opposition between these two types of nationalism may only be a mirage. On the one hand, one could argue that in order to attain sovereignty a national community must exist, but that national communities cannot be understood without recourse to history and language (Smith 1991a: 13–14). On the other hand, ethnic nationalism may either accept civic rights and sovereignty or, on the contrary, ignore them and be compatible with regimes dominated by reactionary aristocracies, such as nineteenth-century Russia, and the twentieth-century authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. Despite this criticism, the use of this typology when charting the changes nationalism underwent over the nineteenth century demonstrates its usefulness. Thus, whereas in the early years of nationalism the emphasis was put on rights and sovereignty, making nationalism a liberal ideology, this started to change around the mid nineteenth century, when language, race, and history—elements already present in early nationalism—became the dominant features which defined nations and their right to self-government. The relevance of this change will be demonstrated mainly in Parts I and IV of this book.

Archaeology and post-colonial studies

The analysis of the practice of archaeology beyond Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries undertaken in this volume benefits from discussions in the field of post-colonial studies. Despite the term itself not being employed until 1989 in *The Empire Writes Back* (Ashcroft *et al.* 1989), the generally accepted point of departure of post-colonial studies is Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1978). Said defined Orientalism as the effect of imperialism on the study of the Orient and described it as 'the corporate institution dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (Said 1978: 3). At the beginning of a later book, *Culture and Imperialism*, Said suggested that imperialism is 'a word and an idea today so controversial, so fraught with all sorts of questions, doubts, polemics and ideological premises as nearly to resist use altogether' (Said 1993: 3). Nevertheless, in his opinion, imperialism can be employed to refer to

'the practice, theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory' as against colonialism meaning 'the implanting of settlements on a distant territory' (*ibid.* 8).

Said and other post-colonial studies writers are partly inspired by authors within cultural studies, mainly by politically engaged thinkers such as Gramsci and Foucault, whose radical literary theory and criticism analysed unjust power relationships as manifested in cultural products. In fact post-colonial studies can be better understood as an umbrella name given to the work of a group of scholars, who use a wide and even divergent body of theory. Many of the ideas that flow into post-colonial discussions are in a state of flux. There even seems to be a great deal of uncertainty as to just what the term 'post-colonial' denotes. The key issue here is that postcolonialism has, as Derek Gregory says, 'a constitutive interest in colonialism'. This author argues that it exposes the continuous demands and extortions of colonialism in order to overcome them (Gregory 2004: 9). Post-colonial studies aspire to 'resist the seductions of *nostalgic* histories of colonialism' (*ibid.*). Parts II and III of this volume can be viewed as within the corpus of post-colonial studies in that it aims critically to examine the role of archaeology in the interactions between European (and North American and Japanese) nations and the societies they colonized either formally or informally in the modern period in general and during the nineteenth century in particular.

Although colonial and post-colonial theory originated in literary studies, and this is still the field with the largest number of scholars, the debate has increasingly gained prominence in other research areas, such as media studies, geography and political science. In archaeology post-colonial studies have just started to produce critiques that are bringing a completely new perspective to historiographical accounts. The book edited by Jane Webster and Nick Cooper on *Post-colonial perspectives on Roman imperialism* (1996) discusses some of the issues that will be highlighted in the following paragraphs, as does Meskell's edited book *Archaeology under Fire* (see particularly Bahrani 1998), Reid's *Whose Pharaoh*? (2002) and Robert Aguirre, *Informal Empire. Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture* (2005).

Post-colonial studies have brought to the scientific debate several concepts that will be employed in the discussion undertaken regarding imperial and colonial archaeology. Some were first deployed by authors who preceded post-colonial studies. This is the case with the terms 'discourse' and 'hegemony'. Discourse, a Foucaultian term, will be used to refer to a powerfully confined area of social knowledge, a system of statements that produce socially agreed understandings (Foucault 1972 (2002)). Colonial or imperial discourse will define the way Europeans thought about, advocated and understood colonialism. The concept of hegemony, first outlined by Gramsci

in the 1930s (Femia 1981: ch. 2), deals with the means by which domination is achieved through consent rather than naked force, by making people believe that the ruling class's interests are for the common benefit. Thus, imperial archaeology will be considered here as a hegemonic narrative created by archaeologists coming from the imperial powers that excluded other accounts about the past. It was hegemonic because it was broadly accepted by colonizers and colonized, because it was taken for granted that it would produce the only authorized discourses about the past. The concept of hegemony is usually linked to that of the subaltern, meaning 'of inferior rank'. This concept addresses the fluidity with which colonial ideology operates. Most notably in this context, in this book it will be argued that the ruling class in a colony may also be considered as subaltern. Settlers are part of the ruling class in the colony, but at the same time are usually considered as inferior by the metropolis ruling classes. It will be proposed that this ambivalence has important implications that need further study.

Imperial discourse is about power and how it works. It is from their vantage point that archaeologists produce a narrative of power which is based on the authority of the observer and consigns the non-European to a secondary status, a narrative that takes as a basis the concept of the 'Other' as inferior, subordinate and dependent. This is not a narrative divorced from everyday practice. In this sense, the way in which colonial discourse permeates all cultural activities and influences archaeology can be described rhizomically, i.e. like a root system that spreads across the ground. Some authors prefer the metaphor of a spider's web. The terms rhizome and web aim to convey the way in which colonial discourse imposes its hegemony dynamically, following the diverse and even contradictory pathways proposed by the different actors. Connections, internalizations, understandings are some of the processes by which cultural hegemony operates. The way in which colonial discourse is imposed is not through a monolithic, violent force following a master plan. It is much more subtle and diverse. Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence is also pertinent. For Bourdieu, symbolic violence is 'a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition, or even feeling' (Bourdieu 2001: 1–2).

Colonial archaeology was a practice linked to one of the most powerful strategies of imperial dominance, that of surveillance or observation (cf. Foucault 1977). It is from the position as observer that archaeologists help to objectify the 'Other' through the analysis of the past. Connected to this some authors have used the concept of alterity to indicate the 'Other', an abstraction formed as an opposite to that of the Western image of itself. Far

from the cultural essentialism that may be read into the previous sentence, the binary set Westerner-Other—a dualism that is indeed seen by some in inflexible terms—is more a powerful, imagined entity actually composed by as many Others as Westerners defining them (or the other way round). Although this question will not be discussed in much detail, the power which the knowledge of the colonies' archaeology helped to create would not only work at the level of the colonizer versus the colonized, a contrast mediated by racial ideas, but other identities such as gender and class also played a role in the creation of 'Others'. Women and members of the working class were the exception among archaeologists and were considered and treated differently because of their alterity.

Colonial archaeologists were part of a diaspora formed by members of the army, administrators, explorers, fortune hunters, and settlers. Yet, in this early period there were also a few native[4] archaeologists. In this context the validity of the concept of hybridity and mimicry, and the potential menace they posed to colonial authority, will briefly be explored below. Hybridity refers to the creation of new transcultural forms, whereas mimicry alludes to the practice by the colonized subjects of 'mimicking' the colonizers, converting or taking the 'official' view of themselves (Bhabha 1994). It can also be seen as an attempt by the colonized to appropriate the discourse about the past produced by imperial archaeologists, to resist their attempts to be the only valid interlocutors of the past of the colonies. Discourse, says Foucault, 'transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it' (Foucault 1980a: 101).

Much has been written on hegemonic Western views. Research on resistance to the Western archaeological understanding of the past has been growing in recent years (see, for example, Abt 1996; Archibald 1993) but very little can be found in the history of archaeology (see, as an exception, Reid's work (1985, 1992, 1997, 2002). It is arguably the case that, by their very nature, dissenting voices are more difficult to retrieve. Their recovery requires very specific knowledge of acts of everyday resistance, of discontent and non-compliance. Some relevant data may be locked in private papers, but to find it requires an archival effort which is beyond the scope of this volume. This is undoubtedly one of the pending research questions to be addressed in the historiography of the development of archaeology in the colonized world. Resistance can be ambivalent. It may be found, for instance, in the form of the

[4] I have decided to favour the word 'native' over 'indigenous'. Both of these terms have imperial, racist connotations which are inescapable. Yet, the decision by native Americans that 'native' was a more respectful way to refer to themselves in the 1960s suggests that it may be the best word to employ in this book. Semantically, it also seems better to use the more neutral term 'native', born in the area, than 'indigenous', from a local race.

colonized's opposition to the discourse of the past connected to the creation of a scientific narrative of origins in contrast with a mythical one. Opposition to hegemonic views may also be configured as theories formulated within the archaeological framework that oppose the rhetoric of inferiority utilized by colonizers. This implies the acceptance of nationalism, and, more generally, Western political thought, as politically valid (cf. Fanon 1967: 17). In these types of cases, as Spivak (Spivak 1994 (1985)) warns, it is impossible to disentangle the voice of the subaltern, the voice of resistance, from the colonial discourse.

THE PERSPECTIVE AND STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

Structuring a book like this one was not an easy enterprise. I considered many possibilities. From early on I became aware of the allure exerted by the archaeology of the Great Civilizations in Europe and the Near East, which put them on a higher plane than anything else which went on in the discipline. Although this distinction is vital for my argument, the volume has been structured along other lines, integrating the discussion of this question throughout the book. The second option I contemplated was to amalgamate Parts I and IV, giving priority to the developments in European archaeology, and then explaining either the emergence of or the growing interest in archaeology throughout the world in the context of contemporary historical events. I rejected this option because such a structure would have hidden, first, the struggle national archaeology had to undergo in Europe to become accepted as a valid account of the past, and secondly, the influence that the imperial experience exerted on the remodelling of the vision of the past on a global scale. In the end I decided to explore the development of nineteenth-century archaeology along the lines of the possible influence that nationalism and imperialism might have had on it.

The discussion of nationalism, colonialism, and imperialism is not new in archaeology. When dealing with these issues the key reference every author refers to is Bruce Trigger's celebrated article 'Alternative archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist' (Trigger 1984). This work performed a much needed role in raising consciousness regarding the influence of politics in archaeology, but this book differs from it in one fundamental respect. Despite his admitting that 'most archaeological traditions are probably nationalistic in orientation' (1984: 358), Trigger implied the existence of a 'normal' archaeological tradition, which rejected the three categories enumerated above. In contrast to this perspective, the account of the development of

archaeology in the nineteenth century provided in this volume is based on the premise that *all* archaeological traditions were originally nationalistic, either operating in the context of nationalism by itself, or of this in combination with imperialism and colonialism. This book proceeds from the conviction that, as Said put it:

> No one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life . . . there is such a thing as knowledge that is less . . . partial than the individual . . . who produces it. Yet, this knowledge is not therefore automatically nonpolitical.
>
> (Said 1978: 10).

Part I sets the scene. It first explains what type of antiquities were appreciated in the early modern era—mainly monumental antiquities, especially those from the Roman, Greek, and Egyptian civilizations—and why. Secondly, it assesses whether the birth of nationalism as a political ideology in the late eighteenth century had any impact on archaeology, a question that receives a positive reply. Finally, it observes the effect that the newly created discourse of the past had when countries with ancient monumental remains claimed their right to independence. By the end of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth century the learned strata in society, to which those interested in the past belonged, already shared a strong perception of the past as a source of prestige, as a symbolic capital. The revolutions at the turn of the nineteenth century and their aftermath impelled learned individuals to turn to antiquity for some indication that could shed light on the new circumstances. Some authors have pointed out that nationalism functions in very similar ways to religious ideology (Eriksen 1993: 107–8; Gellner 1983: 56). Although during the nineteenth century a replacement of religion by nationalism was only consciously attempted during the French Revolution, the parallelism between both ideologies generally holds true. Nevertheless, it seems apparent that the strength nationalism acquired during that time was connected to the decreasing importance of religion as a cultural system (Anderson 1991: 12). As with religion, nationalism provides people with identity, with a sense of belonging. According to nationalist tenets, individuals see themselves, and others perceive them, as forming part of certain nations and not others. As members of a nation they are expected actively to engage in a way similar, in the opinion of the authors mentioned, to that of religion. Loyalty from their members and cooperation is also needed by the nation.

Nationalism started in Europe. Its emergence is linked to the advent of the modern state, a process which began during the late medieval period and the Renaissance. At that time the power of the Church was curtailed by the civil authorities, at first by the monarchy. Novel technologies such as the printing press required the standardization of grammar and vocabulary, thereby

creating a common language. This allowed the emergence of imagined communities formed by individuals who knew about each other through the information contained in the printed word (Anderson 1991: ch. 3). Once this happened it was easy enough for intellectuals to rationalize the logic behind the political formation of communities and put individuals and their imagined nation at the centre. Their loyalty to the monarchy was now subordinated to—and even substituted by—that of the nation. Nationalism started out life as a political ideology promoted by the intellectual layers of society, but gained popular acclaim over the nineteenth century, becoming a mass movement by its close (Heywood 1998). It increasingly came to be seen as the answer to a growing sense of displacement created by capitalism and industrialization, which had led to accelerating country-town migration. These developments also induced a break in the traditional social structures, which left a gap to be filled by new ideologies of cohesion (Gellner 1983).

Chapter 2 traces the links between the emergence of the modern state in the early modern era and the appropriation of antiquity from the Renaissance to the Reformation, first by the elites and then, by the end of the eighteenth century, by the nation-state. It will start in Italy, where the origins of the discourse on the classical civilizations will be discussed, and then examine the influence that this had not only all over Europe, but also in the areas of the world colonized up to the eighteenth century—mainly America and parts of Asia. Events taking place in the Enlightenment will require particular attention, for the belief in reason as a means to systematically organize the world was underpinned by a novel way of reading the Classics and a new importance given to their antiquities. Increasingly, the work of the antiquarians was felt important for the progress of their countries, and there emerged a sense of group identity which crystallized in their organization in learned societies. Rationalism also led to the creation of the first museums. Private collections were purchased by the state with a didactic purpose. This is how the British Museum was formed in 1753 and expanded subsequently, although references to its value for the British nation would not appear until later, perhaps not until the 1820s (Miller 1973: 124).

Chapter 3 discusses the effect that the events which occurred in France at the end of the eighteenth century had throughout Europe and beyond. It is then that the birth of nationalism as a political ideology is placed by many historians. Following the discourse of the past created in the early modern era, the antiquity most scholars saw as the basis of the nation was still that of Ancient Greece and Rome. These were perceived as the prototypes of the great nations and the ancestors of modern civilization. Napoleonic France was portrayed as a modern Rome, while Ancient Greek and Roman architecture and arts continued to inspire architects all over the Western world (Salmon

2000; Snodin 1991; Vlach 1995; Watkin 1992). In tune with the Enlightenment, those dealing with antiquities perceived their practice as a service to the fatherland, and reason was the main incentive for the study of the past. Through the lessons (Cullen & von Stockhausen 1998; McClelland 1994) learned from antiquity the nation would progress. The main difference with the previous period derives from the inclusion of the appreciation of antiquities in the construction of the machinery of the state. As education was one of the main rights citizens acquired within nationalism, this meant that the state had to provide for it. This led to the opening of state museums such as the Louvre, the institution embodying the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, with the aim of educating the citizens (McClelland 1994: 9). It was here that Egyptian archaeology was first taught. A museum needed exhibits, and for the benefit of the French nation the forceful transfer of antiquities from established museums, such as the Vatican in Rome, took place, as well as the seizure of antiquities from Egypt, to be placed in the Parisian museum. Thus, the state considered it worth appropriating antiquities from the collections of the conquered, and moving them large distances to be exhibited in the capital city. Antiquities had become a symbolic capital (cf. Bourdieu 1977, that is accumulated prestige and honour). This was made possible by the consideration of classical antiquities as the embodiment of the Common Good and the Truth, which the nation had to try and emulate to ensure success.

The effect of nationalism was soon felt throughout Europe and its area of influence, as can be seen in the liberal revolts of the early 1820s, 1830s, and 1848. Although a few were successful, most of them failed thanks to the conservative coalitions formed to oppose them. The exceptions in the 1820s were, as discussed in Chapter 4, to be found in Greece and Latin America, where antiquity was used in claims for independence wherever possible—which at this time meant whenever their antiquities included spectacular monuments of bygone eras. This was the case in Greece, Mexico, and Peru. The main reason behind the success of the independence movements in these countries was mainly the change in the balance of imperial power, to the detriment of Spain, Portugal, and the Ottoman Empire. These states' weakness brought obvious advantages to Britain and France, which established themselves as the most powerful imperial powers with overseas territories for half a century. However, the independence of Greece and the Latin American countries also legitimated nationalism, its discourse about the past, and its claim that nations that could demonstrate singularity in religious and/or linguistic terms had the right to demand political independence. Their success encouraged other regions throughout Europe with desires for self-government. In the case of Greece and the Latin American countries, though,

time would show that, while their independence can only be understood in terms of the appearance of nationalism in Western Europe, later in the nineteenth century both areas would fall prey to informal imperialism, and the evolution of the study of antiquities in them needs to be explained in that context. The lure of imperialism takes the narrative into ever more exotic lands (from a European perspective) from Chapter 5 to Chapter 10. It is only in Chapter 11 that Europe once again becomes the centre of attention.

Informal imperialism—i.e. the cultural imperialism exerted by the European powers over other parts of the world—is analysed in Part II of the book. Several cases are discussed: Italy and Greece in Europe, and Turkey[5] and Egypt in the Ottoman Empire (Chapter 5), the biblical lands (Chapter 6), as well as America and East Asia (Chapter 7). Although nationalism started in Europe and white America, its effects were noted on a global scale, mainly because of imperialism. The European dominance of the world had started in the early modern era with Europe's appropriation of America and parts of Africa, Asia, and Australia. The subjugation of many areas of the world led to the imposition of economic and social values in vogue in Europe, although their reception varied in different parts of the world. The independent states beyond Europe—including countries such as Japan and China—were not static, but also went through changes that explain their reaction towards the European way of life when they were eventually forced to open their frontiers in the nineteenth century (Bayly 2004). Colonialism and imperialism spread the notion of nationalism, and its adoption of a more racial, ethnic and even religious understanding of its basis—the transformation from civil to cultural nationalism mentioned in the previous section—made it more easily applicable to other parts of the world. The belief in history as the key to unravelling contemporary events and the imposition of centralized bureaucracies facilitated the professionalization of archaeology everywhere in the world, a process that was in progress at the end of the nineteenth century and would not come to an end until the twentieth century.

In the organization of the information this book establishes a fundamental distinction between formal and informal imperialism, or, as some would say, formal and informal colonialism. Part II of the book deals with the latter, with the Powers' imperial expansion over independent but weak states, which were subjected to a variable degree of manipulation. Thus, all countries included in Chapters 5 to 7—Italy and Greece, the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the biblical lands, Latin America, China and Japan—were sovereign

[5] I have decided to use the term Turkey although it did not exist as an administrative, political unit in the nineteenth century. The Anatolian peninsula was divided into several provinces which belonged to the Ottoman Empire. They would become the Turkish Republic in 1923. In most of the book I have tried to avoid referring to Turkey as such.

from a political point of view. As a matter of fact, some of them were themselves empires, like the Ottoman Empire, China and, later on in the century, Italy, and even possessed their own formal and informal colonies. Despite this, Westerners operated in all these lands, some brought in as advisers to help with state modernization, others whose occupation was trade, and indeed others who had become interested in studying the cultural aspects of the country. Among the latter there were archaeologists, who had managed to convince state or private sponsorship to assist them in their efforts.

Chapter 5 deals with informal imperialism in the ancient Great Civilizations of Greece, Rome, and Egypt. In Italy and Greece the presence of archaeologists from the Powers—France and Britain, but also from the German principalities and the Scandinavian countries—followed a long tradition. Yet, a new slant came to be added now: the understanding of the power of the classics as the source of prestige, of what was right, good, and useful, became appropriated by the nineteenth-century imperial powers to explain the origin of their might. The archaeology of classical Greece, Italy, and Egypt attracted scholars from the Powers whose initial individual undertakings were increasingly supported by the creation of foreign schools. The attempt by the Powers to control the archaeology of the Great Civilizations encountered resistance, however. This was particularly strong in Greece and in Italy, where antiquities became symbols of the national past and therefore a source of their own prestige. In both areas legislation to ban the export of antiquities was soon instituted, and museums and university chairs were created to allow the curation, teaching, and study of the national antiquities. The result was not a duet—native against foreign—but a chorus of many voices in many languages, that often talked to each other. Resistance was weaker in the Ottoman Empire, whose interest for the past of the Great Civilizations in the early modern period had been much lower. The difficulties faced in controlling the Powers' desire for its Greek antiquities would only be addressed when young scholars educated—at least in part—in the West (mainly in Paris) attained positions of importance in the state machinery. This was the case of Hamdi Bey in Constantinople (modern Istanbul), who from the 1880s was the main promoter of legislation, the modernizer of the Archaeological Museum, and the first advocate of scientific excavations and of archaeological publications. The equivalent figure in Egypt would be Rifaa Rafii al-Tahtawi, but in this case the Powers' greater control over Egyptian politics and, therefore, archaeology did not allow this Egyptian native archaeologist to protect national archaeology as against the interest of the Europeans. His attempts were curtailed by Europeans such as August Mariette, who in his time as head of the Antiquities Service in Egypt did not allow local

Egyptologists to work in the service. Moreover, these difficulties continued after his death. Hamada Kosaku and Tsuboi Shogoro in Japan are two more examples to be mentioned in this respect although in their case, their training took place in Britain.

A note needs to be added at this point. When considering the state's willingness to fund archaeology, it is important to note that the level of state sponsorship was not the same everywhere. Private funding played a secondary role in France and Prussia. In post-revolutionary France the state would be very wary of any institutions besides itself, such as charitable foundations funding archaeology, especially if they had links with the Church. Besides, sponsorship coming from the wealthy was not welcome at a time when the state was trying to break up their large estates. The organization of scientific research was something that was perceived as being a state's duty and nothing to do with private initiative. This situation contrasted with that of Britain and the US, where for most of the nineteenth century philistinism—defined as the hostility towards culture and the arts, and, therefore, a reluctance to sponsor non-profitable areas—led to a comparatively much lower level of state funding than in continental Europe. Some authors point to the powerful image of the 'unintellectual English', which explains the backwardness of British arts and sciences in comparison with its continental competitors. In the 1860s John Robert Seeley (1834–95), in his acknowledgement of this fact in the field of philosophy, had argued that 'that barrenness in ideas, that contempt for principles, that Philistinism which we hardly deny to be an English characteristic now, was not always so', referring to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Collini 2006: 70). I argue that the differences between Britain and the US and the rest of the Western world can best be understood as representing two different models: on the one hand, the Utilitarian model, and on the other, the State Interventionist model (or Continental model). It would be only from the 1870s that Britain and the US became more attracted to the latter model.

It is important to realize that the interest in the past was selective. The first concern was that of civilization, and the understanding of its manifestations and the reasons for its eventual downfall. There was also an alternative concern that guided much of the search for antiquities in certain areas: religion. This issue is central to Chapter 6, in the discussion of the archaeology of the biblical lands, but is present in most of the other chapters of Parts II and III of the book. The study of Islamic, Byzantine, Hindu, and Buddhist archaeology all became entangled with issues of religion, although archaeology was also attracted towards the exotic. The search for antiquities in Palestine had as its purpose to demonstrate or explain the biblical account, and, in contrast to the archaeology of any other area of the world, most archaeologists practised one

religion, Christianity (i.e., no Jewish or indeed Muslim archaeologists were involved in its archaeology at this time), and many were drawn to the field by devotion. Some even lived in missions and religious communities. The centrality of the biblical account was shared in Egypt, Turkey, and Mesopotamia with other issues, but it was important in the work of archaeologists such as the Swiss, Edouard Naville, the Englishman, Flinders Petrie, and the Frenchman, Ernest Renan, among others.

In their search for ancient civilizations the scholars from the imperial powers reached every corner of the world and explored not only relatively well-known lands such as Mexico and Peru, but also territories closed to the Europeans for centuries in the Far East, the areas covered in Chapter 7. The most interesting distinction between both areas is the perspective from which their antiquities were approached: the existence of texts in the Far East made the hunt for documents one of the main objectives of research. The religious debate also influenced the way in which Chinese and Japanese antiquities were considered, for their analysis became connected to comparative studies of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity. The antiquities found in Latin America, however, were not complemented by documents that philologists could read. This led their study to be shared by anthropologists. Both areas, the Far East and Latin America, also differed in the traditions of local research, much closer to the European model in Latin America, for obvious reasons (it was colonized by the Iberian countries from 1492) than in China and Japan, which had been almost completely closed to Europeans in the early modern period. This explains why the number of local experts in the Latin American countries was much higher than in the Asian countries, a contrast that shows similar results in terms of the local institutions created at the time.

The role of archaeology during colonial occupation is looked at in Part III of the book with respect to the cases of monumental archaeology in South and Southeast Asia (Chapter 8), the Russian Empire and French North Africa (Chapter 9). The archaeology of the 'primitive'[6] in colonial lands is assessed in Chapter 10. Chapter 8 compares British India with French Indochina, Dutch Indonesia, and independent Siam (today's Thailand). The very different stories of each of the regions show the wide diversity in the ways antiquities may be used in a colonial context. In all areas there would be expeditions, societies, museums, and legislation, but the rate at which they appeared and the specific forms they took varied from one place to another. A point all shared was the interest in ancient religions—first in Hinduism and then in

[6] In this volume concepts such as 'savage', 'primitive', and 'barbarian' are used as they would have been employed in the nineteenth century and usually written without inverted commas.

Buddhism, as well as an intense involvement of philologists in archaeological research and the very timid appearance of the first native intellectuals interested in antiquities, such as Raden Saleh in Indonesia, Rajendra Lal Mitra, and others in India, and, at the start of the twentieth century, a few less-known scholars in Indonesia. Interestingly, the literature does not provide the names of any native archaeologists from Thailand. The Dutch had been the earliest power to set up a colony in the region, but, in contrast to events in Latin America, the long decline of the preceding native empires meant that the European bureaucrats could not make use of local administrative infrastructure in order to control the territory. The British had established themselves in India as traders, and were subsequently asked to come in as revenue managers. Both the Dutch and the British formed learned societies in the late eighteenth century, which sought to study a very wide range of questions. As India did not officially become a British colony until 1858, it is not surprising that the best archaeology undertaken in the first half of the century was to be found in Indonesia. There, a very active learned society promoted the precocious organization of a museum and legislation protecting antiquities. Most attention was focused on the ninth-century Hindu temple of Prambanan and later on also on the contemporary Buddhist temple of Borobudur, both in Java. The same pattern of attention, first to Hindu and then to Buddhist antiquities, can be observed in India. There, the discovery of the link between Sanskrit and many European languages led to a greater emphasis on philological studies. France's colonial presence in the area started only in the 1860s. After a discovery phase in which the Khmer site of Angkor in Cambodia and the Cham sites of Mi Son and Dong Duong in Vietnam were first described for the Western world, institutionalization started, first with the opening of the Musée Indochinois in the Trocadero in Paris in 1882, and later on with the Mission archéologique d'Indochine of 1898, which from 1901 was called the École Française d'Extrême Orient. This would be the first foreign school to be opened in a part of the world without remains of the classical Great Civilizations. Independent Siam did not remain unaware of the new discourse of antiquities, but in fact made use of it to maintain its political dominance. Kings Rama IV (r. 1851–68), Rama V (r. 1868–1910) and Vajiravuth (r. 1910–25) opened museums and encouraged the creation of societies.

Chapter 9 assesses the archaeology of the Russian Empire and French North Africa. Firstly, it explores how the past was selected in these areas on the basis of the classical model, by which the Romans, Greeks and other contemporary peoples influenced by them, such as the Scythes, still retained their powerful appeal as symbols of civilization. Secondly, it examines the influence religion had in catching experts' attention: whereas Byzantine remains were considered worth studying, the same did not happen with Islamic antiquities. As in

Chapter 8, one of the most interesting aspects of the comparison between the French and the Russian empires is the diversity in the rhythm of exploration and institutionalization, a disparity that has been linked to contrasts between the nature of nationalism in France—much more democratic—and Russia—a nationalism directed from above. Also, the weakness of Russian imperialism can be seen in the involvement in the area of explorers and archaeologists from other European powers—mainly from France, Britain and Germany, as well as in the lesser institutionalization of the study of antiquities in the Russian Empire.

Non-monumental archaeology beyond Europe is the focus of Chapter 10. The dominance of the classical model explains why such a huge subject is dealt with in a few pages: the archaeology of the 'primitive' was not one of the priorities of nineteenth-century archaeology despite it being found in every continent: America, Asia, Australia, the Pacific and Africa. Nineteenth-century scholars assumed that there was no point in studying the past of uncivilized peoples, for they were just survivals, living fossils of by-gone societies which were about to disappear because of their inferiority. Part of the information contained in this chapter is linked to a type of colonialism not considered earlier in the book: internal colonialism. This term refers to the Europeans' settling in territories, already dwelt in by non-state societies, which they considered unpopulated. This happened in areas of Australia not previously occupied by Europeans and in territories which had already been included in existing state boundaries, as in many areas of America. This chapter also contains some information about monumental archaeology. Monumental remains were actually found by Europeans in areas far away from any other civilization, such as in sub-Saharan Africa in Great Zimbabwe, Benin and Ife. There was no question of considering the ancestors of the populations living in the area as their builders. In a process of disengagement, as peoples from the black race were perceived to be at the bottom of the hierarchy of civilization, white authorship was assumed. The chapter finishes with some thoughts about how racism affected archaeology, and how archaeologists and other scientists' opinions on peoples living in small-scale societies supported and reinforced their discrimination, the dispossession of their lands and even their annihilation.

Nationalism in Europe is the focus of Part IV of the book. In order to understand developments in Europe, one needs to be aware of the information provided in the first chapters of the book: the archaeology that conferred prestige at the start of the nineteenth century was that of the classical civilizations. This, therefore, considered as of little value most archaeology in the European lands. The contrast with the situation at the end of the century is clear: parallel to the archaeology of the Great Civilizations we find a

strong, prestigious national archaeology. The aim of this block of chapters is to examine the reasons and processes by which prehistoric, medieval and even Roman archaeology in Europe gained in status to the extent that the state considered it important enough to pay for professionals to study, curate and teach about it. Attention first focuses on the French Revolution and its aftermath (Chapter 11). In Western Europe, in contrast to the awe inspired by the classical Great Civilizations, in the first half of the century the antiquities of the national past did not arouse the same emotions in most learned individuals. As in the eighteenth century (Chapter 2), most scholars saw their own national antiquities as less appealing than the antiquities of the ancient Great Civilizations. Yet, it was in the framework of the construction of a state machinery that the earliest state museums for national antiquities—in countries such as France, Prussia and Scandinavia—were opened as institutions aimed to educate. Nationalism is based on the nation, but for nations to be believable a past for them is needed. A past provides legitimacy to the very existence of the nation. While there was no fear that anyone would dispute France's right to be a nation—and this explains the failure of the Museum of French Monuments which had to close in 1816—pride in the nation was badly needed in other parts of Europe which had been affected by the Napoleonic upheaval. In Scandinavia great quantities of antiquities appeared following the devastation brought by agricultural development. In the case of Denmark, the rapid transformation of rural areas was intensified by new lands put to the plough by the moneyed classes of society. They looked for alternative sources of income following the ruin of maritime trade after the destruction of the fleet at the start of the century. This damage propelled archaeology—especially the study of prehistoric mounds, particularly visible because of the flat landscape—to centre-stage during the Romantic Movement. An early nineteenth-century national song expressed the power of the past thus:

> What the hand shapes is the evidence of the spirit. The ancient peasants built and fought with flint. Every chip you find in Danish soil is from the soul of those who built the kingdom. If you yourself want to find the roots of your existence, value the treasure they left behind!
>
> (in Kristiansen 1992: 19).

A few decades later the curator of the archaeology collection in Copenhagen, Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae (1821–85), connected knowledge about the past with freedom, independence, progress, and race. Worsaae was one of the first professional archaeologists clearly to advocate antiquity as metaphor for the nation. The ambiguity displayed by much of the archaeological evidence made it possible, in Denmark and elsewhere in Europe, for interpretations to be inspired by nationalism. This proved useful for the state and the appointments of archaeologists as state functionaries, with the remit of dealing with

national heritage, increased steadily throughout the century. The post of General Inspector of Antiquities was created in France in the 1830s, and following in the footsteps of several antecedents there was an explosion in the number of museums from the 1840s throughout Europe. Moreover, the first few permanent chairs specifically dedicated to archaeology appeared around 1850 in the context of the schools formed to train administrators in libraries, archives and museums.

In Chapter 12 it will be explained how the shift in emphasis from civic to ethnic nationalism, i.e. from a nationalism based on individual rights, the sovereignty of the people and popular freedom, to another one founded on common history, race, and language, was accompanied by a similar transformation in archaeology. This was no coincidence. Until around the mid nineteenth century the past undisputedly acknowledged as at the root of the nation was classical antiquity, its monuments and other remains. From the second half of the century, although radical liberals did not cease to believe in the nation, they focused their attention on other causes, such as limiting the power of the Church and, to some extent, the aristocracy, and fighting to extend civil liberties and the vote. Conservatives then appropriated nationalist discourse as the ideology's more ardent proponents. At this time the power of nationalism had become obvious to many. Its might resided in people's willingness to identify with their nation, which in most cases meant with their state, as they imagined themselves as members of a society with deep historical roots, whose character was epitomized by a common language, race, and culture. From the second half of the nineteenth century, therefore, ethnic nationalism came to the fore. With it, the study of one's own national archaeological heritage became an important pursuit that both prosperous individuals, and, more importantly, the state, encouraged and subsidized. What was novel was the extent to which the state was prepared to pay for the study and display of archaeological remains—to start with mainly of Greek and Roman sculptures and exceptional objects and monuments, but, soon after, also of national antiquities. Specialized museums—or departments within the existing ones—were opened (and not subsequently closed, as had happened in the case of the Museum of French Monuments, created during the French Revolution). In universities, the teaching of the national past on the basis of its archaeological remains made its first timid appearance throughout Europe. Yet, more than a century would elapse until all fields of archaeology became firmly established in higher education. It was also in the period discussed in Chapter 12 (1820s–60s) that key developments in the discovery of the antiquity of humanity took place. A section has been included about this, but the space dedicated to this topic contrasts with the priority given this subject in other more general

histories of archaeology such as Glyn Daniel's (1947; 1950) and those of many others after him.

Chapter 13 explores the development of evolutionism and its consequences over the second half of the nineteenth century. The growing weight of notions such as 'race' and 'language' in the definition of the nation, especially marked in the second half of the century, would encourage most historians and archaeologists to direct their attention to their study. This influenced not only the archaeology of Europe from prehistory to the medieval period, but also that undertaken in the classical lands and elsewhere. The effect, however, was to strengthen the awareness of national archaeology as well as that of its polar opposite, the archaeology of the exotic, as will be explained in the section on colonialism and imperialism. Interest in the archaeology of the Great Civilizations did not diminish, but had to contend with a growing interest in the national past from the second half of the nineteenth century. Simultaneously, archaeologists' understanding of the past was underpinned by evolutionism, the belief in the transformation of things through time from the simple to the complex, and the belief of progress as one of the powerful motors of historical development. Evolutionism started out life as a radical theory but it increasingly gained acceptance thanks to science's great prestige among intellectuals throughout the political spectrum. The mechanics of evolutionism, despite their universality, did not contradict the conviction of the uniqueness of each nation. This was shown in many forms, such as typologies based on objects exclusively found in archaeologists' national territories and the geographical scope of books and exhibitions. The fact that legislation and institutions inevitably operated at the level of the nation-state further reinforced the sense of the nation. In the universities, the teaching of prehistoric archaeology was integrated into the framework of the natural sciences, whereas Roman and medieval archaeology was combined with philology, architecture, and history.

Chapter 14 puts together some thoughts gathered throughout the writing of this book, stressing the role of the individual in archaeology's emergence as a professional discipline in its national, colonial, and imperial context. Archaeology did not become an established profession because governments imposed its institutionalization, but because people wanted this to happen. Issues of national pride, the role of antiquities in assisting the progress of the nation, the state's realization of the usefulness of having a historical account legitimizing the nation, will be dealt with. Also, the existence of competing views regarding the nation and how archaeologists changed their perspectives over their lives will all form part of the discussion. Regarding imperialism and colonialism, some thoughts will be given to the effect of explorers' and archaeologists' enthusiasm for recording of antiquities and to how helpful

their reports were for the imperial authorities in order to justify their rule. In this context the institutionalization of archaeology in the colonies will be explored, highlighting the diverse ways in which this process took place in different parts of the world. In addition, those factors which allowed the ideas and practices produced by archaeologists from the Powers to become hegemonic, as well as what people did to resist them, will be analysed. The chapter will finish with some comments on what came next in twentieth-century archaeology.

THIS BOOK IN CONTEXT: CHALLENGES AND INNOVATIONS

This book offers a comprehensive history of global archaeology, that is, one that considers all its fields throughout the world, during the nineteenth century. It has not been easy to write, as it represents the first attempt by a historian of archaeology to analyse the development of the archaeological discipline as a whole. Issues range from human origins to the medieval period; from antiquities found in China, in South Africa, in Europe, to those of America, and the Pacific; from research areas also covered by philologists, historians of art and geographers to those also dealt with by physical anthropologists and geologists. The sheer challenge that including all these different aspects entails may explain why it has not been attempted before. Widely used handbooks like Daniel's *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology* (1975) and Trigger's *A History of Archaeological Thought* (1989) mainly focus on prehistory and to a certain extent the archaeology of the Great Civilizations, but silence the civilizations beyond Europe, Egypt and the Near East. The century-old Adolf Michaelis *Die archäologischen Entdeckungen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (1906) (*A Century of Archaeological Discoveries*, 1908) limited itself to the archaeology of the classical Great Civilizations, as did Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli's *Introduzione all'archeologia classica come storia dell'arte antica* (*Introduction to classical archaeology as history of ancient art*) seventy years after. Gran Aymerich's *Naissance de l'Archéologie Moderne* (*The Birth of Modern Archaeology*, 1998) only refers to the archaeology of France and her empire. Many other books deal with specific topics within these areas, but none offers an inclusive view. Schnapp's *The Discovery of the Past* (1993) provides a more global picture, but stops in the mid nineteenth century, just before the explosion of imperialism in the 1870s which took archaeology to every corner of the globe. While encyclopedias, such as Murray's *The Great Archaeologists* (1999), still follow priorities established by Daniel (in the sense

that English-speaking archaeologists working in the fields mentioned above are unfairly over-represented), his *Encyclopedia of Archaeology. History and Discoveries* (2001) contains a more balanced—and extremely useful—summary of events in the history of world archaeology. However, the work does not include a synthesis which would serve to highlight some of the commonalities and contrasts between the areas. This volume represents an attempt to overcome the inadequacies of looking at particular aspects in isolation and provides a more global account, allowing comparisons so far ignored in histories of the discipline.

Secondly, the history provided in this book also differs from others in the way in which the emergence and advances of archaeological practice and theory are described. These are, for the first time, placed within the framework of contemporary political events. The history of archaeology narrated in the following chapters can be described as broadly written from an externalist perspective. As against a more recent emphasis on the analysis of scientific practice (Collins 1983; Latour 1987), this book undertakes a study of the longue-durée, exploring the social and historical conditionings of nineteenth-century archaeological social and technical procedures and theoretical basis. It does not see archaeology as a privileged science, but rather as a product of history (Bourdieu 1993; 2000; 2004). It endeavours to provide a better understanding of the institutional and theoretical development of archaeology over the nineteenth century. It does not attempt to develop an epistemological examination but seeks to explore the novel appeal that archaeology engendered in so many individuals in the Western world and the reasons behind its acceptance as an academic discipline. It looks particularly at the role archaeology played in forging the political map of the nineteenth-century world, in substantiating the historical consciousness at the root of nation-states, nations-to-be, colonies, and empires. For the latter two, concepts from the field of post-colonial studies assist in providing a novel perspective on events taking place in formal and informal colonies. This work also assesses the versatility of the relationship between archaeology and nationalism, paying particular attention to alternative practices and discourses emerging from within the different fields of archaeology. Moreover, this volume also explores the interplay between imperialism and nationalism and its reflection in the tensions and contradictions between the search for the origins of the national past and in that of the Great Civilizations.

Thirdly, the account found in this book differs from others in that it will demonstrate that, despite nationalism—and imperialism and colonialism linked to it—being a key issue in the understanding of the development of nineteenth-century archaeology, internationalism should not be forgotten. It will be stressed that, despite the usefulness of national histories, they only

highlight a small component of broader international trends. In order to appreciate the reasons behind transformations in one single nation or colony, these need to be decentred and contextualized in the framework of what was happening in other parts of the world. This is because there are interdependencies and rivalries between countries with respect to the new discoveries and proposals which transformed the narrative of the past. It will be proposed that, although the Western world maintained its protagonism in developments, other parts of the world—the colonized and those not included in the empires—also participated in them, and events there also affected European scholars' view of antiquity. At the same time, one should not take too simplistic a view of the major economic and political fault lines which divided the globe. The world was not simply split between, on the one hand, imperial powers—Britain and France, then Germany, Italy, with the addition of the US and Japan at the end of the century—and, on the other, non-imperial powers in the Western world. Nor can one argue that there was a sharp dividing line between colonizers and the colonized. Differences within each of these categories were wide ranging. For example, in the case of the imperial powers, there was a great disparity. In Europe there were some countries which were thriving empires for a while, while others aspired successfully—or not—to become empires. Japan went from being prey to the Western gaze to become a colonizer, and the US from being an independent outpost to become one of the world powers. Frontiers between nations were in continuous flux, but even in stable countries such as Britain or France, the rhetoric of imperial triumphalism went hand in hand with rivalries, disappointments, and fears.

A final major aspect that distinguishes the history of archaeology presented in this book from that written by other authors refers to a completely different sphere, that of the development of archaeological thought. The compelling analysis of the advance of science presented by Thomas S. Kuhn in his *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, first published in 1962, led others to present the history of ideas as a series of clear-cut paradigms sustained by scientific communities, with the established group becoming, at some point in time, substituted by another group backing an alternative paradigm. This way of reasoning, whose success some have placed in the context of the time—the student revolutions of the 1960s (Bourdieu 2004: 17)—was followed by many in archaeology. In this book changes in the way archaeologists interpreted archaeology will not be denied, but none of these transformations will be described as a scientific revolution. On the contrary, it will be argued that new paradigms—to use a concept popularized by Kuhn—such as culture history in early twentieth-century archaeology can only be understood as the logical continuation of previous developments (evolutionism in the case of culture history). Moreover, it will be proposed that it does not seem accidental that, at

the end of the nineteenth century, a number of groups claimed that they had come up with novel theories which were going to alter deeply the state of the art in the discipline. At this time the growth in the number of practitioners in the discipline had reached a level that allowed the formation of competing factions. Interestingly, only in the 1960s did group consciousness lead to the emergence of large '—isms' movements in archaeology like New Archaeology. In contrast to the 1960s, and even the 1920s, however, in the nineteenth century debate among scholars was much more fragmented, an impression that is not given by most of the summaries of the evolution of theory in archaeology written in recent years (Gamble 2001: ch. 2; Redman 1999; Renfrew & Bahn 2004: ch. 12).

Part I

The Early Archaeology of the Great Civilizations

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2

Antiquities and Political Prestige in the Early Modern Era

Television programmes about archaeology, the *Asterix* series on many children's bookshelves, Celtic-flavoured holidays in Ireland, the megalomaniacal classical style in the business buildings erected since the late 1980s—all these tell us about the enduring popularity of the past in people's minds. The intellectual 'other side of the coin' are the departments of archaeology, museums of archaeology, and heritage departments operating all over the world. This interest in the past is certainly not new. Whereas the latter—the museums, university and heritage departments—only appeared in the urban landscape less than two hundred years ago, by then several generations of intellectuals with knowledge in the arts had been aware of the existence of an ancient past. A Doric folly on the bank of the river overlooked by the cathedral in the pretty city of Durham was built in 1830 by a Polish count and the eighteenth-century estate of La Alameda de Osuna on the outskirts of Madrid, with its Greek-inspired temple of love with a statue of Bacchus (substituting the original Venus statue that had been taken by the Napoleonic troops on their withdrawal to France)—are only two examples of my own personal daily encounter with the past I have had at different periods in my life. Yet, a different type of past is also familiar to me, a past that is more related to the nation's past. In La Alameda de Osuna estate, in addition to its many classical features, there is an eighteenth-century copy of a medieval hermit's chapel, and a country house which used to have displayed automatons in traditional dress. In the seventeenth century a beautiful Gothic-style font cover was made for Durham cathedral illustrating a continuity with a medieval past.

Many other examples could be added. All of them illustrate an obsession with the past which on the one hand has lasted at least several centuries. On the other, however, they also appear to indicate an initial quasi-fixation with the classical period, which gradually became counter-balanced by an appeal to each country's past. This reveals a continuous transformation in time and space in the discourse of the past. Archaeological material has had a symbolic but ambiguous potential that has been exploited differently in

response to changing values throughout various territories and periods. Discourses about antiquity are not timeless, but need to be contextualized in particular moments in history as well as within their specific socio-political milieux. Perceptions of antiquity also usually respond to particular social strata. All the monuments mentioned in the previous paragraph were initiated by members of the highest classes in society. No temples of love or seventeenth-century-Gothic covers—even the most modest version one could imagine—were ever built by peasants for their entertainment or as a statement about their philosophy of life.

In this chapter, the first section deals with the way notions of antiquity were appropriated from the Renaissance to the Reformation. Early developments of interest in classical antiquity in Italy and its dissemination throughout Europe is explained, as well as how this widespread regard was already being contested at this stage, albeit timidly, by emerging concerns with each national past. In this context, the collections of antiquities and early legislation are analysed. The second section of the chapter considers developments during the Enlightenment, looking at the philosophy and political thought underpinning the use of the past in the eighteenth century. Central to this is rationalism—the ideology that everything could be explained by self-regulating systems of laws—the use of the classics, claims for cultural diversity, the search for national pasts and the construction of a romanticized Greek past. The initial perception of antiquarians as people who were useful for their countries and the emergence of a group identity among them is assessed. Finally, an examination of the way increasingly specialized collections containing antiquities were formed, and the concurrent growth of the antiquities market, is undertaken.

This account of how the past became increasingly subsidized, first by elites and then by the nation-state, can be distinguished from various established ideas in several respects, both in the field of history of archaeology and of nationalism. At present most renowned histories of archaeology consist of internal accounts of the evolution of the concern with the past. Developments in theory and method are normally presented as a progression from earlier achievements. The socio-political context in which these took place is often absent and therefore, it is implied, was unimportant. This chapter demonstrates how unsatisfactory and incomplete this view is, and the way our understanding of the history of early modern archaeology can benefit from recognizing its socio-political context. In addition, the following pages illustrate the manner in which the past was manipulated politically in the centuries before nationalism and in this way became an inextricable part of world history. This characteristic can be traced back to the Renaissance, and even much earlier (Bradley 1998: ch. 6; Jones 2003). The proposition advanced here is the means by which nationalism changed the role of history in politics.

This was not in its use of the argument of the past—for this was already widely accepted from Antiquity.[1] Rather, by turning the study of the past to the service of the nation, and integrating it as one of the main elements of nationhood, the study of the past became included in administrative reform, the result being its social and institutional reorganization. Institutionalization brought a major shift with respect to previous periods. In its first decades as a successful political ideology nationalism meant not only a definite rupture from previous periods in the institutionalization of the study of the historical past (Burrow 1981; Cirujano Marín *et al.* 1985) but also subsequently of archaeology as well. Only from the 1860s and 1870s, as will be argued in Chapter 13, would changes in the character of nationalism—particularly the promotion of the essentialist element into nationalism in what has been called ethnic nationalism (Hobsbawm 1990: 22; Smith 1976a: 74–5)—affect archaeological practice and theory to an extent previously unheard of. Nonetheless, with their theories, archaeologists also had an input—albeit somewhat modest—in the remodelling of the practice of nationalism.

THE PAST IN THE PRE-NATIONALIST ERA: FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE REFORMATION PERIOD

The three centuries before the French Revolution are crucial in the understanding of two apparently independent issues: the rise of nationalism and the promotion of archaeology as a professional discipline. Most scholars looking for the reasons behind the emergence of nationalism first turn their eyes to the eighteenth century, to the era of the Enlightenment and the beginnings of industrialization. Others, however, go further back and draw attention to the discovery of America and the rise of vernacular languages.[2] The latter, though, would not have been possible without the revolutionary intellectual changes which occurred during the transition from the medieval period to the Renaissance in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. From the sixteenth century the effect of these changes would then spread throughout the Western world. It is from this point that this book starts with the search for the roots of nationalism and its interest in the past. To a limited extent it

[1] See Baines (1989); Finley (1975: 22); Lintott (1986); Schnapp (1993: ch. 1); Sparkes (1989); Van Seters (1997). A few comments about this are made in Chapter 7.

[2] Among those identifying the eighteenth century and the beginnings of industrialization we find Gellner (1983); Hobsbawm (1990); Kedourie (1966); Smith (1976b). Those looking back to the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are Breuilly (1982) and Anderson (1991). To the medieval era go authors such as Tipton (1972); Bjørn *et al.* (1994); and Hastings (1997).

would be possible to deepen the quest even further in time, as some authors have done, looking especially into the medieval era. Yet, as Kohn already argued in 1972, even if one could trace a vague sense of nation in the medieval period, it was certainly interlinked with other more powerful and overwhelming contemporary identities, notably religion. It was only later, in the modern era, that the idea of the nation emerged as a cogent identity.

The Italian Renaissance

The Renaissance represented a major shift in Italian and European history. This period witnessed a dramatic change of political scene in the politically fragmented Italian territory. In a largely peasant medieval landscape, urban centres evolved into self-governing mercantile communes ruled by despots. These entities needed new forms of political self-definition and new ways of expressing power that would symbolically separate rulers from the religious medieval discourses. The chosen tool for political legitimation was Antiquity. The first ruler who appealed to the past appears to have been the Roman dictator Cola di Rienzo (*c.*1313–1354). In 1347 he argued in favour of creating a Roman Republic. As a justification for his ideas, Rienzo used the recently discovered Vespasian's Lex de Imperio from the first century CE to attempt to show the superiority of the people over the emperors, by which he meant the superiority of his republic over the papacy (Frugoni 1984). (This episode forms part of the 'mythical' history of the archaeologists working with ancient inscriptions, the epigraphists, who consider it the founding moment of their discipline.) The evidence provided by antiquity proved a great success. The need to substitute the literary and artistic modes of expression typical of the preceding Gothic era led to a move towards history and antiquity. The propaganda needs of the new ruling elites not only led them to commission works of art and grandiose buildings (Payne *et al.* 2000), but also to the fostering of a new historical narrative which included the search for antiquities. The extent to which knowledge of the past was felt to be meaningful led to situations where historians were held in high regard. The King of Naples for example paid his official historian a higher salary than either his defence expert or his architect (Hollingsworth 1994: 4)!

The past adopted by Renaissance Italy was a selective one, restricted to the Roman Republic and Empire of the few centuries just before and after the start of the common era. By extension, some attention was also paid to the Greek and Egyptian pasts. The latter aspect was mainly due to the rediscovery, re-erection and restoration of the thirteen obelisks first brought to Rome by the Roman Emperors in the first century CE (Curl 1982). Prehistoric objects

were also included in the first private collections, though not so much as emblems of antiquity, but as rare objects and curiosities (Skeates 2000: chs. 2, 3). The classical past now acted as one of the new forms of expressions of power. This appropriation took place through the visual and literary arts, in which archaeology was included. These fields played a vital role in gaining, preserving and exhibiting political authority in later Medieval and Renaissance Italy. They created new symbols, actions, and environments and the manipulation of meanings (Rosenberg 1990: 1). Classical history and material culture—classical objects—were used as metaphors for the new form of political power. Roman gods were included in paintings and sculptures representing the new rulers who could be dressed in the guise of Roman emperors, and their effigies displayed on medals imitating ancient coins. The rulers even began to be dubbed *divus*, a term which in the ancient world had been used for emperors meaning 'man made into a god' after they died (Woods-Marsden 1990). Public image attained a central importance during this period, a phenomenon which helps to explain the high degree of emulation between elites, and the rapid success of the new fashion, which was even adopted in the pontifical state, where the Pope acted as a political ruler (Stinger 1990). Rome's classical past gave value to the city. As the writer Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) said, 'the stones of the walls of Rome deserve veneration and the terrain in which the city has been built is more honourable than what men say' (in Alcina Franch 1995: 17).

The detailed study of the ruins and objects of the past was given a previously unknown impetus. The presence of remains from antiquity in the urban landscape of Rome, once the capital of an empire which had reached most of the known world, was exploited by its rulers, the Popes. The papacy needed to restore its credibility after the schism in the fourteenth century, which had taken their control to Avignon, an event that resulted in three Popes ruling at the same time (Hollingsworth 1994: 227–33). Back in Italy, the Popes of the fifteenth century employed a great number of humanists while commissioning the most extensive exploitation of antiquities known until then in the city of Rome (Hollingsworth 1994: 245–58; Schnapp 1993: 122–30). Most of these excavations undertaken aimed to provide prestigious materials and works of art for new buildings, gardens and urban landscapes. Rather than being considered as historical monuments, ruins were used instead as quarries in the search for prestigious tokens. Yet, already in this period some individuals maintained that the exploration of ancient ruins should aspire to a more intellectual pursuit. One of them was Petrarch (1304–74), who argued that to understand the urban landscape of Rome, the reading of the ancient authors had to be helped by the study of the ruins and the ancient objects. Outside Rome, in Naples, Giovanni Boccaccio

(1313–75) also encouraged a critical assessment of monuments (Schnapp 1993: 108). Other scholars such as the Florentine doctor Giovanni Dondi (born. *c.* 1330) incorporated accurate surveys and careful descriptions of monuments into the analysis of the existing documentation (*ibid.*). The study of antiquity was further fostered by the formation of the first academies created to encourage the discussion and exchange of scholarly ideas. Following the example of the ancient Plato's Academia, the Academia Platonica was founded by Cosimo de Medicis in Florence in 1438, and another Academy was opened in Naples by Alfonse V, king of Aragon (1416–58) and of Naples (from 1442). Three genres were developed in this period, adopted first in the study of the Graeco-Roman world and then emulated for other antiquities elsewhere in Europe and America: topographic descriptions; systematic treatises of antiquities ordered into different classes; and, finally, catalogues of collections (Schnapp 2002: 137).

From Italy to Europe: towards the own past, the Wunderkammer and early legislation

If the success of this new language of the past that took place in Italy was due to the new nobility and the emerging mercantile classes, and to its adoption by the papacy, in the rest of Europe it can also partly be explained by the support of the earthly powers of royalty and religion who embraced it partly as a result of emulation. Yet other external factors were also powerfully influencing this process; notably the tremendous impact of economic growth and the changing social composition of the Western world resulting from the expansion of the trade networks to Africa and Asia, and especially from the effect of the European discovery of the existence of the New World. The growth of the new middle classes would powerfully contribute to the break with medieval social and political structures.

To begin with, the majority of—if not all—the intellectuals who were concerned with the past elsewhere came from Italy. Cyriac of Ancona (*c.* 1390–1455) was an Italian merchant who copied inscriptions and drew monuments throughout the Mediterranean. He believed that 'the monuments and inscriptions are more faithful witnesses of classical antiquity than are the texts of ancient writers' (Étienne & Étienne 1992: 26). He provided the historical basis for the Ottoman sultan of Turkey to legitimize the conquest of Constantinople as a revenge for the fall of Troy. A contemporary of Cyriac of Ancona, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, praised the Germans as the people chosen by God who were capable of facing the might of Rome. In 1496 Piccolomini followed this line in another book, *Germania*, describing Turks not as

descendants of the king of Troad (from whom the Romans themselves believed themselves descended) but of the Scythians. The first study of the origins of Gaul, *De Antiquitati Galliarum* in 1485, was also written by an Italian humanist, Paolo Emilio (Schnapp 1993: 114–15, 132).

After this initial moment, however, humanists from countries outside Italy began to write about the history and antiquities of their own places of origin. The Swedish Bishop of Växiö is an early example of an individual who was able to successfully declare his precedence over all the others and have a prominent seat in the 1434 Council of Basle by using arguments based on the past. He argued for such a right as a descendant of the Gothic royal house, which, as an array of quotations from classical authorities testified, had defended Christendom. His claim was only disputed by a Spanish bishop who demanded the same right, alluding to his Visigothic ancestry (Klindt-Jensen 1975: 11). It was not only the religious establishment who made use of the political potential of the past; monarchs and the nobility also started to subsidize antiquarian research financially. Thus, it does not seem coincidental that just after the Reformation, Henry VIII of England sent John Leland (1502–52) to search for antiquities throughout Britain. In the same way, the Spanish King Felipe II instructed Ambrosio de Morales (1513–91) to search for ancient remains that could be contextualized in the monarchy's fight against ecclesiastical power (Mora 1998: 25). Inventories seem to have also been created in Scandinavia (Nordbladh 2002: 143–4). Interestingly, it may be worth indicating a similarity here between Scandinavia—in particular Sweden—with both Spain and Britain: all of them were early modern empires, although in the case of Sweden the area of expansion was in the neighbouring areas of the Baltic (Roberts 1979). Books produced by antiquarians of this period range from the 1546 *De Antiquitate Britannia* by John Leland, 1555 *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* by the Swede Olaus Magnus (1490–1557), to 1575 *Antigüedades* by Ambrosio de Morales, and 1586 *Britannia* by William Camden (1551–1623). On his part, the French King Louis XIV (1638–1715) financed a study of coins as a means for rulers to render their memory eternal (Pomian 1990: 129).

The political context of the study of antiquities is further clarified by an analysis of the Scandinavian case. During the first half of the seventeenth century the disputes between the monarchies of Denmark and Sweden led to a remarkable explosion of interest in antiquities in both kingdoms, which would only decline at the end of the century with the failure of the political project (Klindt-Jensen 1975: 11; Trigger 1989: 49). As a result of generous royal subsidies during this period, antiquarian enquiries developed in Scandinavia further and faster than in other parts of Europe. Given the absence of Roman remains in these territories, early medieval, and also, by extension,

prehistoric, archaeology acquired an importance not seen in other more southerly countries. The religious debates at the time, that were contesting everything that came from Rome, may have also fostered the search for types of past that offered an alternative scenario to those that emphasized their classical origins. This was to have important consequences at a later stage, a development that will be discussed in Chapter 11. The king of Sweden financed the research of Johan Bure (1568–1652) and his team on runic inscriptions, while in Denmark Ole Worm (1588–1654), King Christian IV's personal physician, undertook the same task (Klindt-Jensen 1975: 15–16; Randsborg 1994). Early in the seventeenth century a plan for an inventory of antiquities was created both in Denmark and in Sweden. This inventory would be updated regularly for the next two centuries and, in the case of Sweden, the results were sent first to the Archive of Antiquities and then to the Academy of Natural Sciences (Nordbladh 2002: 143–4).

Scandinavia was not the only place where the interest in antiquities influenced the development of a taste for other types of antiquities than the classical. To take Russia as an example, the Tsar Peter the Great's visit to London, Paris, and Vienna in 1697–8 would become fundamental in the way antiquities were observed thereafter. On this trip the Tsar formed an image of how a European court should look, and this included the growing taste for antiquities. He not only moved the capital from Moscow to St Petersburg commissioning Italian architects to build it in European style, but also ordered outside St Petersburg the erection of the seaside palace of Peterhof to be built as an imitation of Versailles. Peter the Great also opened a public museum in 1719 in the Kikin Mansion whose previous owner had been arrested and executed. Although he ordered the construction of an alternative building, Kunstkammer or Kunstkamera, a cabinet of artistic curiosities, it was not finished at the time of his death in 1725. The ensemble gathered under Peter the Great were varied as was typical in the period—one of his first purchases was a 'Korkodil' and a fish described as Swertfish. In addition, however, there also were works of art and antiquities. Most of the antiquities came from the classical lands, especially from Italy—Rome and Venice in particular—and as usual, classical sculpture took precedence. He also bought some paintings and other works of art (Norman 1997). However, classical antiquities were not the only ones in the collection. In the last decade of his reign, Peter the Great augmented his museum with rich archaeological objects from Siberia that first entered the collection in 1715. The objects had arrived as a gift presented to the Tsar's second wife to mark the occasion of the birth of a male heir. The donor was Akinfiy Nikitich Demidov (1678–1745), a businessman from Siberia who had opened mining developments in the Urals and Western Siberia, silver mines in Altai, and mines of gems and

semiprecious stones. The gift comprised of a set of twenty ancient golden objects found in Siberia produced by the ancient peoples who had once inhabited the Eurasian steppes (map 4). The objects were decorated with artistic animal figures including eagles with ears, lion-griffins, eagle-griffins, wild cats with manes, tails and griffins' heads among others (Norman 1997: 13). Sadly, the discovery of these mounds had led to the formation of bands of semi-professional tomb-robbers who complemented their living melting down gold objects obtained in their excavations of burial mounds. In view of such riches, the Tsar immediately ordered the governor of Siberia to stop the robbery of ancient objects and to arrange for all the antiquities found to be sent to him. The following year the governor was able to send one hundred pieces and apparently the collection continued to grow regularly (Norman 1997: 13). Yet, as years later Gregory Borovka would say, 'unfortunately, this command was soon forgotten' (Borovka 1928: 29).

The prominence of objects from antiquity induced a change in the way in which ancient works of art, monuments, inscriptions, gems, medals or coins and other relics were dealt with. On the one hand, the actual antiquity of objects began to be appreciated for itself going beyond its visual aspect, so significant during the Renaissance. On the other, antiquities were no longer simply stored in churches, but were being collected by humanists, the monarchy, the nobility and increasingly the new bourgeois class (Pomian 1990: 35). This shift was not radical to begin with. Throughout the early modern period, in terms of their contents, collections still partly retained the characteristics of the medieval Wunderkammer (the cabinet of mirabilia, of curiosities) (Impey & MacGregor 2000; Lugli 1983; Morán Turina & Checa 1985; Pomian 1990). Antiquities were stored together with unusual stones, and increasingly with objects arriving from the recently discovered American continent (Alcina Franch 1995: 22–34). Archaeological objects found in the earth were still 'tamed'—presented in the fashion of the period. Thus we find objects such as a proto-historic Lausitz vase, engraved with leaves and provided with a zinc lid displaying the name of the Imperial councillor Haung von Maxen, dated from around 1560, or a Germano-Roman vase, decorated with silver appliqués and a lid for the noble Anthoni Waldposten of Basenheim (Schnapp 1993: 147). However, the signs of modernity were becoming more evident, as shown by the fact that some of these collections were already lodged in universities in the sixteenth century. A collection of objects from the West Indies, for example, was given by Cardinal Cisneros to the Complutense University in Spain (Alcina Franch 1995: 22) (see below). Most of the collections, however, were kept in private houses.

This interest in antiquities, in which the object was increasingly valued for its age and not for what it meant in antiquity, crystallized in the first legislation

promulgated regarding antiquities. In 1622 Christian IV of Denmark passed one of the first edicts concerning the protection of antiquities. This was followed by the statute published in Sweden by King Gustavus Adolphus covering Swedish antiquities on 20 May 1630 (Schnapp 1993: 176) and later by an antiquities law passed in 1666 (Jensen 2004: 64). The earliest date in Scandinavia almost coincides with that of the first legislation by the pontifical state, for in 1624 an edict prohibiting the export of marble or metal statues, sculptures, antiquities and other artefacts was passed (Arata 1998: 48). Later, in 1677, the Spanish town of Mérida dictated the preservation of its archaeological remains through a council bylaw (Mora 1998: 29). Neither Spain nor Italy matched Sweden's early institutionalization, with the creation of a chair of archaeology in Uppsala in 1662, and the establishment of a College of Antiquities in the university of the same town, an institution that would have a great influence for many decades (Jensen 2004: 64; Klindt-Jensen 1975: 26). It also seems that Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–91) taught lessons on antiquity at the University of Kiel (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 115; Schiering 1969). In addition to legislation, many countries in Europe also showed an interest in antiquities by opening academies. Mirroring the creation of the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome in 1603, in 1635 the Académie Française (French Academy) (Gassier 1906) was founded in Paris. From 1663 some of its members specializing in history and antiquity created the Académie royale des inscriptions et médailles (later called Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres, shortened in English as the Academy of Inscriptions). In England the Royal Society was created in 1662 (Lyons 1944).

However, the antiquities of individual nations were not the best looked after. Objects coming from the Roman world had priority, as well as those originating in the ancient Greek and Egyptian world. The latter two were more difficult to obtain, given the difficulties in trespassing on the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire. Yet, some Greek and Egyptian material—mummies and ushabti figures among other objects—started to reach private collections such as that of the Danish physician Ole Worm, later bought for the Danish royal collection (Gundestrup 1990: 48). This was one of many, and was comparable to the older collections gathered in the courts of Munich, Vienna (Kaufmann 1994), Dresden and Madrid (Morán Turina & Rodríguez Ruiz 2001).

From Europe to America

In his search for a new route towards the Indies, Columbus' arrival on the island of Hispaniola in 1492 was most probably not the first landing of white

men in America. He was most likely preceded several centuries before by Scandinavian populations (Ingstad & Ingstad 2001). Yet, the impact that Columbus' 'discovery' of America had for Europe was far more important from an economic, political, and cultural point of view. It meant the Europeans' encounter of a completely new world unknown to them which they were ready to exploit. 1492 was not only the year Columbus, funded by Isabella, the queen of the Spanish kingdom of Castille, reached America. It was also the year Castille ended the war against the Islamic kingdom of Granada, when King Boabdil (Abu Abd Allah Muhammad) capitulated and left the palace of La Alhambra and crossed south over the Gibraltar strait. It was only then that Isabella gave Columbus her support. Following the pattern of land seizure established in Castille for centuries, the new territories of America were soon taken for the crown. Over the three following centuries a period of exploration and warfare against the native populations continued and that resulted in the appropriation of more than half of the continent.

Some of the first Spanish and Portuguese explorers wrote accounts of the customs, history, flora and fauna they encountered in sixteenth-century America. The rate of social change meant that much of what was described there has been subsequently converted into archaeology, and nowadays is considered to be a key source for the history of America before the earliest years of the conquest and of European colonization. Some of these accounts included descriptions of ruins, usually contrasting the grandiose buildings with the impoverished populations the explorers had encountered. Examples are Friar Bartolomé de las Casas (2003 (1542)) and Friar Diego de Landa (1978 (1566)) (for Brazil see Funari 1999: 18). Don Diego Garcia de Palacio found the Mayan city of Copan and wrote to the king of Spain about it in 1576 (see Alcina Franch 1995: table 1, and López-Ocón 1992). The conquest of the American territory meant much destruction and plunder of the kind unfortunately so recurrent in human history (see many examples in Chapters 5 to 10 given from more recent examples of the impact of colonialism in other areas from Egypt to Benin). Some of this destruction was officially authorized, such as that given to the Count of Osorio in 1533, when he was allowed to open ancient burials on the condition that he paid the fifth part of what he found in taxes (Alcina Franch 1995: 21). Sometimes locals assisted with the destruction, as was the case of a village on the Moche northern coast of Peru, where in 1550 the local cacique provided some information regarding a huaca, i.e. a burial tomb, on the condition that part of what was found reverted to the local village (*ibid.* 22).

Yet, parallel to the plunder and destruction, another type of appropriation took place: from the earliest years of the conquest, tax officials catalogued many

objects, including codices, that were subsequently shipped to Spain. One of the assemblages so formed was a group of about 260 objects sent by Hernán Cortés in 1522 that included cloaks and feathered items, and others of jade and gold (*ibid.* 30). The study of how these were distributed by Emperor Charles V all over Europe starts with a trail of family presents, including some to his family in Austria (some of which are now in the Ethnographic Museum of Vienna), and others to family closer to home in Spain, which were subsequently given out to other family members and friends (Cabello 1992a). Some of the material coming from America became the focus of intellectual interest. The first objects known to have ended up in a sort of public collection were a cazabi and a hammock that Father Francisco Ruiz gave Cardinal Cisneros. These were placed in an apparently ephemeral museum lodged in the university he had created, the Complutense University (Alcina Franch 1995: 22). Many of the objects that arrived in Europe were incorporated into private collections, either as a small part of the collection, or as the most important exhibits. An example of the first type was the Italian Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), who displayed an Aztec ceremonial knife and a mosaic mask in his collections (*ibid.* 23). Much more American material had been gathered by the Count of Guimerá, Esquilache and Vicencio Juan de Lastanosa in seventeenth-century Spain. Not only objects were dispatched to Spain at this time; indigenous people were also sent there, starting an ethnographic tradition of living human exhibits that would endure until the early twentieth century. Columbus himself sent some American natives to Spain as 'gifts' to the Queen Isabella as did other individuals such as Father Bartolomé de las Casas.

An earlier political use of antiquities to foster the creation of a national past—parallel to that taking place in Scandinavia, but not under royal subsidy—can be found in the seventeenth-century university professor who was also a priest and colonial administrator, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645–1700). He was a creole, the son of Spaniards but born in Mexico. When a triumphal arch to welcome the new Spanish viceroy was being planned, he argued that ancient local motifs should be used to adorn it instead of the customary classical motifs. As he put it, 'the love which we owe our country enjoins us to cast aside fables and to search out more convincing subjects with which to adorn this so triumphal portal' (in Bernal 1980: 52–3). As a result, instead of classical gods, Mexican 'emperors' were chosen as decoration. Sigüenza created a library of sources for the study of the Mexican past and showed interest in archaeological sites such as Teotihuacan and, more particularly, its Pyramid of the Moon that he tried to excavate (Bernal 1980: 50; Schávelzon 1983). He was one of the first to put forward the idea that Mexicanness was the positive result of the mixture between natives and Spaniards.

NATIONS WITHOUT NATIONALISM: THE ENLIGHTENMENT ERA AND THE PAST

Rationalism, the Classics and classical antiquity during the Enlightenment

The philosophy and political thought of the Enlightenment were crucial preconditions for the later emergence of nationalism. The concern with the past had a central role to play in both. Two main cultural currents arose in this century, neoclassicism and pre-Romanticism. These were not as contradictory as they later appeared, for features of both can be found in the same authors (Pomian 1990: 253; Smith 1976b: 82–4). From the Revolutionary era from the end of the eighteenth century until the 1870s, the focus of interest in classicism would be dominant. The might of the barbarian and Gothic past, so closely connected with romantic ideals, would only be really successful thereafter, although it would never totally eclipse the lure of classicism.

The eighteenth century was the era of rationalism. The foundations of this ideology lay in the previous century, in the mechanical philosophy of nature as drafted by scholars such as the British scientist Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and the French philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650). For them nature could be explained as a mechanism which worked like a gigantic clock, as a self-regulating system of laws. This belief would eventually prove fatal for the survival of the religious modes of thought prevalent until then, opening the political path which would lead to the definite emergence of political nationalism (Anderson 1991: 11; Cook 2004). According to the laws of rationalism, monarchies could only exist because they responded to natural units by divine will. Through this logic, the Enlightenment promoted the primacy of the monarchy as opposed to the religious power; supporters of this belief were named Regalists (Mora 1998: 33; Paquette 2005). In distinction to religious loyalty, the rational, enlightened, political elite advocated patriotism, the readiness to sacrifice oneself for one's community, for its king and for one's country. The 'patriot community' was formed by 'citizens' who enjoyed equal rights and duties. In the view of the most radical thinkers, individuals subsumed within the community should sacrifice their will to that of their fellow citizens (Smith 1976b: 78, 83). The new type of allegiance needed a new vocabulary as an alternative to the traditional religious ones. New concepts such as 'common good' and 'utility' were fostered. Linked to the last was that of 'veritas'—the Truth. Truth had to be discovered and was the basis of science. But it was sensible (i.e. rational) to avoid mistakes made in the past, to learn

from the past in this search for the country's advancement. Collections, seen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a way of continuing and preserving one's image—that of scholars and of their sponsor—, were now seen as enhancing the image of one's nation (Findlen 1994: 293, 395). The new museums were organized on the principles of classification and taxonomy and explained ideas about progress through their exhibits (*ibid.* 344, 398). In 1708 one of the Tsar's advisers, the German philosopher and mathematician Leibniz, wrote explaining to the monarch that the objects in his museum would 'serve not only as objects of general curiosity, but also as means to the perfection of the arts and sciences' (in Norman 1997: 10).

Within the framework of rationalism, the eighteenth century went through a first revolution in the historical method: standards were set and questions that needed to be resolved were asked (Momigliano 1950). This is something that antiquarians, historians, and philologists already did, but the results obtained by the latter two were still considered more authoritative than those of the former. The value of ancient texts had precedence over antiquities, and would clearly remain so for another century. The French scholar the Count of Caylus (1692–1765) complained about this. In his *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* published between 1752 and 1768, he insisted on the importance of using original documents:

> I restricted myself to publishing in this compendium only those things which belong, or belonged, to me. I had them drawn with the greatest exactitude, and I dare say that the descriptions are no less faithful . . . antiquities are there for the extension of knowledge. They explain the various usages, they shed light upon their obscure or little-known makers, they bring the progress of the arts before our eyes and serve as models to those who study them. But it must be said that the antiquaries hardly ever saw them in this way; they regarded them only as a supplement to the proofs of history, or as isolated texts open to the longest commentaries.
>
> (Caylus in Schnapp 1993: 240).

These complaints had little impact on general opinion. In a highly illuminating study of what would later become the United States of America, Carl Richard (1994) explains how the eighteenth-century education system was one of the fundamental institutions for training future politicians in the Classics. Secular education was encouraged to supply the need of absolutist states for well-trained bureaucrats to control their large territories and populations. From an early age young children—especially boys—had to learn by heart passages by Cicero, Virgil, Xenophon, and Homer, and master the rules of Latin grammar. This knowledge would provide a key organizing principle for much of their later learning. As a result of this solidly classical education, the use of Graeco-Roman literature became a common feature among

politicians of the enlightened world. The canon was centred especially on Greek Sparta and Republican Rome, states both characterized by an emphasis on purity, simplicity, high-mindedness, and stoicism. Classical authors provided the basis for conceptualizations of human nature; the nature and purpose of virtue; society's role in its production; of liberty and of the necessary fight against tyranny. The classics also created a common language full of associations. Statues, Roman writers and, in fact, everything relating to the classics were metaphors, precious metaphors which conferred status only on the learned and the initiated members of the society (Richard 1994; Smith 1976b).

The past which eighteenth-century antiquarians took as their model was drawn from both the Greek and Roman past. The former, after the favourable start by Cyriac of Ancona in the fifteenth century, had been left aside, but was starting to be explored again in the seventeenth century, becoming fashionable during the Enlightenment (Étienne & Étienne 1992: chs. 3 and 4).[3] The study of the Greek past would clearly be influenced by its status as the predecessor of Roman art, but, as explained in the next section, it also had a certain pre-romantic component. This factor was only of very limited importance in Italian archaeology, which at this time had a major and uncontested influence. Italy was the centre of attraction, the main destination of the Grand Tour, the journey of discovery undertaken by young men (and some women) of the social elite, for many months or up to a few years, as a rite of passage into a cultured and educated adulthood. Italian antiquities, mainly those coming from the excavations of Rome, Herculaneum, and Pompeii, and from the Etruscan sites, received much attention. But not everybody could afford the Grand Tour trip, and a growing number of less well-off youngsters had to content themselves with an increasing amount of illustrated books.

Herculaneum, Pompeii, Rome, and the Etruscans: visiting antiquities during the Grand Tour

The excavations of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia, the ancient Roman towns buried by the eruption of the volcano Vesuvius in 79 CE, were key in further encouraging the cult of antiquity. Excavations had started from the first years of the eighteenth century in Portici, when the Austrian Prince d'Elboeuf, a general and ambassador in Naples, then part of the Spanish kingdom, found some sculptures when excavating a well in 1711 (Mora

[3] For Danish travellers see Helk (1991) and for the few American travellers see Dyson (1998: ch. 1, esp. 10). For Greek historiography see comments in Ceserani (2005: 415).

1998: 109). D'Elboeuf's state was subsequently bought by Prince Carlos, the future king of Spain and son of Isabella of Farnesio, a collector herself. In 1738 Carlos decided to commission new excavations of what he thought was a temple, and Roque Joaquín de Alcubierre, a Spanish mining engineer, was appointed to carry this out. He would be helped by the Swiss engineer Carl Weber (Parslow 1995) and later by the Spanish engineer Francisco de la Vega who had been born and educated in Italy. The excavations of the town of Herculaneum continued for thirty-eight years until 1776. The location of the village of Resina on top of the lava that had buried the ancient city impelled Alcubierre to use tunnels to excavate the site, a method criticized by many, including Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68), who, however, also recognized the impossibility of employing an alternative method (Mora 1998: 110). The major Roman site to be excavated in these years was Pompeii. Its existence had been known for centuries: in 1535 the ruins had caught Emperor Charles V's attention, and the construction of a channel between 1595 and 1600 had led to new finds. Despite this, excavations at Pompeii only started in earnest in 1748 continuing for decades well into the nineteenth century (Bignamini 2004; Cooley 2003). Work in Stabia took place between 1749 and 1782 (Étienne 1992; Mora 1998: 108–10).

Pompeii and Herculaneum became uncontested pilgrimage destinations on the Grand Tour in which one of the key elements was to experience the classical world through the monuments and the objects retrieved from antiquity. The huge impact of the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum for the development of the Enlightenment is well documented in the specialized literature. However, it seems that the influence of the discoveries was in fact greatly curtailed by the short-sighted limitations put in place by the Bourbon authorities. Until the end of the eighteenth century visitors were not allowed to make notes on their visit to the excavations, had only restricted access to most areas, and were permitted to make sketches of the exhibitions of the excavations on display at the Portici museum, rather than create on the spot representations. As the English architect John Soane (1753–1837) told his students at the London Royal Academy at the start of the nineteenth century, his own sketches of the Temple of Isis at Pompeii had been made in 1779 'by stealth by moonlight' (in Salmon 2000: 226). Publications of the excavations were not available for sale and were only obtainable as a royal gift. Translations in English and French would only appear in 1768 and 1781 (Mora 1998: 113–15). In contrast to the limited impact of Pompeii and Herculaneum, it seems that the discoveries made in Rome and its surrounding area, and to a certain extent those made in north Italy that related to the newly discovered Etruscan monuments, had a greater impact. The Etruscans had been presented to the world in 1723 through the writings of the Scotsman, Sir Thomas

Dempster and the efforts of the members of the Academia Etrusca founded in 1726 (Cristofani 1983; Momigliano 1950; Stiebing 1993: 153–8; Wellard 1973). The material unearthed in the Etruscan tombs led also to interest in Greek vases found there and a debate on their true origin (Burn 2004).

The cult of the Antique nurtured an incontestable attraction towards Rome, perhaps making Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the Etruscan sites unavoidable steps towards the Eternal City, the obvious destination of the Grand Tour. This was a journey in the search for cities, Paris as the first destination and then the Italian major urban centres, namely Rome, Venice, Florence, and Naples. Of them all, Rome had an allure that none other could compete with. Its surviving ruins were being complemented by a continuous flurry of new findings made in an increasing number of archaeological expeditions commissioned by the Pope, visible to all newcomers, and open for study (Raspi Serra & de Polignac 1998; Ridley 1992; Springer 1987). All accounts seem to point to the powerful influence a stay in the ancient capital of the Roman Empire had created in their youth and its effects thereafter back in their countries of origin, both in Europe and to a certain extent North America (Black 2003; Dyson 1998: 3–6).

The antiquities market and classical antiquities in the first public museums

The collection of antiquities, already popular in the previous centuries, became even more so during the eighteenth century. A huge market in antiquities centred on Rome (Mora 1998: 51). The sons of the upper class undertaking their Grand Tour travels were among the major groups nurturing this market. They took home as souvenirs ancient objects as well as art inspired by the ancient world. This encouraged a continuous export of antiquities that could not be prevented by successive inefficient decrees aimed at putting a halt to this practice during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. After a first edict in 1624 others came to reiterate its content in subsequent years (in 1646, 1686, 1701, 1704, 1717, and 1726) (Arata 1998: 48). Greece also experienced the growing market for antiquities although it started later than in Italy, mainly because for centuries the country had been almost closed to foreigners. Before the relaxation of the frontiers allowed the export of Greek antiquities from mainland Greece, the only likely place to obtain them was Italy. Greek vases and other objects had been traded in the classical period and some that had been deposited in burial sites that now were being excavated. This was the case of Etruscan tombs, although during the eighteenth century their origin was still a moot point. Another case

was that of Roman copies of Greek sculptures, which many experts such as Winckelmann thought at the time were original Greek antiquities (Jenkins 2004).

In the Greek lands plunder started when the frontiers became more porous with the weakness of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the eighteenth century. Interest was fostered by societies such as the Society of Dilettanti founded in 1734, which sponsored expeditions in the search for Greek antiquities. As the result of the first of those the architects James Stuart (1713–88) and Nicholas Revett (1720–1804) published in 1762 a four-volumed *Antiquities of Athens* (Jenkins 2004: 173). Winckelmann's interest in Greek antiquities would also help in promoting collectionism. From 1799 to 1806 Britain's protection of Greece from the French threat meant that facilities were given to the British to excavate, or buy in the antiquities market, and return to Britain with the objects. As ambassador to Constantinople, Lord Thomas Elgin was able to acquire during his stay in Athens from 1801 to 1805 many ancient works of art, including those of the Athenian Acropolis, in particular those of the Parthenon. He was controversial among his fellow countrymen—he was famously criticized by Byron (Wood 2001)—as well as among other foreigners in Greece, who condemned his actions (Étienne & Étienne 1992: 72). As a consequence of Elgin's actions the Athenian Parthenon had been left in a deplorable state. This would not be the last incident of this kind. The following major extraction of antiquities from Greek soil took place during these years (1811–12) and was due to a group of English men, Charles Robert Cockerell and John Foster, and two Germans, Karl Haller von Hallestein and Jacob Link. They found the pediments of Aegina and excavated at Basae. The resulting works of art ended up in Western Europe, in London (the British Museum) and in Bavaria (in King Ludwig I's collection of antiquities). The reaction by Greek intellectuals started at this point. In 1813 the Society of Friends of the Muses was founded in Athens. One of its aims was to protect the antiquities, something that they would not be successful in until after independence (Chapter 4).

It was the attempt to stifle the export trade that inspired the creation of the first museum of antiquities in Rome, the pontifical Museo Capitolino,[4] opened to the public in 1733, followed in Rome by the Vatican Pio-Clementino in 1771 (Arata 1998; Collins 2000; Springer 1987: ch. 1). The Museo Capitolino aimed to protect and foster the archaeological heritage. It quickly became de rigueur for all intellectuals, artists, and young men on the

[4] The roots of the Capitolino Museum are in a gift given by the Pope Sisto VI to the city of Rome in 1471. It is located in the Palazzo dei Conservatori and the Palazzo Nuovo.

Grand Tour on their visit to Rome. Another museum was founded in 1750 by (the future king of Spain) Carlos III in his royal palace of Portici near Naples, with the painter Camillo Paderni as director. Objects were displayed in different rooms following a functional logic: sacrifice instruments in one room, kitchenware and candelabra in another one, etc. The display, however, was soon criticized because of the lack of clarity about the site origin of objects (Represa 1988). Carlos III also opened the Accademia Ercolanese in 1755, which aimed to study the objects of the museum in Portici, and resulted in several volumes being published on the paintings and the bronzes found in Herculaneum. However, activities became almost paralysed when Carlos III left for Spain in 1759 (Mora 1998: 112–13).

The example of the Italian museums was emulated in other countries. On the one hand there were the royal collections in which classical sculpture had a relatively important place, such as that of the Upper Belvedere in Vienna, reorganized following neoclassical ideals from 1778, and the Royal Museum in Stockholm. On the other there were state institutions. In 1753 the British parliament decided to create a museum to house the library and the collection given to the state by Sir Hans Sloane (MacGregor 1994). The next major museum, the Parisian Central Museum of Arts—the Louvre—would not see the light until 1792 (McClelland 1994) (Chapter 3). The British Museum was funded in 1753 and opened to the public in 1759. In it antiquities acquired importance throughout the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, its department of antiquities only being created in 1807. To start with, it essentially was a grand library decorated, inter alia, with antiquities—a collection amassed over three centuries by the Medici family, sold first to the state of Tuscany and then to Sloane. It contained coins, antiquities, paintings, books, and manuscripts (Pomian 1990: 42). The balance between library and other collections, and especially the antiquities collections, slowly moved to favour the latter: the initial collection of antiquities was later expanded with the gift received from Thomas Hollis in 1757, the purchase of Sir William Hamilton's collection of Greek vases in 1772, and much later the arrival of Egyptian sculptures in 1802, the Towneley collection of classical sculpture from Italy in 1805, and the Elgin Marbles in 1816 (Anderson *et al.* 2004; Opper 2004). The exhibition of the latter marbles, in fact, had not aroused the expected enthusiasm to start with. The sculptures did not comply with the canon Winckelmann had established for them on the basis of Roman copies. They were considered inferior by some. Debate ensued and in the end the British Museum decided to offer for them a much lower price than that anticipated by Elgin. Having accepted the deal, in August 1816 the Elgin Marbles had passed into the care of that institution (Étienne & Étienne 1992: 63–75).

Following the practice of previous centuries, but with a notable increase in numbers, gentlemen and educated ladies persisted in the creation of private collections in which classical objects continued to be particularly cherished, in opposition to Celtic and Gothic antiquities. Some of these collections were formed by monarchs: the Hermitage in St Petersburg organized by Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725) was among the greatest. Still not officially opened to the public, the Hermitage was frequently visited by well-off travellers (Norman 1997: 47). In Turin the royal collection was put on display on the ground floor of the university (Syson 2004: 113). As distinct from previous centuries, cabinets of curiosities began to specialize in particular objects. Of particular importance were statues, which for the first time were given pride of place. Examples of two of many such collections were those of Marchese Scipione Maffei in Verona (Italy) (1675–1755) (*ibid.*) and of Pedro Leonardo de Villacevallos in Cordoba (Spain) (1696–1774) (Mora 2003). In these collections, however, highly restored statues were usually mixed with modern copies and even false items which were just as highly valued. Emphasis was placed on what they represented and the ancient style they displayed, not on whether they had been made in antiquity (Mora 1998: 49). It would only be at the turn of the century that scholars such as Canova would reject reconstruction in favour of evidence of antiquity (Bianchi Bandinelli 1982 (1976): 107–8). This change would come together with a new emphasis on chronological display,[5] whose most notable example would come in the Museum of French Monuments (Syson 2004: 113) (Chapters 3 and 11).

An exceptional private collection was that of Tsarina Catherine the Great (r. 1762–96), who augmented the collections amassed more than four decades previously by Peter the Great. She used the collection as a way to enhance Russia's reputation in Europe. She bought paintings by Old Masters, books, prints, engraved gems, drawings, and a natural history collection. She also formed a collection of about sixteen thousand coins and medals. Regarding ancient sculpture, she commissioned plaster casts and purchased other collectors' collections. Among the latter was that purchased in 1785 formed by Ivan Shuvalov after he moved to Rome in 1762. Schuvalov had been one of the founders of the University of Moscow in 1755, and also of the St Petersburg Academy of Arts of which he was its first president. He had also been the last lover of the Russian Empress Elizabeth (d. 1762). Catherine also acquired the collection amassed by Director of the Bank of England, John Lyde-Brown, over a period of thirty years and which he had shown in his villa at Wimbledon, near London (Norman 1997: 23, 39).

[5] Luke Syson mentions as an exception the chronological display of Roman emperors at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence already in place in 1722 (Syson 2004: 120).

However, surpassing the private collections just mentioned, the novelty of the eighteenth century was the opening of the first public museums mentioned above. They were a clear indication that, at a civil level, something very important was beginning to change. Antiquities were not the exclusive province of the highest elites in society. The need for them to be located in a designated place was beginning to be felt, where well-off individuals mainly from the growing middle classes and adequately vetted by the museum bureaucrats could take pleasure from them and, more importantly, learn from them. It is, however, revealing that the antiquities in these museums were in their majority classical objects. This is the type of archaeology that was also taught in universities sometimes by philologists such as Christian Gotlob Heyne (1729–1812) in Göttingen (state of Hanover), and by Professor Georg Zoëga (1755–1809) in Kiel (then belonging to Denmark) from 1802, who had a chair of archaeology (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 115; Schiering 1969).

In between neoclassicism and pre-romanticism: philhellenism and the mysticism of Egyptian archaeology

In between neoclassicism and pre-romanticism lay philhellenism and Egyptian archaeology. Philhellenism was born in the eighteenth century, when the enlightened elites associated ancient Greece with nature, genius and freedom in contrast to the unnatural, overspecialized and even tyrannical ways of their own modern world. In Greece itself, it led to scholars' perception of themselves as the descendants and heirs of the ancients (Kitromilides 1994: 58–9). Greek art was promoted and interest in it would reach a peak in Western Europe with the work of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, especially after his *Geschichte der Kunst der Alterthums* (1764) (translated as *The History of Ancient Art among the Greeks*). With his interest in the mechanics of beauty, this work imposed a new vision of Greece based on the sublime and on the notion of freedom. He was among the first in claiming the right of Greece to be independent, a wish that would become a reality a few decades later (Chapter 4). As he argued:

> The independence of Greece is to be regarded as the most prominent of the causes, originating in its constitution and government, of its superiority in art . . . The freedom which gave birth to great events, political changes, and jealousy among the Greeks, planted, as it were in the very production of these effects, the germ of noble and elevated sentiments.
>
> (Winckelmann in Schnapp 1993: 262–3).

The second type of archaeology in between neoclassicism and pre-romanticism was Egyptian archaeology and to a lesser extent the interest in other antiquities in Asia (Chapters 7 and 8).[6] In the early modern era the impossibility of translating Egyptian hieroglyphs had resulted in Egyptian archaeology being wrapped in a cloud of mysticism. The hieroglyphs, it was thought, had been devised to conceal the Egyptian doctrines under an allegoric code. The *Corpus Hermeticum*, a collection of texts supposedly written by Hermes Trimegistus, a contemporary of Moses, had been obtained for the Italian family of the Medicis in the mid fifteenth century. They attracted great attention, and their spell did not diminish in the seventeenth century when it was revealed that they were of older date than previously thought (they actually dated to the first three centuries AD). Many scholars still argued that the texts reflected an older knowledge. Ancient Egypt was considered as the source of wisdom and under this cloak it was embraced by the Freemasons and popularized by operas such as, at the end of the period dealt with in this chapter, Amadeus Mozart's 'The Mysteries of Isis', better known as 'The Magic Flute' of 1801 (Curran 2003: 129; Iversen 1984; Navrátilová 2004: 176).

The comparison between Egyptian monuments and prehistoric buildings in Europe supplies another proof of the position of Egyptian archaeology between neoclassicism and pre-romanticism. The English scholar and Freemason William Stukeley (1697–1765), for example, listed thirteen connections between the Egyptians and the Druids, assuming that the ancient Britons came from the Nile lands (Haycock 2003: 148, see also Cook 2004: 185–6). Rationalism, however, also came to touch Egyptian antiquities, and the mysticism that surrounded them and their differences from prehistoric European monuments started to become apparent after the first official expeditions to study them in situ. One of the most important was led by Frederick Lewis Norden, commissioned by the King Christian VI of Denmark (r. 1730–46). First-hand knowledge of the original Egyptian monuments also greatly increased with the publications of other travellers (Clayton 1985: 9–13; Haycock 2003).

The other side of the coin: organic nature and cultural diversity

The interest in classical archaeology was in some cases directly influential in stimulating an interest in national antiquities. This was the case of the French

[6] To these one could add the practically isolated case of the Dutch Adrian Reland (1676–1718), an Orientalist whose critical study of the Bible took him to study the antiquities of Palestine, see Chapter 6.

scholar Bernard de Montfauçon (1655–1741), who after his travels in Italy from 1698 to 1701 explained that:

> In Italy I had collected drawings of ancient monuments of all kinds which are to be found in greater number there than in the other countries of Europe. In France I continued to seek out and to have drawings made of everything which was to be found in the cabinets of curiosities, and monuments of every kind in town and countryside, and everything to be found in the other countries of Europe, which I collected either from printed books or through the agency of my friends.
>
> (Montfauçon in Schnapp 1993: 235).

As the neoclassicists did, the pre-romantics embraced a cult of nature, but their perspective led them to emphasize different aspects. They established a close link between organic nature, historical growth and cultural diversity. The most elaborate expression of this can be found in the work of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). Herder argued for the uniqueness of values transmitted throughout history. In the seventh book of his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind) published between 1784 and 1791, Herder explained that:

> For every nation is one people, having its own national form, as well as its own language: the climate, it is true, stamps on each its mark, or spreads over it a slight veil, but not sufficient to destroy the original national character…
>
> It is obvious why all sensual people, fashioned to their country, are so much attached to the soil, and so inseparable from it. The constitution of their body, their way of life, the pleasures and occupations to which they have been accustomed from their infancy, and the whole circle of their ideas, are climatic. Deprive them of their country, you deprive them of everything.
>
> (Herder 1999 (1784–91): 49, 51).

In their wish to find natural roots the pre-romantics looked for the supposed essence which made each nation unique. This fostered the study of the past of each country. Antiquarians tried to be useful to their countries, instill them with pride towards their antiquities. In the following text, for example, the Englishman William Stukeley (1687–1765) talks about 'grandeur', 'nation', 'glory', 'noble', and shows a sense of responsibility for the past:

> The amazing scene of Roman grandeur in Britain which I beheld this journey, the more it occurred with pleasure to my own imagination, the more I despaired of conveying it to the reader in a proper light by a rehearsal. It is easy for some nations to magnify trifles… but if in any people action has outdone the capacity of rhetoric, or in any place they have left historians far behind in their valour and military performances, it was in our own country; and we are as much surprised in finding such

infinite relics of theirs here, as that we have no history of them that speaks with any particularity of the last three hundred years that the Romans dwelt in Britain, and rendered it perfectly provincial . . . Yet I hold myself obliged to preserve, as well as I can, the memory of such things as I saw; which, added to what future times will discover, will revive the Roman glory among us, and may serve to invite noble minds to endeavour to that merit and public-spiritedness which shine through all their actions. This tribute at least we owe them, and they deserve it at our hands, to preserve their remains.

(Stukeley in Piggott 1985: 74–5).

The experts increasingly perceived their undertakings as patriotic. An early example is that found in the preface to the weekly magazine *Cimbrisch-Holsteinische Antiquitäten Remarques* written by Andreas Albert Rhode in 1719 (1682–1724): 'For some time all kinds of good patriots have had it in mind that the deeds, tales, behaviour and customs of our ancestors, the ancient Germans, should not be suppressed or abandoned to negligence' (Schnapp 1993: 212).

As regards domestic antiquities most antiquarian studies still centred their attention on the Roman period—at least in the countries that had experienced the presence of the Romans in antiquity. Beyond the frontiers of the old Roman Empire, as well as to a certain extent in the countries within them, there was also an increasing attention on the study of more ancient prehistoric and medieval remains. The search for cultural diversity instigated some scholars to turn their eyes to the prehistoric—especially Celtic/Druidic or Nordic, depending on the country—and to the medieval past. Some even started to see the Roman world not as the model of wisdom and knowledge, but as a source of domination. In two poems published in 1735 and 1745, *Liberty* by Thomson and *Ode to Liberty* by Collins, the Druids were regarded as leaders of resistance against the Roman oppressor (Piggott 1985: 104).

Prehistoric and medieval archaeology attracted a few. Regarding the latter period, in most countries, archaeology focused on architecture, on standing buildings as shown by John Frew (1980) for the case of England. Those interested in prehistoric archaeology could count on some monuments, but increasingly it was felt that for their right understanding excavation was needed. This led antiquarians such as the British William Borlase (1696–1772) and the Reverend James Douglas (Cook 2004: 189), or, later, William Cunnington (1754–1810) and Richard Colt Hoare (1758–1838) (Marsden 1983) to excavate. The number of antiquarians engaged in excavations seems to have been much higher in some countries than in others: they were seemingly more numerous in Scandinavia, where there was a remarkable growth in interest towards the past during the eighteenth century (Jensen 2004; Nordbladh 2002). During the early 1700s stone tools were recognized as

such and not as fossils and the principles of stratigraphy were also accepted, but human antiquity was still understood on the basis of the information provided by the Classics and, especially, the Bible (Grayson 1983). As well as the prehistoric, the medieval past also experienced an upsurge of interest during the eighteenth century: this is seen, for example, in the fields of numismatics, epigraphy and topography (Pomian 1990: 249–53). Focusing on the Swedish case, Ola Jensen relates the increase in excavations in the eighteenth century to a change in the way monuments were perceived. The development of geology transformed the earth from a living organism inhabited by ghosts to a dead substance to be investigated, and the act of excavation itself was invested with method. In this way the activities of the working-class treasure-hunter and those of the antiquarian became separated. Finally, the ethical opposition towards the desecration of tombs was diminished as the language of science became more persuasive (Jensen 2004).

The antiquarians: group identity

There were no professional archaeologists at the time, but eighteenth-century antiquarians increasingly acquired a sense of group identity both as antiquarians and as members of particular societies. This was helped by the development of clubs and learned societies that mushroomed in this century. These were formed by men, for women were not allowed in them in most countries and, even if they were, had not received a level of education similar to that of most clubbable men.[7] The growth of associations during the eighteenth century can be linked with rationality and its connection with sociability. As Porter explains, 'to be a rational gentleman a fellow had to be sociable, or . . . clubbable. Clubs . . . , masonic lodges, tavern meetings, coffee houses and friendly societies flourished in the name of company, fellowship and credit, free republics of rational society' (Porter 1981: 15).

The duality of interests among antiquarians—classical versus the antiquities of the country—was reflected in the creation of societies. Some of the new societies took among their aims the study of classical art and archaeology. One of the earliest was the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres founded in 1701, followed by the Society of Dilettanti of London created in 1734 (Murray 2001: 1178–82). In Italy the Academia Etrusca of Cortona (Italy)

[7] Women's education was mainly directed to 'educate [the man] when a child, care for him when old, advise and console him, make his life pleasing and calm', in order that the husband would find 'someone to whom he could confide his secrets and engage in rational conversation' (Rousseau 1763 in Díaz-Andreu 1998: 127).

dates to 1727 and the Roman Accademia Pontificia di Archeologia to 1740. In turn, those interested in their own domestic antiquities founded their own associations. The Society of Antiquaries in London was created in 1707 as a more adequate forum than the Royal Society, where antiquarians had formerly reported their findings (Sweet 2004: 81–90). A competition arose between scholars interested in classical Italian and Greek art, and those interested in their own country's past—especially in prehistoric and medieval archaeology—, which was manifested in criticisms and accusations of the other group having bad taste and being interested in the 'wrong' antiquities. One example of such an indictment is that of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, a recorder of Roman antiquities and inscriptions and himself a sponsor of other antiquarians (Piggott 1985: 2). He addressed a member of the Society of Antiquaries in 1736 saying that:

> I am sorry to find that Gothicism prevails so much in your Society. If your Antiquarians won't entertain a just opinion of it, they won't believe it to be only the degeneracy of Greek and Roman Arts and Sciences. In this view I my self have admired the laborious Dullness and Stupidity which appear in all the Gothick contrivances of any kind. These Barbarians had the originals in full perfection and yet could discover no beauties for their imitation, but Goths will always have a Gothick taste.
>
> (John Clerk, quoted in Piggott 1985: 56).

Some stood up in defence of their interest in their own country's antiquities. In 1781, during the period of Britain's struggle with her American colonies, the politician and forerunner of the Gothic revival, Horace Walpole observed how:

> Our empire is falling to pieces; we are relapsing to a little island. In that state, men are apt to imagine how great their ancestors have been . . . the few, that are studious, look into the memorials of past time; nations, like private persons, seek lustre from their progenitors.
>
> (Frew 1980: 179).

The creation of the societies dealing with domestic antiquities was increasingly linked with the need to rationalize the state's archives and documents of all types, as well as with the perception of the cultivation of history and antiquities as key to the formation of national honour (Sweet 2004: 83). In Spain the Royal Academy of History was founded in 1735, and that of Noble Arts in 1744, both with competence in antiquities. These would later be followed by the more widely aimed Sociedades de Amigos del País (Societies for the Friends of the Country)[8] created in 1776 to promote local industry, the

[8] One can wonder whether the Friends of the Sciences societies of Central Europe may have had some connection. Sklenár (1983: 78) mentions that of Warsaw in Poland established in 1800 and that of Cracow of 1816.

arts and commerce, with branches in every province in Spain. In 1752, a society of sciences with some interest in history, the Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen, was created in Holland.

The surge in societies would have early offshoots in the colonies. In the Spanish Empire the Societies for the Friends of the Country created branches in many of the main cities of the Latin American provinces (Habana, Lima, San José in Costa Rica, Chile, etc.) from the last decades of the century (see below). In the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences) originated in 1778, and in the British colony of India the Asiatic Society was founded in 1784 to foster 'inquiry into the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences and literature of Asia'. From 1788 the society published an annual journal, *Asiatick Researches* (Chakrabarti 1988: 15; Singh 2004: 8). This journal and other publications became key elements, together with other imperial institutions such as the colleges created in India and England to train colonial subjects, in shaping and disseminating the increasingly established knowledge created in pre-imperial India, and had an influence back in the metropolis (Ballantyne 2002: 32). In the journal, to begin with, historical writings were primarily based on information provided by texts and not much of what we could connect with archaeology was to be found. Interest in inscriptions, coins and sculptures, however, increased from 1830 (Chakrabarti 1988: 21, 32–9) (Chapter 8).

Antiquities in the American colonies

In contrast to the lack of attention paid to the monuments found in the Asian colonies, the monumental past left behind by the major civilizations in Mesoamerica and the Andean areas[9] provided a prestigious base from which some local scholars started to build the historical account of pre-contact America, a period about which the written sources provided little or no information. Parallel to the excavations of Roman sites in Rome, Pompeii and Herculaneum, as well as in other sites throughout the territory of the old Roman Empire and beyond it, in the viceroyalties of New Spain (Mexico) and Peru, and in the Captain Generalship of Guatemala, several sites were dug during the eighteenth century, the most renowned being that of Palenque in Mexico. Known since 1734, preliminary studies were undertaken in the mid 1780s, and these were followed by another one commissioned by the Spanish king in 1787.

[9] In the rest of America, with the exception of a few excavations, such as those undertaken by the then governor of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, at the end of the century (Wallace 2000), pre-contact remains were generally considered unimportant.

Despite the abundant documentation these expeditions to Palenque produced (now in many archives) no publications resulted from them and therefore their impact must have been minimal, at least until 1822, when a translation was published in London. Despite this, the interest in antiquities during the eighteenth century resulted in several publications describing the ruins of other ancient cities such as, among others, Teotihuacán (1757), Xochicalco (1777), and El Tajín (1785) (Alcina Franch 1995: ch. 8; Cabello 1992b), as well as in the inclusion of antiquities experts in the scientific expeditions to Peru and Chile (1777–88) (Cabello 1989; 1991; 1992a).[10]

The increasing interest in antiquities encouraged the creation of private collections such as that formed by José Antonio de Alzate (Alcina Franch 1995: 113). The first known public collection in America was that formed by the Viceroy Antonio Bucarelli (r. 1766–70), on display at the Royal University of Mexico (*ibid.* 24). Yet, the display of antiquities had implications unknown in Europe, as scholars discovered at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1790 two large stones were found in the main square of Mexico City, significantly located on top of the main ritual centre of the ancient Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. One of the stones was a statue representing the goddess Coatlicue—the mother goddess in the Aztec pantheon—and the other a circular calendar. Scholars decided to exhibit the first of them in the patio of the university of Mexico City as if it were a classical statue. The reaction of the indigenous population of humble means (i.e. those who had not received European education and still kept many of the pre-contact traditions and religious beliefs) was, however, very different to that of European spectators or to that of well-off Mexicans. The latter would have either ignored or admired it. For the former, however, Coatlicue did not belong to an idealized past but was an expression of their own religious beliefs. Consequently worship started, first overtly, then, after it was forbidden, in concealment. As a bishop explained in 1805, the Indians had not been interested in the statue because of love of their fatherland, but because of a clandestine religious feeling. The decision was taken to rebury the statue, and this situation continued until after Mexico's independence in 1821. The statue of Coatlicue was only briefly unearthed during Alexander von Humboldt's visit to Mexico City in 1803 (Alcina Franch 1995: 120–4; Matos Moctezuma 1993: 30–3). Humboldt's interest is extremely significant in itself, as it represented the turning point between the eighteenth-century interest in pre-contact Latin American antiquities as the exclusive province of Latin American and Spanish scholars, and a more widespread interest by Northern Europeans and Americans in them thereafter.

[10] As general background see www.expedicionmadidi.com/expediciones.php.

If it was unacceptable that antiquities were converted into the focus of forbidden native religious beliefs, the cult of Antiquity as a source of prestige became acceptable to an increasing number of scholars. Some authors, such as Juan de Velasco in Peru and Francisco Javier Clavijero in Mexico, started to pave the way for the imminent nineteenth-century nationalist appropriation of the pre-Columbian past (Chapter 4). In 1780 Clavijero, a Jesuit who had been exiled to Italy in 1768, published *Historia antigua de México* (*Ancient History of Mexico*). In the preface he explained that he had undertaken the writing of the ancient history of Mexico 'to serve my country . . . and to restore to its true splendour the truth now obscured by the unbelievable rabble of modern writers on America' (in Bernal 1980: 75). Interestingly, the existence of the ancient Aztec civilization in Mexico's territory led him to compare the situation there with that of Greece:

> He who contemplates the present state of Greece could not convince himself that long ago that country produced those great men about whose existence we know, if he were not assured of the fact by the survival of the immortal works the Greeks wrote and by the consent of the ages. But the obstacles that the Greeks must surmount in order to acquire an education are small in comparison to the difficulties that the American Indians have always and still have to overcome.
>
> (Phelan 1960: 765).

Needless to say, despite Clavijero's and other intellectuals' efforts in Mexico and Peru, the idealization of the past and its admission as a Golden Age did not imply a better appreciation of indigenous populations and a regard for their beliefs (Quijada Mauriño 1994a: 373–4).[11]

FROM ANTIQUARIANISM TO ARCHAEOLOGY: TOWARDS THE NATION

As explained in this chapter, the fascination with everything to do with the classical world can be traced back to fourteenth-century Italy (although some precedents in the medieval period have been mentioned above). It was the expression of new political ideologies developed by ruling elites and increasingly also by the moneyed

[11] Nonetheless, there are always individual exceptions. In the US Thomas Jefferson had passed from seeing Indians as savages without history to considering that they were capable of being 'civilized' and hence of becoming American citizens. This possibility led him to attempt to provide them with a history, and therefore to embark on archaeological digs and research into their language and ways of life (Wallace 2000). However, his use of classical authors appears to have had a greater impact (Patterson 1995b: 19–20).

classes of society wanting to reinforce their position in society. The argument of the past provided them with new devices to create a completely new political framework in which to exercise their power. They subsidized antiquarians and historians to search for the idealized past they needed. Only those willing to supply their sponsors with what they requested were able to subsist and proceed with their own intellectual pursuits. Thus, in the process of recovering the past its meaning was accommodated, tamed, to the interests of the social and political elite. Outside Italy, and especially in areas far from the centre of the ancient Roman world, once the past had acquired weight as a political and social argument, it was possible for the monarchs, aristocrats, and other well-off members of the society—and therefore for the antiquarians they sponsored—to assert the importance of their own non-classical antiquity. This, the barbarian past, included both the medieval as well as the prehistoric periods. Both the classical and the barbarian past evolved in parallel ways, and changed just as the socio-political (and not only the intellectual) context in which they were being studied was itself transformed. This was not a unidirectional relationship. Intellectuals, with their ideas, assisted in maintaining existing debates and also originated new ones. However, at the same time, the constraints imposed by their benefactors directed their research to a degree not sufficiently acknowledged in most histories of antiquarianism and archaeology.

At the start of the chapter mention was made about how the past is experienced today. On the one hand, there is a physical and symbolic encounter with ancient objects and imitations of past features in buildings, paintings and the like. This type of experience has been in fashion for at least five centuries. On the other hand, there is also a more professionalized embodiment of the past institutionalized in museums, university departments, heritage bodies and the tourist industry, which has had a shorter history. Institutionalization represented a dramatic shift in the study of the past. It meant an important increase in the number of individuals working on the past, a marked growth in the funding available for its study, its popularization to a degree not known before and the spread of this type of Western discourse beyond its former geographical limits. The circumstances within which all these changes occurred are extremely revealing. In 1789 revolution exploded in France. This was a civilian revolt which contested the previously sacrosanct royal political power and the social order. The success of the ideas behind the French Revolution only bore fruit in the first half of the nineteenth century. Increasingly the monarchy lost power—to such an extent that even its abolition became conceivable. Royal inheritance could no longer constitute the basis on which states were formed, and a new legitimation was needed. The concept of nation provided it. The very existence of the nation (and, as

will be explained later, to begin with only recognized states were considered as nations) implied a long history behind it which had made possible its success. The nation had, therefore, a past, a glorious past which was no longer depicted as a series of royal accomplishments, for its basis was now citizenship. For the new type of history of citizenship new sponsorship was needed. Increasingly throughout the nineteenth century it would be the nation-state which would mainly finance historical—and therefore also antiquarian—study, and in order to make this feasible institutionalization was required. How this transition occurred will be explored further in Chapter 3.

3

The Archaeology of the French Revolution

The nineteenth century saw the emergence of both nationalism and archaeology as a professional discipline. The aim of this chapter is to show how this apparent coincidence was not accidental. This discussion will take us into uncharted territory. Despite the growing literature on archaeology and nationalism (Atkinson *et al.* 1996; Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996a; Kohl & Fawcett 1995; Meskell 1998), the relationship between the two during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has yet to be explored. The analysis of how the past was appropriated during this era of the revolutions, which marked the dawn of nationalism, is not helped by the specialized literature available on nationalism, as little attention has been paid to these early years. Most authors dealing with nationalism focus their research on the mid to late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the ideas that emerged during the era of the revolutions bore fruit and the balance between civic and ethnic nationalism (i.e. between a nationalism based on individual rights and the sovereignty of the people within the nation and another built on the common history and culture of the members of the nation) definitively shifted towards the latter.

The reluctance to scrutinize the first years of nationalism by experts in the field may be a result of unease in dealing with a phenomenon which some simply label as patriotism. The term nationalism was not often used at the time. The political scientist Tom Nairn (1975: 6) traced it back to the late 1790s in France (it was employed by Abbé Baruel in 1798). However, its use seems to have been far from common, to the extent that other scholars believed it appeared in 1812. In other European countries, such as England, 'nationalism' was first employed in 1836 (Huizinga 1972: 14). Despite this disregard for the term itself until several decades later, specialists in the field of nationalism consider the most common date of origin as the end of the eighteenth century with the French Revolution as the key event in its definition. Nonetheless, as is usually the case, there are no clear-cut features that completely separate the onset of the era of nationalism from the previous period. Indeed, the revolutions were a result of the Enlightenment and as such they borrowed many of their ideas from it.

An analysis of the way in which antiquity was perceived during the first stages of nationalism will be the focus of this chapter. The journey will take us from the early French Revolution to Napoleon, then with him to Rome and Egypt. During these years, the past was selectively chosen and appropriated and was mainly appreciated as the source of civilization that had ultimately led to the apogee of the French nation. It was a past which bestowed status. In contrast to the Enlightenment period, the prestige conferred by antiquities was effective not only for members of the aristocracy, monarchy, and religious establishment. Beginning in the era of the revolutions antiquities also endowed the nation with dignity. In the case of France, antiquities and works of art played a role in the formation and enactment of the newly formed French nation, helped to create an image of progress linked to the ancient civilizations, and to ratify French territorial claims.

Increase in the political potential of ancient objects and works of art converted them into metaphors for power and legitimized their seizure. This was partly justified as an act of rescue to prevent their destruction in their original locations. Also, in Paris antiquities and works of art symbolized France's role as the home of freedom and civilization. Housed in museums they served to educate the public, gave continuity to the civilization process, educate the individual and assist the mercantile improvement of the national crafts. Museums' important role in education provided a key means for the propagation of the idea of the nation. In museums archaeology and art based in classical themes took precedence over all other fields as metaphors of the new order. Thus one of the major creations of the French Revolution was the Central Museum of Arts, the Louvre, in 1792 (McClelland 1994: 91–2). It represented the largest collection of antiquities assembled to that point. The example spread to other parts of Europe; in 1798 the historian Aloys Hirt asked the Prussian king to make public his collections, as they expressed world heritage and the whole of Prussia should benefit from it. As he put it: 'They are a heritage for the whole of mankind . . . Only by making them public and uniting them in display can they become the object of true study; and every result obtained from this is a new gain for the common good of mankind' (in Honour 1981: 87).

Parallel to the importance of antiquity in the search for the origins of the nation, one of the key elements that connected nationalism with archaeology was the construction of the modern state. This process, which started in the early modern period, showed a notable increase in its pace during the era of the revolutions, albeit this did not markedly affect archaeology in the short term. Decrease in the power or total abolition of the monarchy and the nobility accelerated the process of bureaucratic state building. New government offices were created to administer a wider range of issues. Efficiency and

impartiality as well as loyalty to the nation-state were sought (Fischer & Peter 1975: 457). Academic study was one of the activities for which institutionalization increased in this period. Archaeology, however, was only partially affected at this time. This is because, despite the growing perception of its importance, archaeology was still considered to be an inferior means of acquiring knowledge of ancient times. For most antiquarian-archaeologists the study of the object was only a minor pursuit. They predominantly followed the philological model, in which archaeology was mainly centred upon the study of ancient works of art and was kept as a secondary tool for history and philology which helped to confirm the information provided in texts (Schnapp 1991). Because of this, history and philology took precedence in their institutionalization and archaeology was affected only to a limited extent.

Despite the inadequacy of institutionalization of archaeology in the era of the revolutions there were a few institutions in which archaeology was valued. They were new creations such as the Museum of French Monuments, the Louvre, the French Institute of Egypt in Cairo, teaching of Egyptian archaeology in the Collège de France, and new legislation on antiquities in Rome. The first one of these was not successful in the short term, at least in relation to French archaeology. It could also be argued that the Louvre was not an original idea of the revolution. The initial core of the collection had come from the royal Luxembourg Gallery, where paintings had been shown to the public between 1750 and 1779. Well before the closure of the Luxembourg museum, due to its conversion into a household for a brother of Louis XVI, there had been plans to open a larger, more magnificent museum of art. Thus, the revolutionists appropriated the project by putting it to the service of their new ideas and this makes it understandable that, immediately after the fall of the monarchy, the royal collection was declared national property. Indeed, the Louvre was not even the first museum to be open to the public. These types of institutions were framed during the Enlightenment as described in Chapter 2. Some authors have described the Uffizi Gallery in Florence of 1769 as the first 'national' gallery, given that it belonged to the state (the Granducato of Tuscany) and aimed to present a comprehensive collection of works of art throughout the history of Tuscany starting with Etruscan art (Bjurström 1996: 41). One could also consider the British Museum as one of the earliest National Museums as it was founded in 1753.[1] What the era of revolutions did as against the previous period was to bring success to the Enlightened project and put it into the service of the political nation. It is only in this context that

[1] Although, as explained earlier in the text, the British Museum was originally a library decorated with antiquities and other specimens (Opper 2004).

we can understand the creation of institutions which, in their purpose, were similar to the Louvre in countries such as Greece and Mexico (Chapter 4).

The institutionalization of archaeology would eventually blossom later in the century. The early protagonism of France may explain why certain French historiographers of archaeology point to the transition between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries as the date of birth for archaeology (Gran-Aymerich 1998), while English-speaking scholars tend to provide a nineteenth-century date (Daniel 1975; Trigger 1989). The difference in opinions is partly related to the type of archaeology studied. Whereas the appeal of the ancient Great Civilizations in the era preceding and even following the revolutions occupies Gran-Aymerich's (1998) history of archaeology, a similar degree of scientific investigation of prehistoric archaeology, Daniel's (1975) and Trigger's (1989) main interest, was not in existence until the nineteenth century. Alain Schnapp's (1995: ch. 5) version is somewhere in between. Indeed this duality will be one of the central themes of the account provided in this book. It illustrates the importance of contextualizing the emergence and development of archaeology during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the political climate of the time, and also the versatility of the ideology of nationalism, for it can integrate several types of past into the history of a national origin.

NATIONALISM IN THE ERA OF THE REVOLUTIONS: A POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Most authors date the emergence of nationalism to the transition between the end of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. In that period a series of revolutions erupted throughout Europe and the Americas:[2] the 1775 first partition of Poland, the 1776 American Declaration of Independence, the 1789 French Revolution, and the 1783 Dutch Revolution, followed by numerous others in subsequent decades. Of them all, the French Revolution was the most influential, probably due to (and as a reaction against) Napoleon's aggressiveness. This turbulent period acted as a hinge between the Ancien Régime and the nationalist world in which archaeology eventually developed as a professional discipline. It inspired many other political reforms all over

[2] Although England's Civil War, which led to the execution of King Charles I in 1649, has been seen by some as an even earlier precedent (Anderson 1991: 21), the rhetoric around these events lacked the vocabulary and the philosophy which characterized the revolutions at the end of the Enlightenment.

Europe, such as the liberal Spanish constitution of 1812, and subsequent revolutionary events of the early 1820s, early 1830s, and 1848. All these were part of the same political movement, a logical consequence of the ideas put forward by the Enlightenment.

The era of the revolutions brought about a new, radical change in politics. This change can be summarized in the transformation which the concept of nation experienced. As seen in Chapter 2, the term had certainly been used widely throughout the eighteenth century but it now became central to the new political scene, its significance being changed in the process. While 'nation' had until this time meant a group of people who were born in the same territory, whether this was a region or a country, from now on it became intimately linked to the concept of state. Or rather, we could say that to begin with, in civic nationalism, larger states appropriated the concept of nation. From 1789 until the 1870s only long-established states, or as an exception those who were granted a glorious ancient history such as Greece, were acknowledged as nations. Smaller states were considered non-viable, and therefore against the idea of *utilitas* central to the philosophy inherited from the Enlightenment. This limitation in size confined the range of possible nations to just a few located in Western and Northern Europe as well as in the Americas. Neoclassical ideals of freedom, utility, and truth remained prevalent, and when taken to their extreme they affected the political basis of the state. Until then the state had been united by the monarchy which, under the ideas of the Enlightenment, could not but be linked with the concepts outlined above. However, once this linkage showed itself wanting, as occurred in France, it was then felt legitimate and patriotic to abolish the monarchy. The concept of nation replaced that of the monarchy as the basis of the state. The French Revolution of 1789 gave the term 'nation' a new political meaning. A nation was formed by a body of citizens and the state was the political expression of their collective sovereignty (Hobsbawm 1990: 19). From that point on, the state would no longer be founded on the basis of a monarchy, but of the people who formed the nation itself. This did not signify the automatic disappearance of all monarchies, but their subordination to the authority of the state occurred more quickly in some areas of Europe, mainly Western Europe, than in others.

The French Revolution, a movement initiated by civil society in 1789, which embodied most of the changes occurring in that period, ultimately led to a shift in the political outlook of the West and in turn of the whole world. The revolution began as an opposition to a new tax that the monarchy wanted to impose. In order to overcome the resistance, for the first time in over one hundred years, the king called the Estates General to meet in 1789. This was a representative chamber in which three estates or classes

of society—the clergy, the nobility, and the middle classes—were represented. However, they met separately, something to which the bourgeois representatives of the middle classes now objected. During the ensuing revolt the delegates declared themselves to be the only true representatives of the people living in France, and called their parliament the National Assembly of Representatives of the French People. Furthermore, they swore an oath to continue in session until a new constitution was established. Initially, the monarchy was retained. Following on from the enlightened rationalist laws which during the eighteenth century had led to the promotion of monarchies over religious power, one of the first important acts of the 1789 National Assembly was the reform of the Church. Confiscation and sale of Church land along with the bishops' and priests' obligation to swear an oath of loyalty to the government was intended to weaken the religious establishment. All these measures led to a decline in the authority of the religious language which hitherto was dominant. Revolutionaries, in contrast, retained for civic patriotism the language of classicism, a language whose prestige was not in doubt.

The constitutional monarchy, established in 1791, only remained in place for a year. In the face of an increasingly radicalized revolution, the king fell in 1792 and was beheaded in 1793. France then became a republic. Thereafter, Napoleon rose to become first consul in 1799. He effectively concentrated all power in his hands to the extent that in 1804 he was enthroned as emperor. Between 1804 and 1814 Napoleon was to invade and rule over almost the whole of continental Europe. In each country he introduced the reforms of the French Revolution, principally an efficient and centralized system of administration and justice. The bureaucracies in place before the arrival of the French were shown little respect in the new system and French administrators, full of an innate sense of superiority, despised their administrés (subjects) as primitive (Broers 1996: 263, 266–8). Through government, schooling and propaganda based on the use of symbols—many of them derived from the classical past—Napoleon promoted not only the expansion of the new bureaucratic administration but also of the ideals of the French Revolution. In the long term both were fundamental for the professionalization of archaeology.

This situation endured until 1814 when Napoleon was forced to resign, and after a brief attempt to govern France in 1815, he was exiled to the island of St Helena. Napoleon's death in 1821 did not constitute the end of the importance of nationalism. The French Revolution had inspired the middle classes throughout Europe and the Americas. Either through France's conquests or as a reaction to them, civic ideas of national autonomy, unity, and identity had even spread to countries whose states were not as solid as France. In all of them diversity, tradition and/or dynastic loyalty were

invoked against standardization, innovation, and/or usurpation. As a counter to French interference, one's own nation was emphasized and the national past was invariably invoked as proof of its existence. In this process archaeology was not yet valued as the main device for exposing the historical roots of the nation, for in many cases antecedents were still either sought in recent history or with a biblical, mythical past invoked for the most ancient origins, or textual evidence was used for later periods. As a way of emphasizing differences from the invading French, the ethnic and linguistic components of a nation and the depth of their roots began to be stressed, a development which bore fruit later in the century and helped institutionalize the nations' own past.

The ferment in this period between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries had important consequences for the political map of the Western world, Europe and the Americas, in the 1820s. As will be seen in Chapter 4, the Greek revolt of 1821 was one of the few which resulted in the formation of a new nation-state in Europe in the post-Napoleonic era. Most of the revolts of the early 1820s, 1830s, and 1848, which affected many European countries, were defeated by the conservative coalitions formed by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, later joined by Britain and France, to repress the legacy of the French Revolution. The situation was very different on the other side of the Atlantic. The revolutions in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the Americas resulted in the independence of most of them. As in Greece, the past was used in these independence movements, although most of them referred only to the centuries after European colonization. Only in Mexico and Peru were the pre-Columbian monuments integrated into the separatist discourse.

The French Revolution signified the universal recognition of both individual rights and the sovereignty of the people within the framework of a new political entity, the nation. For early nationalism, therefore, the nation was a concept linked to popular freedom and sovereignty. It was, as Hobsbawm explains, 'the body of citizens whose collective sovereignty constituted them a state which was their political expression' (Hobsbawm 1990: 18–19). Scholars have called civic or political nationalism that of the French Revolution. In civic nationalism individuals were considered political animals whose self-fulfilment was to be a citizen of a free republic, attaining glory by serving it and being ready to lose their lives for their patria, their fatherland. Initially, therefore, elements such as ethnicity, race, and language, which later formed an essential element of nationalism, and, as we will see in Chapter 12, archaeology, became involved in the search for, were not essential components of the nation. In their place, during that initial period, the key concept associated with the idea of the nation was civilization.

CLASSICISM AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Civilization was a new word, for it had only been incorporated into the French and English language in the mid eighteenth century (Patterson 1997: 41). It indicated the level of perfection of a society. To be a nation was an achievement that only the most civilized states could accomplish. During the Enlightenment, intellectuals regarded the classical world as the source of civilization; much in the same way again during the later years of the eighteenth and early decades of the nineteenth centuries. Priority was given to classical antiquity over national past. The main model selected by the French revolutionaries was ancient Rome. As an heir of the Enlightenment, the power of the classics was immense in revolutionary rhetoric. From ancient Rome came terminology, iconography and models to follow, and the prestige of the classical past influenced the inclusion of archaeology in the university curriculum.

Much French Revolutionary vocabulary had classical roots, but meanings were shaped by the idiosyncracy of the time. Nation, for example, was a Latin word which remained in use in the Romance languages. However, during the French Revolution its meaning acquired the political connotation of 'a body of associates living under one common law and represented by the same legislature' (Sièyes in Kedourie 1966: 15). Another Latin-derived term was citizen (Jenkyns 1992: 6). It came to mean an inhabitant of a free country, a member of an organized political community (Dupré 1972: 443). Even the names of the periods by which the revolution was divided—Republic, Directorate, Empire—reveal the search for roots in the Roman past. As an antonym to monarchy, the revolution used the term republic, which in Latin meant state, to refer to a form of government in which power was held by a group of individuals representing the people. Finally, by proclaiming himself emperor, Napoleon made France the successor to the Roman Empire.

The French Revolution also made wide use of classical history and iconography. As early as 1789, engravings, such as those representing 'The oath of June 17' and an allegory of 'Liberty', displayed toga-clad people set in classical urban landscapes (Furet 1996: figs. 2.3 and 2.5). Architecture also followed classical patterns: monuments designed in this period and inspired by the antiquity of Rome and Greece include the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, the Greek-inspired temple of La Madeleine, and the new Bourse in Paris. Classical symbolism mixed with Egyptian attributes even reached the home in the form of furniture, china, and jewellery. It also dominated the many street charades organized in Paris and elsewhere. Just as in the

Enlightenment period, classical history continued to provide models. However, the selection of the period from which these were taken clearly showed how intellectuals and politicians were influenced by the political scene while at the same time showed how they reinforced certain images with their actions. During the first years of the French Revolution, Republican Rome served as the prototype of a great nation of the past and examples were derived from it. Plutarch's narration of prominent Romans was widely read and Republican France took inspiration from the two famous Brutuses—Junius Brutus who in retaliation for the rape of Lucretia expelled the Etruscan king Tarquin, and Marcus Brutus, who assassinated Julius Caesar (Huet 1999: 53).

Napoleon's rise to power did not stop the influence of the classical world. On the contrary, it saw a new renaissance, although the selection of symbols changed once again. During Napoleon's reign Plutarch and the Brutuses were substituted by Augustus, the first Roman Emperor, a symbol deemed more acceptable in the new political scene. As was the case for most young people at the time, classical studies had been a part of Napoleon's upbringing, from his school days through to military training and life (Cronin 1971: 22–3, 36, 41, 46–7). References to classical models made by him and his friends and subordinates in informal conversations were not uncommon (*ibid.* 103–4, 137). It has been suggested that even some of his military tactics appear to have mimicked those of Augustus, revealing Napoleon's knowledge of Roman history and its influence in Bonapartist ideology (Huet 1999: 55, but see Jenkyns 1992: 32). The image of Imperial Rome was certainly a backdrop to his civil policy. In a letter to his brother Louis in 1807, for instance, he wrote: 'The Romans gave their laws to their allies: why cannot France have hers adopted in Holland? It is also necessary that you adopt the French monetary system . . . Having the same civil laws and coinage tightens the bonds of nations' (Esdaile 1995: 76). The Napoleonic Code, in force from 1810, and even the sewers he ordered for Paris, were all based on Roman examples (Huet 1999: 57). Given such prestige it is not surprising that classical monuments and statues continued to be used as metaphors for the new political landscape.

Theoretically the archaeology of the French Revolution was a direct heir to that of the Enlightenment (Chapter 2). It was an auxiliary source for historical studies, valid because it was useful (the concept of *utilitas* was again used in this framework) because it informed history and served to illustrate its development. Reading about Antiquity improved one's morals, as it helped to guide individuals towards civilization, assisted their education and fostered in them a sense of good taste. Inscriptions, gems, and coins were considered the most effective antiquities to provide data about the past. Monuments

and works of art gave a lesser degree of information, although the latter conferred prestige once moved to a contemporary building. Antiquities were obtained through the antiquities market, through the seizure of other nations' antiquities during military warfare, and also through excavation.

The French Revolution brought initial institutionalization to archaeology. Appropriating a previous Enlightenment project of a public museum (that of the royal Luxembourg Gallery opened from 1750 to 1779), a decree was issued in 1792, the year in which the monarchy collapsed, ordering the creation of the Museum of the Louvre.

> This museum must demonstrate the nation's great riches . . . France must extend its glory through the ages and to all peoples: the national museum will embrace knowledge in all its manifold beauty and will be the admiration of the universe. By embodying these grand ideas, worthy of a free people . . . the museum . . . will become among the most powerful illustrations of the French Republic.
>
> (McClelland 1994: 91–2).

The Louvre received several official and unofficial names during the revolution: Musée Français, Musée de la République, Musée Central des Arts and Musée Napoléon. It opened on 10 August 1793, as part of the celebrations and charades organized for the first anniversary of the birth of the Republic. Free admission reinforced its character as communal and as the property of the nation (McClelland 1994: 94–9). One of the members of the Museum Commission explained that the arrangement of the collections tried to demonstrate 'the spirit of art in its infancy, during its rise and in its most recent period' (McClelland 1994: 107). In 1800, one year after his appointment as Keeper of Antiquities, the exiled Italian, Ennio Quirino Visconti (1751–1818), made possible the opening to the public of six rooms of ancient sculpture (McClelland 1994: 152–3). The Louvre signalled the initial institutionalization of archaeology, but the events which occurred during the revolution demonstrated the limited success of this institutionalization. More than a museum of archaeology, the Louvre was an institution for the arts. If ancient statues, together with plaster casts (Haskell & Penny 1981; Marchand 1996a: 166), and other objects were included in the display it was primarily because of their artistic value (which was partly acquired through the prestige conferred by their age). In the same way that museums of natural history and arts and crafts already existed or were being planned, the need to create a separate museum of antiquities was recognized as early as 1794, but did not come to fruition until many decades later. When a year later it was necessary to decide which antiquities should go to the Louvre, it was determined that only those considered of artistic merit deserved to be there. Other ancient objects of erudite interest were consigned to the National Library (McClelland 1994: 149).

The division between the past of ancient civilizations and a national past also showed some breaches that deserve exploration. The Louvre itself exemplified one of these ruptures for it housed not only ancient Roman and Greek objects but also, from 1795, French medieval and modern sculpture which was transferred from the Museum of French Monuments. The methodology of studying the past of ancient Great Civilizations and the national past also found some common ground as seen in Niebuhr's and Mommsen's work (Chapter 11).

THE SEIZURE OF ROME

In Napoleon's opinion France performed the same role as Rome in antiquity through devices such as the Napoleonic Code that brought peace, order and civilization to the Western world (Esdaile 1995: 74–5). Yet, invasion and conquest became the means by which France exported these ideas to other countries. France invaded Italy in 1796–7, creating what were called the seven 'sister republics' that lasted until 1799. Rome was one of them. In Rome a classicizing language and imagery was adopted. The ideal of the Roman Republic was recreated in situ. Senators, tribunes and consuls were appointed and archaeological charades were organized, many of them in the place where the ancient main square, the forum, had lain (Springer 1987: 66). The selection of this locus was not innocent: by stressing the importance of the forum as the centre, a process of secularization of Rome took place in direct opposition to its centuries-long religious association symbolized by churches and especially by the Vatican.

France's occupation of Rome, however, also resulted in a huge seizure of ancient sculptures and other archaeological and artistic objects which were sent to the Louvre together with other patrimony of later date. Italy was not the only country to suffer the ravage of the French. They also took many art and archaeology collections from Spain, not all of which were returned. In Rome, almost a hundred masterpieces of antique sculpture, mainly seized from the Roman museums—including the Capitolino and Pio-Clementine—, found their way to the Louvre—most of them to be returned in 1815 after the Congress of Vienna (Cronin 1971: 138; Springer 1987: ch. 3). The bust and the head of the two major models for the French Republic, those of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Brutus, were among the first to be shipped to Paris. The Italian antiquarian Ennio Quirino Visconti, who has been defined as Winckelmann's inheritor, helped with their removal and wrote a

catalogue about them while holding his post as curator in the Louvre (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 38).

The French revolutionaries envisioned their own nation as the custodian of European civilization, and this gave them the right to store the best pieces of art regardless of their provenance. In France, the works of art were in their rightful home in the bosom of liberty, creativity and genius, as one revolutionary claimed in 1794 (McClelland 1994: 116). As the directors of the Louvre asserted in May 1796, 'The time has come when the kingdom [of fine arts] must pass over to France as confirmation and embellishment of that of liberty' (in Woolf 1996a: 10). Napoleon was not so diplomatic when he said, 'we will have everything beautiful [good] from Italy' ('Nous aurons tout ce qu'il y a de beau en Italie') (Springer 1987: 64). The arrival of the works of art in Paris coincided with one of the annual festivals, that of Liberty. The collections were paraded through Paris, loaded on the same carts in which they had been transported, which were decorated with garlands and tricolours, and accompanied by marching troops and musical bands (McClelland 1994: 121–3). Not everyone approved. The antiquarian Quetremère de Quincy (1755–1845) wrote in protest about how harmful moving the art monuments was for the arts and science. He argued that in order to understand art objects they had to remain in their place of origin (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 40).

It was only when Napoleon invaded Rome again in 1809 that the French encouraged excavations. During their first occupation of Rome, the French had mostly contented themselves with pageants and pillage. When the French left Rome after their first invasion, the Pope was again imposed as the political leader of the city. In line with the previous Popes and, importantly, as a reaction against the pillage of ancient sculptures and other ancient archaeological objects which had occurred during the first French occupation, Pius VII made an attempt to protect antiquities. He created and enforced a law prohibiting the destruction and export of ancient monuments and objects, defining them as public goods, and ordering that all ancient objects in private hands and all new finds be reported to the Inspector (Springer 1987: 75–8). He also commissioned several excavations, including one in the Forum, and the restoration of several ancient monuments. His aim was not only to encourage an artistic renewal, but also to restore political autonomy and, as Ridley (1992: 17) hints, primarily to refill the museums of Rome which were depleted by the first French invasion. The link between archaeology and power was made clear in his oration on the occasion of the Capitoline competitions in 1805:

> His [Pius VII's] subtle and discerning spirit has fully appreciated this important maxim: that in Rome the arts must constitute one of the principal objects of

politics . . . Our age lacks nothing to rival the greatest days of Pericles, Leo X, Julius II and Louis XVI; and our August Protector of the arts lacks nothing to merit, like these, the name of greatness.

(in Springer 1987: 81–2).

After the papal interlude, France again turned her eyes towards Rome, annexing it as a department from 1809 to 1814 and making Rome the second city of the empire. Archaeology was on the political agenda from the beginning and the protection of antiquities was now promised. Excavations in the Forum continued under the same supervisor that had been in place under the Pope, the Italian antiquarian Carlo Fea (1753–1836). Napoleon financed architects and antiquarian–archaeologists to restore the ancient city (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 40). Several commissions were created to organize and implement legislation regarding Roman archaeology, most importantly the 1811 Commission des embellissements de la ville de Rome (Commission for the improvement of the city of Rome), half of whose budget was allotted to archaeological sites (Ridley 1992: 64). Under the French, excavations were also promoted at Pompeii (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 41–2). In Rome, based on the papal edicts of 1802, 1809, and 1810, more effective legislation was drawn up prohibiting the export of antiquities, regulating excavations, and protecting monuments. Creating a list of all public ancient monuments important for 'science or art' was one of the first tasks undertaken under the new legislation. Its purpose was to describe their present state, assess whether they needed repair, and estimate the costs. A detailed plan of excavations and restorations was drawn up and undertaken under the supervision of experts. The result was an impressive growth in archaeological activity, which was not, however, without its problems, especially regarding finance, and, from a modern perspective, method (Ridley 1992: chs. 3 and 4). Of the changes the French occupation imposed on Rome, one of the most important was its definitive transformation to a classical and archaeological town. This did not stop after Pius VII's return, as archaeology retained its position of importance. In 1816 the Roman Academy of Archaeology was reopened, an act that Antonio Canova (1757–1822), the Italian sculptor who helped the Pope recover most of his seized property from the French and inspected the growth of museums, celebrated as returning peaceful and productive research to Italy (Springer 1987: 88). Carlo Fea was given the title of Commissioner of Antiquities with the remit of inspecting the ancient monuments and churches. Archaeology was again used as an apology for power, as a claim to have restored a legendary golden age, but now the aim was to negate the disintegration of the old system.

NAPOLEON IN EGYPT

Despite France's bellicose expansion, her neighbour to the north was not invaded. An invasion of the British Isles was considered, but, realizing how ill-prepared the French army was for such an enterprise, Napoleon convinced his superiors to attack them on a different front. As a means of interfering with Britain's access to India, he proposed an invasion of Egypt (Jasanoff 2005: ch. 4). Upon approval of the plans, Napoleon landed in Egypt in 1798.[3] The Egyptian campaign eventually ended with French defeat in 1801. The French presence in Egypt, however, was the start of what Edward Said defined as Orientalism (Said 1978: 76), the revelation of the East by the Western experts as the 'Other' in comparison to their own world, as static and despotic in opposition to the dynamism and democracy of the Western world. This 'Other', however, mainly referred to modern Egypt, the contemporary situation of the country as opposed to the Pharaonic period. Egypt's ancient past was not completely unknown to Westerners at the end of the eighteenth century. In contrast to other civilizations, such as those of the Near East and India, about which very little was known, the Egypt of the Pharaohs had not been forgotten during the early modern period. From the sixteenth century onwards the rediscovery and restoration in Rome of the many obelisks first brought there by the Roman Emperors in the first century CE helped to keep the memory of Egypt alive (Habachi 1977; Iversen 1968–72). From the seventeenth century explorers such as the Italian Pietro della Valle (1586–1652), the Danish Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815), and the French count Constantin Volney (1757–1820) (Gran-Aymerich 2001: 696–7; Iversen 1993 (1961); Pope 1975: 54) had travelled to Egypt and documented its monuments. Yet, the difficulties of travelling in a Muslim country under Ottoman rule and, above all, the lack of translatable texts meant that less was known about ancient Egypt than about Greece or Rome. This started to change as a result of the arrival of the French in Egypt.

Some authors have suggested that the motive behind Napoleon's decision to take a large group of scientists, 167 in all, with him to Egypt was his craving to be admitted to the Academy of Sciences. In fact, this was not the first time he had organized this type of enterprise. Napoleon had undertaken a similar project, though on a smaller scale, during the Rhine and Italian campaigns

[3] British fears for Napoleon's presence in Greece led to the presence in Morea of Colonel William Martin Leake (1777–1860), a military geographer who was sent to Morea in 1802 and later in 1804–10. Witmore argues that 'The competing interests of Britain and France are critical to an understanding of Leake's antiquarian practice' (Witmore 2004: 137).

(Solé 1997: 32). Only a month after his arrival in Egypt, in August 1798, he organized the group of scientists, the Commission of Sciences and Arts, into an organization mirroring the Institute of France, L'Institut de l'Egypte (the Institute of Egypt) (Cronin 1971: 151–3; Murat & Weill 1998; Solé 1997: 39). There were four sections: industry, science and mathematics, health and, finally, art and literature. Laboratories, workshops, libraries and studios were set up in an elegant Cairo palace (Fagan 1975: 69). *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte* (*A Journey through Lower and Upper Egypt*) was one of the many works produced by the Institute of Egypt. It was published only four years after the arrival of the French in Egypt by the artist in charge of surveying antiquities, Vivant Denon (1747–1825). The book proved to be extremely successful. It went through forty-eight French editions in the nineteenth century, and was translated into English and German (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 76), inducing what has been called 'Egyptomania' (Jasanoff 2005: 221). The book portrayed the past as the main component of the Egyptian landscape. Denon dedicated his work to Napoleon.

> To relate the greatness of your name to the splendour of Egyptian monuments is to associate the glorious facts of our century to those extraordinary historical periods. It is also to breathe life into the centres of Sesostris and Mendes. You as conqueror, you as benefactor.
>
> (Denon 1802: vii).[4]

Denon explained his own work as a service to his fatherland (patrie), to all French citizens and European intellectuals (1802: xxiii). In his text, he clearly connected Egyptian to Greek and Roman archaeology. He also regarded Egyptian monuments as intimately linked to the Enlightened concepts of beauty and timelessness. With reference to Hermopolis, for example, he stated:

> Eventually I saw the portico of Hermopolis. The large masses of ruins gave me the first image of the splendour of Egyptian colossal architecture. Over each block which composed the building the words posterity and eternity seemed to be engraved... After Denderah (Tintyris) I thought that it was not only in the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders where one can find beauty in architecture. The Beauty is everywhere there is harmony among the different parts... Twenty times I have been to Denderah, and each time I have been confirmed in the same opinion: the decoration of the temple of Isis represents sciences and arts joined by good taste.
>
> (Denon 1802: xiv–xv).

Egypt was proposed as the origin of Greek architecture. Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832), who deciphered Egyptian hieroglyphs in 1822,

[4] Unless otherwise stated, all texts were translated into English by the author.

described the ancient Egyptians in 1824 as 'a people who provided the basis of human civilization, who were the first in the race of the arts' (quoted in Gran-Aymerich 1998: 81). Despite the importance given to Pharaonic monuments, the Roman past of Egypt was not forgotten: Napoleon took to Egypt the *Iliad*, as Alexander the Great had done, Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*. Classical symbols appeared even in books representing the Egyptian past such as the *Description de l'Égypte*, in whose frontispiece Napoleon was depicted in his chariot like Apollo and Alexander. The French imagined themselves as the personification of the Muse of the Arts who had revealed ancient Egypt to the Greeks, for they were now spreading its knowledge to the civilized world, as depicted in the ceiling mural in one of the Egyptian rooms of the Louvre (Reid 2002: 141–2).

Similar to his behaviour in Rome, Napoleon shipped back home some Egyptian antiquities, as well as many other items of a varied nature collected in Egypt, including natural history collections. Whereas previous generations had contented themselves with drawing and studying ancient monuments and archaeological objects, in the nineteenth century the growth of museums as centres of public education demanded a collection of objects for display. As in Rome, the seizure of antiquities was justified as a measure of security, as an act of rescue, as leaving the antiquities in Egypt would have meant their destruction. It was also part of the French mission civilisatrice beyond Europe. Collecting was put on the service of the state, helping to reinvent Egypt in the eyes of the Europeans (Jasanoff 2005: 124). The antiquities, however, never arrived at the Louvre. The French capitulation at Alexandria in 1801 meant that, after some negotiations, their scientists were able to keep fifty-five cases of non-archaeological specimens and scientific papers. With these the French scientists were able to publish the *Description de l'Egypte* (first edition, nine volumes, 1808–22; second edition, 37 volumes, 1821–30), an encyclopaedic, major scholarly production, and an archaeological landmark. All large antiquities were handed over to the British, including the Rosetta Stone. They reached the British Museum in 1802, only to be stored in a wooden shed, due to the financial impossibility of building a proper place for their exhibition (but see Jasanoff 2005: 222–3). Perhaps significantly, only when the Towneley collection of classical sculpture was bought did the British government fund the construction of a new building where both collections were displayed from 1806. Yet, the marginality of Egyptian antiquities would linger for decades (Miller 1973: 96–100).

Over the following years, exhibition of Egyptian antiquities in the major European museums became common starting with an exhibition at the Egyptian Museum of Turin, Italy, an institution opened by Carlo Felice of Savoy (1765–1831) in 1824, with collections bought from the French consul

in Egypt, Bernardino Drovetti. Other institutions followed suit. This inclusion of Egyptian antiquities into the educational project of the museum symbolized both how acceptable it had become to appropriate ancient works of art of the Great Civilizations geographically located in other countries, and a greater degree of institutionalization that archaeology was attaining as a discipline. The legitimization of transport of ancient works of art to the main centres of European power as a means of rescuing them became common. Years after the French attempt and the British seizure of Egyptian antiquities, Colonel Vyse excused the sending of the sarcophagus found in the pyramid of Mycerinus to the British Museum with similar arguments. Unfortunately, this piece never arrived in England for the ship in which it was transported sank. The sarcophagus cover, however, had a better fate for it was sent on a different ship and was exhibited for several years, after which it was put in storage in a depot (Clayton 1982: 69). Egyptian antiquities were eventually displayed in the Louvre from 1827, a year after Champollion had been made their keeper (Clayton 1982: 47; Gran-Aymerich 1998: 82, 100). Likewise, years later in Berlin an Egyptian museum was opened with about 15,000 objects and moulds collected during the 1842–5 Prussian expedition to Egypt and Nubia. Its leader, Richard Lepsius (1810–84), was made the museum director (Clayton 1982: 50).

The importance of antiquities in museums as an educational device was a symptom of an incipient degree of professionalization, by which scholars were paid by the state to work in the study of antiquities. This initial process of institutionalization of archaeology, however, soon showed its weakness. An analysis of the protagonists makes this especially evident: most of the antiquarians mentioned in this chapter were actually artists, architects, or were intellectuals from other backgrounds who felt confident in interpreting the ancient past. Although some became integrated into the incipiently institutionalized archaeological sector, this was not common. A comparison with the same situation during the eighteenth century would show that institutions such as societies and associations were not structurally affected. As then, most were the result of private initiatives, and in them the Enlightened notion of sociability still continued to be linked to patriotism. Even in museums, a closer look reveals the embryonic stage of professionalization. The jobs created were far from well-established. Champollion's post as Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities, for example, lay vacant for almost twenty years after his tenure. A similar negligence occurred with respect to Champollion's teaching of Egyptian antiquities. After teaching a free public course on Egyptian archaeology in the Louvre, in 1831 the Collège de France created a chair in archaeology for him. Although after his death in 1837 this post was filled by Jean Leclant (1787–1848), from Leclant's death the chair was not

occupied until 1860 (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 59n, 77, 81). A final note on protagonists: the French authorities did not feel it necessary to employ only antiquarians born and educated in France. As the Roman example illustrates, Italian antiquarians were hired for work in Rome and were even brought back to Paris where they held positions in the most prestigious cultural institutions of the time. Issues of blood, ethnicity, culture and language would only become integral parts of nationalism later in the century.

CONCLUSION: THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE PAST: BETWEEN THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE MODERN WORLD OF NATIONS

The study of the past was not the same after the emergence of nationalism, but changes during its early years were not abrupt. Contrasts between the eras of pre-nationalism and nationalism were not clear-cut. There were similarities between both periods in the use of the past. Although as a successful political ideology nationalism signified a break from the Enlightenment, only subsequent changes in its character deeply affected archaeological practice and theory. In the period dealt with in this chapter, the use of the Classics was maintained as *exempla virtutis* for emulation, although the focus of attention shifted to particular historical figures that were in tune with the politics of the moment. Antiquarians continued to provide data on monuments and ancient objects, which were then copied by modern artists and architects, turning urban and domestic architecture into a heterogeneous re-enactment of a classical past.

Also, in a similar manner to the previous period, ideas of progress were stressed. The past had to be investigated and lessons learnt from it. During this era, the belief of the essential role of Reason as the basis on which individuals could construct the best form of society, and thereby attain freedom, was intimately connected with the nation. The early years of nationalism, therefore, saw the emergence of a rhetoric which reinforced the prestige already assigned to the Classics in the preceding centuries. The novelty was that their understanding was voiced in terms of a recently coined key word, civilization. Nations had to prove that they were civilized in order to be considered as such, and one of the ways to demonstrate this was by emulating the deeds of great past civilizations. Rome, Greece, and Egypt were not only regarded as models, but as the very genesis of European culture—led by France—characterized by the monumental architecture they left behind. Monuments were seen as one of the key features for the recognition of an

ancient civilization. They were regarded as the repository of the genius (génie) of each people (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 36).

In the name of reason, early nationalism also sought to rationalize the machinery of the state. Growth in the importance of the ancient Great Civilizations to the framework of the modern state led to the institutionalization of archaeology. Private collections were purchased by the state with a didactic purpose. This is how the British Museum was formed in 1753 and expanded subsequently, although references to its value for the British nation would not appear until later, perhaps not until the 1820s (Miller 1973: 124). In France, despite the failure to create a specific museum of antiquities, many of these collections were housed in the Louvre, the institution embodying the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity with the aim of educating the citizens (McClelland 1994: 9). It was here that Egyptian archaeology was first taught; being later continued in the Collège de France. The institutionalization of this period, however, suffered from discontinuities which were only overcome in the second half of the nineteenth century when liberal ideas took root. This is also another reason why the early years of nationalism represented only a transitional period in the professionalization of archaeology.

4

Archaeology and the 1820 Liberal Revolution: The Past in the Independence of Greece and Latin American Nations

Nationalism did not end with Napoleon's downfall, despite the intention of those who outplayed him in 1815. Events evolved in such a way that there would be no way back. The changes in administration, legislation, and institutionalization established in many European countries, and by extension in their colonies, during the Napoleonic period brought efficiency to the state apparatus and statesmen could not afford to return to the old structures. Initially, however, the coalition of countries that defeated the French general set about reconstructing the political structures that had reigned in the period before the French Revolution. In a series of congresses starting in Vienna, the most powerful states in Europe—Russia, Prussia, and Austria, later joined by Britain and post-Napoleonic France—set about reinstating absolutist monarchies as the only acceptable political system. They also agreed to a series of alliances resulting in the domination of the monarchical system in European politics for at least three decades. These powers joined forces to fight all three consecutive liberal revolutions that raged across Europe and the Americas, in 1820, 1830, and 1848, each saturated with nationalist ideals. The events which provide the focus for this chapter belong to the first of those revolutions, that of 1820 (see also Chapter 11), and resulted in the creation of several new countries: Greece and the new Latin American states. In all, nationalism was at the rhetorical basis of the claims for independence. The past, accordingly, played an important role in the formation of the historical imagination which was crucial to the demand for self-determination.

The antiquities appropriated by the Greek and by Latin American countries were still in line with those which had been favoured during the French Revolution: those of the Great Civilizations. However, in revolutionary France this type of archaeology had resulted in an association with symbols and material culture whose provenance was to a very limited extent in their own territory (Chapter 11) or was not on French soil but in distant countries such as Italy, Greece, and the Ottoman Empire (Chapter 3). Antiquities of the

Great Civilizations had been judged as symbols of progress, emblems of the first steps on a long historical route which led to civilization and the French nation and, therefore, to freedom. Yet, when this discourse was applied to countries such as Greece, this led to a very different result. There, antiquities became a metaphor not only for civilization but also for the territory and the political rights of the nation itself. The ancient Greek past, their own past and not that of others, was evidence for the Greeks' right to self-determination. Significantly, the powers of the conservative coalition, formed to annihilate the legacy of the French Revolution which set about to repress all liberal revolts, made an exception for Greece. The Greek revolt of 1821 erupted after a decade of struggle to form, under the principles of nationalism, the first new nation-state in post-Napoleonic Europe. The internal circumstances within Greece helped the revolutionaries' ambitions. Firstly, in Greece, there was a Christian population ruled by an Islamic power, the Ottoman Empire, and from a religious perspective the allies approved of Greece's independence. Secondly, it did not appeal to the European conservative coalition that the classical roots of civilization were in non-European hands. Therefore, with their help, the coalition allowed a different type of nationalism from that of the era of the revolutions to gain importance in the European political landscape: nationalism based on the unique history and culture of the members of the nation and not on the rights of the individual and the sovereignty of the people within the nation. The ultimate justification for Greece's right to independence was its cultural essence, a combination of its religion and its unique history and culture. The Greek language was part of that culture, for the similarity of modern to ancient Greek symbolized the unbroken tradition which linked contemporary and ancient Greece.

Far from the eastern Mediterranean, in America, the rhetoric of freedom had also arrived in the central and southern parts of the continent. The independence of the United States from Britain in 1776 had not greatly affected the continuation of the other colonies. Only in 1867 would part of Canada be granted a constitution by Britain, and other Canadian territories soon were included (map 1). Decades earlier, however, half of North America and all of South America was still under the rule of the Iberian countries, Spain and Portugal. After a first attempt at independence, during the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula between 1807 and 1814, Latin America remained under the influence of both European powers for a few more years—with the exception of the southern tip, which became independent in 1816 and called the United Provinces of the Plata River. One could argue that the opposite had happened in Brazil. The Portuguese Prince Regent João (later King João VI), escaping from Napoleon, fled there and took with him a cast of aristocrats and functionaries and made Rio de Janeiro the centre of the Portuguese Empire

for a decade. This was an obvious benefit for Brazil as many of the legal monopolies Portugal had enjoyed were abolished. João remained in Brazil until the revolutions of 1820 in Portugal, when he decided it was time to return to Europe. He left his son Pedro in Brazil as Regent. The ensuing Portuguese attempts to return Brazil to its pre-nineteenth-century colonial role led to opposition and to the proclamation of independence of the country in 1822. The liberal revolutions of 1820 also brought havoc to Spain, a period which was used by Latin American revolutionaries to rise again (the first time having been timed with the Napoleonic invasion of Spain in 1808–14) and declare independence.

Interestingly, during the Latin American revolutions of the 1820s the history of the period before the arrival of Europeans in America, the pre-Columbian past, was used as a propaganda tool, especially by those intellectuals living in areas where ancient civilizations had been located: Mexico and Peru. Importantly, similarities were drawn with the monuments of the ancient Great Civilizations. There were pyramids like in Egypt and large buildings that assisted in the material symbolization of the historical imagination. There were also documents describing mighty rulers. As in Greece, the ancient states that had developed in their national territories were no longer viewed as an abstract source of civilization to inspire the forward march of progress, but as part of their own singular history. A link between modern populations and the ancient civilizations was established, one that rooted nations in a glorious past. As civilized peoples, their claim to self-government became legitimized in the eyes of the other major nation-states.

In Greece and Latin America nationalism began to show its potential, not only to consolidate large countries such as France on a different basis from the monarchical institutions which had previously predominated, but also to create new nation-states by splitting previous imperial formations such as the Ottoman, Spanish, and Portuguese empires. Antiquities, as the embodiment of the past and symbols of the very existence of the nation, had an important, active role to play in these political changes. There was, however, a significant difference between Greece and Latin America that in later years would prove to be of crucial importance. Whereas Greek antiquity was accepted as part of the glorious origins of Europe, the American pre-Columbian civilizations were not. The latter lost their prestige around the mid nineteenth century due to the rise of racism and its significant role in ethnic nationalism (Chapter 12). During that later period antiquarians struggled to have their own antiquities considered as prestigious material remains of the primeval times of the Mexican and Peruvian nations. This change in the perceived value of race explains the unequal development of archaeology in Greece and the Latin American countries. Classical archaeology continued to enjoy a

high reputation and foreign institutes opened in Rome and Athens (Chapter 5). In contrast, the appeal to the past of the Mesoamerican and Andean civilizations by Mexican and Peruvian nationalists was momentarily eclipsed only to re-emerge later in the nineteenth century.

THE PAST IN THE STRUGGLE FOR GREEK INDEPENDENCE

> We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts have their root in Greece. But for Greece . . . we might still have been savages and idolaters . . . The human form and the human mind attained to a perfection in Greece . . . The Modern Greek is the descendant of those glorious beings.
>
> (Shelley 1821 (1965): 8) Preface to *Hellas*.

Mary Shelley (1797–1851), the Romantic English writer, included in this quote two of the tenets of philhellenism. First, ancient Greece was the origin of civilization—therefore, the birthplace of the Western nations. Second, modern Greeks were the direct descendants of ancient Greece. In addition, there was the conviction that ancient Greece was the cradle of political freedom and that it was increasingly unacceptable for Greece, as a Christian country, to be under the Islamic rule of the Ottoman Empire. For philhellenes Greek regeneration was only possible through independence.

Philhellenism was born in the eighteenth century. As explained in Chapter 2, the enlightened elites imagined Greece as the land of nature, genius, and freedom as opposed to their own experience of living in an artificial, overspecialized and authoritarian world. These ideas permeated the emergent Greek mercantile middle classes and contemporary Greek scholars, who laid the foundations for the later development of Greek nationalism. Through their contacts with the West, they realized the respect with which Western elites regarded ancient Greece, to the extent that archaeological collections of Greek vases and statues were exhibited in the best and most appreciated museums. They also became aware of the backwardness of the Ottoman Empire of which they were a part. Their rejection of their masters was partly instigated by the Russians as part of Russia's strategy to weaken their rival in the southwest (Kitromilides 1994: (II) 357–9). Educated Greeks became proud of the language they had inherited from their ancestors. During the last three decades of the eighteenth century and the first two of the nineteenth century, the new economic elite in Greece subsidized schoolteachers to study in Western universities where they became familiar with Western philhellenism. Europeanized Greek intellectuals began to imitate antiquity as a way of

reviving it: they began to write in the language of the ancients, to promote the use of ancient names for the new generations, and on occasions even to dress like ancient Greeks (St Clair 1972: 20).

The Enlightenment ideals of Western Europe met with opposition from the traditional Greek society and the established Orthodox Church (Kitromilides 1994: (I) 53–4). Many Greek intellectuals experienced the French Revolution first-hand and became impregnated with its philosophical background. Most importantly, they soon realized the potential of the new ideas of popular freedom and sovereignty for their own struggle (Kitromilides 1994: (I) 61). One of them was the Greek intellectual, Adamántios Koraïs, who exhorted his compatriots to revive ancient Greece by imitating political events in France, the nation which most resembled it. He tried to persuade his countrymen to draw upon the wisdom of the ancient world. He also proposed the adoption of a 'purified' language, a blend of ancient and modern Greek, and exhorted others to regenerate in order to be prepared for freedom (Dakin 1973: 24; Kitromilides 1994: (I) 62). In Greece itself the French Revolution had a direct effect at the time of the Napoleonic invasion of the Ionian Islands. Napoleon first invaded them in 1797, but they were subsequently annexed by the British and again by the French in 1808. In this political turbulence, cultural and political philhellenism had a greatest impetus in Greece. Greek antiquity was acclaimed by Frenchmen and Greeks alike. In the early years of the French occupation of the Ionian Islands, the French General Gentili appealed to Greeks to claim the freedom enjoyed in Greek antiquity in his call for enrolment into the French army (Dakin 1973: 27). On the Greek side, decisions such as that of a local school in Corfu to change its name to the Academy of Korkyra (the Greek name for Corfu) and to begin to date years with respect to the Olympiad reflected the mood of the times (St Clair 1972: 21). These examples show that, as had happened in Rome, a whole reinvention of tradition took place from the end of the eighteenth century directly connected to the French offensive, a process which, in the case of Greece, continued under British rule. In that period, the process of re-adopting the ancient island names continued. In the Hellenic University, opened in Corfu by Lord Guildford, students and professors alike wore classical attire. But in contrast to European philhellenism, largely a literary phenomenon, in Greece philhellenism took on not only a cultural character but also a political character which eventually led to revolution (Kitromilides 1994: (I) 63–4). The political process to radical republicanism unfolded from an earlier debate on the French Revolution in the 1790s, to the development of the idea of the creation of a French-oriented Hellenic republic, followed by a period in which journals such as *Logios Ermis* continued to promote the awakening of Greek national consciousness in the decade 1811–21 (Kitromilides 1994: (V), (XII) 8).

The struggle for Greek independence began in 1821. Leaders of the revolution implored other nations for help with manifestos like the following:

> Reduced to a condition so pitiable, deprived of every right, we have, with unanimous voice, resolved to take up arms, and struggle against the tyrants . . . In one word, we are unanimously resolved on *Liberty or Death.* Thus determined, we earnestly invite the united aid of all *civilised* nations to promote the attainment of our holy and legitimate purpose, the *recovery* of our rights, and the *revival* of our unhappy nation.
>
> (St Clair 1972: 13, emphasis added).

European support for the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire was crucial. To begin with, only volunteers came forward, for those governments who could have given aid formed part of the conservative coalition constituted with the aim of repressing the legacy of the French Revolution in Western and Central Europe. Significantly, the general acceptance of the tenets of philhellenism created a situation by which a blind eye was turned towards those who volunteered, usually unemployed soldiers of the post-Napoleonic era and revolutionaries of the 1820s exiled after the collapse of their own causes (St Clair 1972: 29, 31). Eventually, the powers decided that it was worth providing military assistance, legitimizing this change of mind by making reference to the status of Greece as the cradle of civilization and as a Christian nation under the rule of a Muslim Empire. In 1827, the Ottoman viceroy in Egypt, Muhammad Ali (Mehmed Ali in Turkish), was sent by the Ottoman Sultan against the Greeks, but his troops were defeated in the Battle of Navarino by a coalition force formed by France, England, and Russia. After four centuries of Ottoman rule, Greece gained independence in 1830. In the struggle for sovereignty, the metaphor of the past had assisted in persuading the European powers to favour the Greek cause. Greek independence entailed more than was apparent. It signified the first definitive step towards an essentialist nationalism, founded on the premise that the existence of the Greek nation—and its right to independence—was proved by its glorious past. For the Greeks the ancient civilization being discussed was not in a distant territory, but in their own, and the link between past and present was evident in the Greek language. Texts by the classical Greek authors, inscriptions, and works of art, such as sculptures and remains of great buildings, all symbolized the glorious foundations of the future Greek state.

The role the past played in Greek independence increased its symbolic value. Accordingly, the protection of the emblem of the new Greek state, the ancient past, was ensured by the creation of an administration aiming to promote everything connected with classical antiquity. Legislation was passed, societies were created and museums were opened. Documents such as the one below, a directive issued by the Commissioner of one of the

Peloponnesian islands in 1829—the year in which independence was granted, clearly reflect the importance antiquities were given at this time:

> These [antiquities] awake the spirit of modern Hellenes. It reminds them [the Hellenes] of the ancestral brilliance and glory and motivates them to imitate it. These [antiquities] convey honour to the Nation. These [antiquities], honoured by wise Europe and sought after by travellers on an every-day basis, reveal their value; and they are as if they are saying to [the Hellenes] 'you should not ignore the heirlooms of your ancestors! They have assisted you and it is your duty to respect them because they are sacred and they belong to you and they offer you honour and dignity.'
>
> (Anagnostopoulos in Hamilakis and Yalouri 2000: 116).

After Greece's independence, the strong appeal of the past assisted in the modelling of the objectification of the state. Athens, the ancient metropolis of the Greek territory where democracy was deemed to have been born, was reinstated as the capital of Greece in 1833. Its main rival in antiquity, the town associated with mighty power and the military, Sparta, was rebuilt with the intention of it becoming the second city of the kingdom (Hamilakis & Yalouri 2000: 125). A symbolic restoration of the Parthenon, the temple of the goddess Athena at the Acropolis in Athens, also began. It was there that the coronation of the King of Greece, the German, Otto I, took place in 1835 (Hamilakis 2001: 7–8). The territory of the new state was shaped to symbolize the resurrection of the new Greek nation: the towns selected to be the markers of the state, the monuments chosen to provide a landmark that objectified the new nation.

New legislation and novel institutions were created to promote the protection and the study of the past. Even before independence, in 1827, all export of antiquities had been forbidden by law and the antiquities market that had flourished at the start of the century (Chapter 2) was made illegal (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 47). Despite this, some works of art still left the country in the following years, as seems to have been the case on the occasion of the French expedition to Morea (as the Peloponnesus was then known) in 1829–30.[1] It is interesting to note that this expedition had been organized immediately after the removal of Ottoman forces from the area following the Battle of Navarino in 1827 (Bracken 1975: 178). In order to implement the legislation, the Greek Archaeological Service was created in 1834. For the first two years it was under the direction of a northern German archaeologist, Ludwig Ross (1806–59). He also held the chair of archaeology at the University of Athens until 1843. Ross was eventually compelled to leave all of his posts. He had been ousted from the

[1] In 1843–4 there was a further expedition to Greece, that of Le Bas (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 48). During the First World War, the French made further claims to tradition when they organized the Archaeological Service of the Eastern Army in Macedonia (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 306).

Archaeological Service because of his arrogant attitude towards his Greek colleagues—in particular towards his superior Alexander Rangabe, and his subordinate, Kyriakos Pittakis (1798–1863). After a nationalist revolt in 1843, the King of Greece, Otto I (r. 1832–62), ordered the dismissal of a number of non-Greek public officials and their posts were then given to Greek-born individuals. On this occasion Ludwig Ross lost the position of professor of archaeology. Otto I's decision represents an important event in the history of nationalism, as it is a first indication of the relevance that blood and race would take on later in the century. Hiring Germans to work in the Greek Archaeological Service seemed from then on as inappropriate. The essentialist notion of the nation was definitely gaining pace.

Rangabe and Pittakis created the first archaeological review, the *Ephemeris Archaiologiki*. In 1837, they also founded the Archaeological Society of Athens (Étienne & Étienne 1992: 91; Gran-Aymerich 1998: 47) and excavations soon started (Shanks 1995: 46), although the Archaeological Museum was not completed until 1866 (Dickenson 1994; Tsigakou 1981: 64). This was all necessary in order to construct a sense of national consciousness urgently needed in a country that was in fact characterized by ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity (Hamilakis & Yalouri 2000: 124; Just 1989). In opposition to disunity, the Megale idea of reuniting all Greeks under the same nation became increasingly important (Chapter 5).

Greece, therefore, was one of the first European countries to obtain independence in the name of nationalism. Yet, it was able to do so at least in part because the Greek cause was acceptable to the European powers through the connection of ancient Greece with the origin of civilization. For Greeks this connection had further consequences, mainly in terms of the language inherited from their ancestors, whose similarity to modern Greek provided proof of the link between past and present. As the Greek example shows, issues of history, language, birth-right, and religion began to play a crucial role in nationalism. This tendency, as we shall see in Chapter 12, became more marked in the second half of the century, when a racial component was also added. This spurred on an important change in nationalism, eventually leading to the prevalence of the ethnic and cultural components of nationalism.

THE GREAT CIVILIZATIONS OF AMERICA IN THE AGE OF INDEPENDENCE

At the outset of the nineteenth century the urban cultural life in Latin America was very similar to that of many cities in Europe and North America.

The larger cities had institutions akin to their counterparts: learned societies (such as those following the Spanish example, including the Sociedades de Amigos del País (Societies of the Friends of the Country)), botanical gardens, the press, private, and some incipient public collections on display, universities, and even astronomical observatories. Cultural life, as was the case elsewhere in the Western world, was the province of the well-off classes. These included a minority of individuals recently arrived from the Iberian Peninsula, but mainly the criollos or creoles—families who had lived in the Americas for several generations and who had intermarried with locals. Continuing the medieval practice, when family unions between Christians and Muslims (or Muslim families recently converted to Christianity) had not been unknown, in the colonies formed by Spain and Portugal racial miscegenation had been relatively common from the earliest years of their arrival in the Americas in the sixteenth century. Accordingly, the physical and racial division between the elite and the locals, so marked in the colonies formed by other northern European, Protestant countries, was much less apparent in the Latin American colonies (Pyenson & Sheets-Pyenson 1999: 352, 355–7).

The dissolution of the Spanish and Portuguese American empires overseas was the result of a chain of events starting with the French Revolution. In the Spanish territories, the creoles, like the intelligentsia everywhere else in the Western world, attentively observed the changes occurring before and during late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century France. The trouble in Europe affected them directly after the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula by Napoleonic troops in 1808 (Humphreys & Lynch 1966). In Spain, Joseph Bonaparte—Napoleon's brother—was crowned king. Meanwhile the liberal opposition to the French took refuge in Cadiz, where a new constitution was approved in 1812. After the expulsion of the French, the re-establishment of an absolutist Bourbon monarchy produced a division between absolutists and liberal intellectuals, the latter keeping the flame of revolutionary ideas alive (Lorenzo 1981: 195–6). They formed two opposing camps in the peninsula and in the colonies. Meanwhile, in Brazil, the King of Portugal's son, who had been left as regent in 1821 when his father returned to Lisbon after his fourteen-year stay in the colony, proclaimed the independence of Brazil in 1822. Brazil was proclaimed as an imperial power with Pedro I as Emperor (r. 1822–abdicated 1831). He was followed by his son Pedro II (r. 1840–89).

Antiquities in the independence of Mexico and Peru

The Spanish liberal revolution of 1820 had a domino effect on the independence of the provinces of Latin America still under Spanish and Portuguese

rule (see map 1). In a colonial context, the logical result of the insurgents' liberal ideals was a rejection of the metropolis. Soon the whole of the area—except the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico—had declared its independence (Lynch 1973). In each of the new countries, national histories began to proliferate. They usually only went as far back as the European conquest. They followed the pattern established by their northern neighbours, the United States and Canada. Mexico and Peru were the exceptions to this rule. This can partly be explained by the presence in both of ancient monumental remains and works of art, but also by the existence in Mexico City and Lima of an important concentration of intellectuals. These two factors were not independent: the Spaniards had created two main provinces in America, each of them centred upon two of the main pre-Columbian ancient centres of power at the time of their arrival, the mighty Aztec and Inca empires.

In both Mexico and Peru the presence of monumental structures dating from before the Spanish conquest made it possible to include the pre-Columbian past in their national history. As in Europe, monuments (and artefacts associated with them such as statues and other artistic material culture) were the principal elements giving prestige to the history of peoples about whom written sources provided little or no information. From the sixteenth century, archaeological monuments had been described and even excavated. As a result, there was considerable knowledge about them on which separatists could draw (Chapter 2). These ideas were expressed by local historians (Phelan 1960) as well as others in Europe and the US (Patterson 1995b: 19). At the time of the first revolt against Spanish rule, in 1813, the liberal priest, José María Morelos, convened the Congress of Chilpancingo in which Mexico declared its independence for the first time and declared that 'we are about to re-establish the Mexican empire, improving its government' (in Brading 2001: 523). Independence was deemed necessary to free Mexico from three hundred years of repression. The leaders of the insurgence were identified with the last Aztec rulers, Monctezuma and Cauthémoc. This rhetoric linked the glorious pre-conquest past and the present, formed the basis of the 1820 revolt and was translated into the Act of Independence of 1821: 'The Mexican nation, which for three hundred years has neither had its own will nor free use of its voice, today leaves the oppression in which it has lived' (in Brading 2001: 523). In Peru, the mythical founder of the Inca Empire, Manco Capac, was revered as a national ancestor. Some even exalted the Quechua language, a widespread native language still spoken by a majority of locals, as that innate to the Peruvian nation (Quijada Mauriño 1994a: 371). This link between modern Peruvians and the Incas found expression in many media, including patriotic journals. In 1821, one published in Lima printed this harangue:

> Where were you heroes of the fatherhood not to have taken up with fury the vengeful sword to condemn [the conquistadors of Peru] . . . The deposed Inca King has lifted his tombstone and . . . has courageously said: Peruvians, avenge me . . . for three hundred years now the barbarian assassins have ruled my empire.
>
> (Quijada Mauriño 1994a: 369).

For the Peruvian insurgents, an eminent past meant a glorious future, as one of the separatists stated in 1822. As he put it, 'following the rules of analogy we can affirm that our fatherhood is rapidly heading towards an ineffable greater glory' (cited in Quijada Mauriño 1994a: 370).

The pre-Columbian Mesoamerican and Andean monuments were considered a product of civilization and nationalists were, therefore, able to integrate their makers into the national history (Bernal 1980: chs. 4 and 5; Díaz-Andreu 1999; Quijada Mauriño 1994a: 370–1; Rípodas Ardanaz 1993). However, the inadequacy of Mesoamerican monuments as compared to the classical canon made their integration into the national discourse more difficult than in the Greek and Roman cases, and consequently the process of incorporation into the national history remained far from successful completion. Despite Clavijero's and other intellectuals' efforts in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Mexico and Peru, the idealization of the Mesoamerican past and its definition as a Golden Age did not imply a better appreciation of indigenous populations or a regard for their beliefs (Quijada Mauriño 1994a: 373–4). Thus, the sculpture of the goddess Coatlicue that, as explained in Chapter 2, was reburied after natives had reacted to it with religious devotion and not with national admiration, was again dug up to be placed in a very different setting, the National Museum of Mexico. This institution opened in 1825 and symbolized the initial institutionalization of the past for Mexican-Creole nationalists (Florescano 1993; Morales Moreno 1994). The first president of the Mexican Republic commissioned to 'seek out as many statues and stone sculptures . . . as can be collected for the museum' (in Florescano 1993: 87). The museum's aim was 'to present the most exact understanding of our country, including its primitive population and the origin and developments in the arts and sciences, religion and customs of its inhabitants, natural products and properties of its soil and climate' (*ibid.* 88). Lucas Alamán (1792–1853) seems to have been a key intellectual behind the success in founding the museum. On 18 March 1825, he obtained a directive from the president addressed to the rector of the university. It read:

> His Excellency the President of the Republic has been pleased to resolve that with the antiquities brought from the Isla de Sacrificios and others already here in this our Capital, a national museum be founded, and that to this end one of the rooms of the University set aside, the supreme government taking upon itself the responsibility for

the cost of shelving, locks, custody of the museum, etc. With this object, His Excellency wishes Your Worship to designate the room to be set aside for this purpose at once useful and an addition to our national glory, and to advise this Ministry accordingly, so that it may commission staff and proceed with their assistance.

(in Bernal 1980: 135).

As with the museum in Copenhagen, located in a church loft (Chapter 11), the National Museum of Mexico did not have a place of its own, but borrowed premises from existing institutions. Like the Danish museum and others such as the British Museum, it only opened for limited periods (i.e., Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, from 10 am to 2 pm and by previous appointment only).

The creation of the museum was preceded by that of the Antiquities Council (Junta de Antigüedades), formed immediately after independence in 1821. This council followed the model of a failed previous attempt in all the territories of Spain, including Mexico (Bernal 1980: 134), in 1808 that had been aborted due to the Napoleonic invasion. Most notably it helped gather collections previously dispersed across several institutions and in private hands to be exhibited together. In 1827, a first publication appeared about the museum's collection of antiquities written by Isidro Ignacio de Icaza, an ex-Jesuit and member of the Provisional Government Council formed by the Act for the Independence of Mexico on 28 September 1821, and Isidro Rafael Gondra, a priest and member of the Antiquities Council. From 1831, some teaching of antiquities was initiated in the museum after the creation of a chair of ancient history. Fieldwork, however, was not initiated until 1877 in Oaxaca and later in 1890 in Cempoala (Florescano 1993: 90–2).

In Peru, the pre-Columbian past was also appropriated by the insurgents through rhetoric of creolization in which the European-Incan racial mixture of modern Peruvians was celebrated. A distinction was, however, made between the Incas and other non-civilized indigenous populations, the latter being excluded from the national history (but nonetheless integrated in the nation as citizens) (Quijada Mauriño 1994a: 369–71; 1994b: 40). Measures were immediately taken to preserve Inca archaeology. In 1822, the Congress forbade by Supreme Decree the excavation of Inca huacas implicitly putting the state in charge of the care and protection of archaeological and artistic heritage, although this was not followed by any effective measures to enforce the law (Bonavia 1984: 110). In 1826, the National Museum of Peru was organized and authorized the formation of a society in charge of uncovering archaeological remains (Chávez 1992: 45). In 1851, a first book on Peruvian archaeological monuments, Inca history and other antiquities, with the title *Antigüedades Peruanas*, was published by Peruvian Mariano Rivero and Swiss

Johann von Tschurdi (1818–89) (Rivero & Tschurdi 1851 (1998)). The latter visited Peru for four years in his early twenties with the aim of collecting antiquities for the Museum of Neuchâtel (Switzerland). The book marked another increase in the degree of sophistication that the pre-contact past acquired in the national imagination.

In the years following independence, the integration of the pre-Columbian past into the national histories of Mexico and Peru encountered an unexpected problem. The increasing importance of the racial factor in nationalism eventually led creole elites to de-emphasize their Indian ancestry as part of their glorious past and to stress instead the early modern period as the starting point for the Peruvian and Mexican nations and the colonial period as their civilized past (Quijada Mauriño 1994a: 376; 1994b: 44–8). Together with the political instability that characterized both countries throughout the nineteenth century, the successive attempts by European colonial powers to reappropriate them, as well as their economic underdevelopment, partly explains the unspectacular history of the institutions created both in Mexico and Peru during the early years of independence.

Antiquities in imperial Brazil

Comparison between the contemporary situations in Mexico City and Lima with that of Rio de Janeiro is revealing. Rio de Janeiro was the capital of the only Portuguese colony in America, Brazil. As in the first two cities mentioned, in Rio there lived an important contingent of individuals belonging to the political and cultural elite. They administered a huge state where no indigenous population had cultural traditions rooted in a glorious past, in contrast with the situation in the Peruvian and Mexican republics. Unlike the experience of the sixteenth-century Spaniards, the Portuguese had not found an opposing major civilization ruling in Brazil. Also, no documentary source with any credibility indicated the existence of a major civilization at any time before the arrival of the Portuguese. Despite this lack of information, and apparently in contrast to other colonies without monumental remains, such as South Africa, the elite showed an interest in the pre-Columbian past, which they associated with the contemporary indigenous populations of Brazil. Essential to this process was the relative political stability provided by the long government of the Brazilian Emperor Pedro II, and a cultural institution founded in his reign: the Historical and Geographical Institute, created in 1838.

The institute has to be understood in the framework of the relative political stability brought to the Brazilian empire under Pedro I (r. 1822–31), and

especially Pedro II (r. 1840–89). During this period, the education of many members of the intellectual elite was undertaken in Europe, either in Paris or in Lisbon—where French intellectual life was closely followed (Martins 2003). The connection with Europe may explain the early date of its founding. The Historical and Geographical Institute, in 1851 renamed the Historic, Geographic and Ethnographic Institute of Brazil (IHGE, Instituto Histórico, Geográfico e Etnográfico Brasileiro), was the initial focus of cultural life in nineteenth-century Brazil. From the year after its creation, it had started to publish a learned journal in which articles on Brazilian geography, history, language, geology, archaeology and ethnography were printed, contributing to the construction of the Brazilian national imagination.

Regarding archaeology, the initial intention had been to find a Great Civilization similar to those known in other parts of the continent. Civilization was invariably linked with an elite which, at least in part, was of European origin. Already in 1839, the possibility of a Phoenician character for a supposed inscription was rejected after it was concluded that the marks were not the result of scripture but were a product of nature. Around the early 1840s, the German Bavarian naturalist Karl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (1794–1868),[2] otherwise known for his epoch-making work on Brazilian flora—whose study had started on a three-year journey across Brazil in the late 1810s, insisted that expeditions were needed to discover the monuments that he imagined hidden beneath the vegetation (Ferreira 1999: 17). In 1845, one of the contributors to the journal explained that the institute had hopes of a good result from the attempts of one of its members, Cônego Benigno José de Carvalho, 'to discover ancient monuments in this part of the New World' (in Ferreira 1999: 12–13). It also desired to have 'a Brazilian Champollion' among its members (in Ferreira 1999: 12–13). Benigno formed part of an unsuccessful expedition to find a ruined city at Cincorá, Bahia, described in an eighteenth-century document. Increasingly, however, it was realized that the possibility of the existence of remains of ancient civilizations in Brazilian soil was remote. Some of the institute's members also echoed in the journal some literature produced at the time in Copenhagen and Paris alluding to the European presence in America before the arrival of the Spaniards and Portuguese (Ferreira 1999: 25). In 1854, at the request of Pedro II, the Brazilian poet Gonçalves Dias (1823–64) published a reasoned

[2] Karl Friedrich Philipp von Martius arrived in Brazil with the Austrian expedition that accompanied the future Brazilian Empress Leopoldina. A professor at the University of Munich from 1826 and the curator of Bavaria's royal botanical garden in 1832, he also gained a reputation as a Brazilian historian and as an ethno-linguist.

article attacking all the myths and unfounded hypotheses about the existence of ancient civilizations in Brazilian soil (Ferreira 1999: 23–4; Ferreira 2003b).

The lack of monuments did not prevent the emergence of an interest in the savages, the native populations of Brazil. Indianism, the Indian as the embodiment of the Brazilian nation, based on the image of the Enlightened 'good savage', became central to Romantic Brazilian literature and nationalism. The imagined native was based on a gender-biased model as warlike, heroic, strong, brave, indomitable, fair, and polite; an image that had roots in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century European models (Liebersohn 1998). Some authors have described this movement as a sort of 'invention of tradition' in a country where a natural cultural tradition was impeded by the very nature of the colonial past of the country. Others have argued that the comparison with the Spanish-American republics, where relatively few Romantic Indianists existed, converted Indianism to a historical process peculiar to the Brazilian empire (Treece 2000). The good Indian became a genre not only recreated by many Brazilian writers but also by foreigners. The Bavarian Von Martius, who has been described not only as a naturalist, but also as one of the founding fathers of Brazilian historiography and literary criticism, contended that the national identity of Brazil had to be understood as the result of the three races, the white, the Native American, and the African from the populations brought to the Americas as slaves for the Brazilian plantations. He saw the blend of whites and Indians as a catalyst of Brazilian national history, but argued that progress would be hindered if miscegenation occurred on a great scale. Another intellectual, the Brazilian historian, Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen, proposed that the study of the native languages would be essential for the reconstruction of their history and the possible migrations they had experienced. In 1849, he published an article titled, 'Indigenous ethnography, languages, immigrations and archaeology' (Ferreira 1999: 22). For some authors, Indianism paradoxically came together with a continuation of a policy of extermination of native populations, explicitly defended by authors such as Varnhagen. He supported a ruthless use of force, with expeditions to enslave Indians as a way to appropriate their territory for use by European settlers and stop the need for importation of black slaves from Africa. Integration was invoked as an alternative by liberal thinkers such as Gonçalves Dias (Ferreira 2003b).

The Indianism movement directed more attention towards anthropology and archaeology. Earlier, in the days of the empire, a Danish naturalist, Peter Wilhelm Lund (1801–80), studied the palaeontology of Lagoa Santa, in Minas Gerais province. He stayed in Brazil from 1825–8 and 1833–44, surveyed some 800 caves, and found many fossils of extinct fauna as well as some related human remains, that his pupil Georges Cuvier interpreted as being the

result of a deluge (Funari 1999: 18).[3] Lund argued that skulls such as those he found in Lapa do Sumidouro had a defective anatomy and therefore they indicated lesser intelligence than that of other ancient peoples such as the Egyptians. Their descendants had stagnated, becoming the indigenous populations of South America. In 1847 Francisco Freire Allemão (1797–1874), the director of the archaeology section of the institute, proposed to elaborate a General Map of the Brazilian State in Primitive Times (Carta Geral do Estado Primitivo do Brasil). He sent a letter to the provinces asking for information regarding the cultural practices and customs of the indigenous societies living in the area as well as requesting that some artefacts be sent. The increasing importance of archaeology led to the creation in 1851 of a specialized branch to study the archaeology and ethnography of Brazil. The institute was even renamed as the Historic, Geographic, and Ethnographic Institute of Brazil (IHGE, Instituto Histórico, Geográfico e Etnográfico Brasileiro). From 1858 to 1861 a Scientific Commission was sent to explore the provinces and obtain data on flora, fauna, geology and minerals, astronomy, geography, and ethnography. Some archaeological material was collected as a result of this expedition.

CONCLUSION: THE NATIONAL PAST AS THE CIVILIZED PAST OF OTHERS

Allusion to ancient, monumental ruins was an essential part of the independent rhetoric of the countries which were successful in obtaining political independence as a result of the 1820s revolutions. They were an exception. The liberal revolts of the early 1820s, 1830s, and 1848, which affected most European countries (Chapter 12) and their colonies, were in most cases defeated by the European conservative coalitions first formed in Vienna in 1815 during the fight against Napoleon and which were temporarily successful in their efforts to repress the legacy of the French Revolution. In the early 1820s, therefore, Greek and Latin American intellectuals were not alone in rebelling in the name of liberal and national ideologies, but they were the only ones whose independence looked acceptable to the conservative coalition. The reasons why an exception was made in the case of Greece were twofold. Firstly, Greece was mainly a Christian country ruled by an Islamic power, the Ottoman Empire, and it seemed right that it should be independent. Secondly, Greece was perceived as the modern descendant of the world that the

[3] For Lund's influence on Scandinavian archaeology see Klindt-Jensen (1976: 45).

intellectual elite held as the ultimate origin of civilization. Civilization meant freedom and, as such, Greece did not deserve to be subjected to the rule of a foreign power. Its independence also represented a further blow to the once mighty Ottoman Empire, and its weakness brought obvious gains to the powers of Western Europe. For its part, the independence of Latin America brought to a close three centuries of colonial venture led by the Iberian countries, Spain and Portugal, and opened their markets to the European trade directed by the emerging powers. A new political map of the Western world was being drafted, reflecting a condition in which new colonial powers were in the ascendancy. These were Britain and France, followed later on in the century by Germany, Italy, and the US. How the discourse of the past affected the novel situation of Latin America will be discussed in Chapter 7, and in more general terms in Parts II and III of this book (Chapters 5 to 9).

The independence of Greece and the Latin American countries assisted in weakening the ideological foundations of the conservative coalitions. It confirmed nationalism as a valid discourse. Moreover, it changed the character of nationalism itself as it defined a different type of nation, one not based on the rights of individuals and their sovereignty but on the singular past and culture of the members of the nation. This change of character has been labelled by experts in the field of nationalism studies as the transition from civic nationalism to ethnic or cultural nationalism (see for example Hobsbawm 1990: 22; Kohn 1967; Smith 1991a: 9–11). Change in the balance of civic nationalism towards ethnic nationalism in the nineteenth century had a dramatic effect on the perception of and the discourses based on the past. The growth of language and race as key features of a nation made the national past indispensable to its definition. In 1860, John Stuart Mill (1806–73), the political philosopher, discussing the origin of the nation said that:

> [The feeling of nationality sometimes] is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language, and community of religion, greatly contribute to it. Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents; the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past.
>
> (in Woolf 1996b: 40).

This development whereby language and race became crucial components of the new nation will be further discussed in Chapter 12, and has already been alluded to in several examples given in this chapter.

Revolutions in Greece and Latin America embodied a very different understanding of the past; one in which ideas of national autonomy, unity and identity predominated. Their examples show, first, how the discourse on

antiquity was reconfigured to construct a national imagination, not following a single line, but creating competing voices that changed over time in composition and even in tone. Second, the account provided in this chapter reveals how intellectuals coming from the main European powers felt compelled to embrace the study of the Greek and Latin American past as a way of understanding them better. They contributed to the process of national identity formation not only by publishing in their countries of origin, but also in local journals. Their thoughts were taken into account and brought into the local discourses about antiquity. The study of how the formation of the national past in Europe—the economic heart of the nineteenth-century Western world—will be the focus of the chapters in Part IV of this book. The chapters that follow, however, will focus on the issues of imperialism and colonialism. Both strands are key to the exploration of how the past was appropriated and how this affected the development of archaeology in the nineteenth century.

Part II

The Archaeology of Informal Imperialism

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Informal Imperialism in Europe and the Ottoman Empire: The Consolidation of the Mythical Roots of the West

'Informal colonialism' and 'informal imperialism' are relatively common terms in the specialized literature. The term 'informal colonialism' was coined—or at least sanctioned—by C. R. Fay (1940: (vol. 2) 399) meaning a situation in which a powerful nation manages to establish dominant control in a territory over which it does not have sovereignty. The term was popularized by the economic historians John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson (1953), who applied it to study informal British imperial expansion over portions of Africa. The difference between informal and formal colonialism is easy to establish: in the first instance, complete effective control is unfeasible, mainly due to the impossibility of applying direct military and political force in countries that, in fact, are politically independent. They have their own laws, make decisions on when and where to open museums and how to educate their own citizens. Yet, in order to survive in the international world they need to build alliances with the main powers, and that comes at a price. Many countries in the world were in this situation in the middle and last decades of the nineteenth century: Mediterranean Europe, the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and independent states in the Far East and in Central and South America. A simple classification of countries into imperial powers, informal empires and formal colonies is, however, only a helpful analytical tool that shows its flaws at closer look. Some of those that are being included as informal colonies in Part II of this book were empires in themselves, like the Ottoman Empire and, from the last years of the century, Italy (La Rosa 1986), and therefore had their own informal and formal colonies. The reason why they have been placed together here is that in all of them there was an acknowledgement of a need for modernization following Western-dominated models. They all had the (northern) European presence in their lands—at first primarily British and French, followed by Germans and individuals of other European states, mainly from other empires either alive such as that of Austria-Hungary or in decline like Sweden and Denmark. Some of these Europeans were

trusted to provide advice on political and cultural matters, or even were appointed to Westernize their countries. The distinction between formal and informal imperialism, however, becomes blurred when some of them became quasi-protectorates of one of the main imperial powers, Egypt being a case in point (Egypt became under 'temporary' British military occupation in 1882 and a proper protectorate between 1914 and 1922). Informal empires could also have internal colonialism in their own territories. Some of these problems will be further analysed in Parts II and III of this book. Part II deals with informal imperialism, and Part III turns to the archaeology in the formal colonies.

In 1906 one of the first comprehensive histories of archaeology was published. Its author, the German professor Adolf Michaelis (1835–1910), assessed, in eleven extensive chapters, what he considered to be the most outstanding events of the history of the discipline. Italy and Greece received the most attention with nine chapters. Chapter 10 was devoted to 'single discoveries in outlying countries', in which Egypt, Babylon, Northern Africa and Spain were included. The work finished with some comments on the application of science to archaeology. Very little of the archaeology in the colonial world, that is, beyond classical Italy and Greece and Europe's imagined origins of civilization in Egypt and the Near East, formed part of Michaelis' account. Antiquities in Asia (with the exception of its westernmost fringe), Australia, sub-Saharan Africa and America were ignored. Interestingly, the archaeology of the European continent beyond the classical lands was also overlooked. However, this chapter and part of the one that follows will focus on the archaeology examined by Michaelis. In both, the discussion will revolve around informal imperialism. Perhaps controversially, the discussion of informal imperialism will start with two less-politically powerful areas of Europe, Italy, and Greece, where the ancient remains represented a powerful symbolic capital for the European imperial powers during the period discussed in this chapter, from the 1830s onwards.

INFORMAL IMPERIALISM IN EUROPE

Informal imperialism in Europe until the 1870s

After the Napoleonic venture ended in defeat a tacit agreement created an area which was protected from imperial conquest. This comprised all European countries, including those in the Mediterranean: Spain, Portugal, Italy, and, from 1830, Greece. For the remaining years of the nineteenth century the great powers had to look elsewhere for territories to exploit economically. But

while overt control over Mediterranean Europe was considered unacceptable, political assistance and economic gain together with cultural predominance were more tolerable options. It is within the latter aspect that archaeology played an important role in Italy and Greece, where the Roman and Greek civilizations had developed in antiquity. The absence of similarly appealing remains in Spain and Portugal explains why in these countries, despite receiving some foreign archaeologists willing to study their ruins and some institutional attention (for example the *Bulletin de la Société Académique Franco-Hispano-Portugaise* which began in the 1870s), the scale of the intervention was noticeably more moderate. In these countries imperial archaeology only became modestly important when the dangers of undertaking research during the political instability in the east of the Mediterranean pushed some archaeologists who otherwise would have preferred to be in Greece towards the west (Blech 2001; Delaunay 1994; Rouillard 1995). The reason behind the difference in treatment between, on the one hand, Italy and Greece and, on the other, Spain and Portugal lay in the power that the classical model had in the national and imperial discourses. Rome and Greece—not Spain or Portugal—were now not only invested with a crucial role in the gestation of civilization, as was the case earlier in the century (Chapter 3), but also of the European empires themselves: each of the powers endeavoured to present their nation as the paramount inheritor of classical Rome and the ancient Greek poleis, and of their capacity for the expansion of their cultural and/or political influence.

If in the early years of nationalism state-sponsored expeditionaries, patriotic antiquaries, and their societies and academies, and the first antiquarians working in museums had been key players in the archaeology of the classical Great Civilizations, in the age of imperialism the indisputable novelty in the archaeology of Italy and Greece was the foreign school. The institutions created in the imperial metropolises—the museums, the university chairs (including Caspar J. Reuvens (1793–1835), appointed in 1818, teaching both the classical archaeological world, and others)—served as a back-up to the archaeology undertaken in Italy and Greece. In Italy and Greece the foreign schools represented a clear break with the era of the pre-national cosmopolitan academies. In contrast, at the end of the nineteenth century the debate was to a degree restricted to groups of scholars of the same nationality who discussed learned topics in their own national languages. The effect at the international level of having so many groups of scholars in the same city is still in need of analysis. Rivalries and competition, but also scholarly communication, must have all played a part. The middle decades of the century represented a period of transition for the institution in place, the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica (Corresponding Society for Archaeology)

founded in Rome in 1829, still had an international character. Its inspirer had been the then young Edward Gerhard (1795–1867), who aimed to promote international cooperation in the study of Italian antiquity and archaeology, and to, as the statutes proclaimed,

> gather and make known all archaeologically significant facts and finds—that is, from architecture, sculpture and painting, topography, and epigraphy—that are brought to light in the realm of classical antiquity, in order that these may be saved from being lost, and by means of concentration in one place may be made accessible for scientific study
>
> (in Marchand 1996a: 55).

Membership of the institute was composed mainly of Italian, French, and German scholars (Marchand 1996a: 56). It subsidized fieldwork and gave grants, published its own journal, the *Anali dell'Istituto*, and printed other specialized studies (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 52–5). Yet, despite its international status, scholars from different nationalities received unequal treatment. The reason for this was that the funding mainly came from a single source—the Prussian state, a benevolence consciously linked to the institute's diplomatic function for the German country (Marchand 1996a: 41, 58–9). It should not, therefore, come as a surprise that after the unification of Germany, the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica became an official Prussian state institution in 1871, and was transformed into the German Archaeological Institute soon after, the Rome house being converted into one of its branches. In 1874 it was promoted to a Reichinstitut (an imperial institute) (Deichmann 1986; Marchand 1996a: 59, 92). Despite this, the official language of the institute would remain Italian until the 1880s (Marchand 1996a: 101).

The Istituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica also organized foreign archaeology in Greece. However, those individuals subsidized to study Greek antiquities were, perhaps not surprisingly, of German origin (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 182). Despite this, scholars from Britain and France also travelled to independent Greece, undertaking projects such as the architectural studies of the Acropolis in the 1840s. After this, the protagonism went to the French, especially after the opening in 1846 of the French School in Athens (Étienne & Étienne 1992: 92–3; Gran-Aymerich 1998: 121, 146, 179). The School undertook further works on the Acropolis and, mainly during the 1850s, supported expeditions to several archaeological sites including Olympia and Thasos by archaeologists such as Léon Huzey (1831–1922) and Georges Perrot (1832–1914). Meanwhile, German researchers focused on analysing sculpture and producing a corpus of Greek inscriptions (Étienne & Étienne 1992: 98; Gran-Aymerich 1998: 147–8). Significantly, the ideal of an international school was not pursued here. The French School in Athens would

become the first of many schools opened during the imperial period. At a colloquium organized to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the institution, Jean-Marc Delaunay (2000: 127) indicated that, in addition to the opposition against the Germans, the creation of the French School in Athens was also related to competition against the British, and, to a certain extent, the Russians who complained about its foundation. So powerful was its diplomatic role that even when the French monarchy was deposed in 1848, the French School was left unharmed. As Delaunay argues, in Greece the British had their merchants and sailors, the Russians the Orthodox clerics, and the Germans the Greek monarchy of Bavarian origin. The French only had their school. When the Germans thought of opening a rival branch in Athens, the traditional French antipathy for the British turned towards the Germans (*ibid.* 128).

Turning to Russia, there was a Commission of Archaeological Finds in Rome operating at least from the 1840s, which employed Stephan Gedeonov, a future director of the Hermitage Museum. In the early 1860s he managed to acquire 760 pieces of antique art, mainly coming from Etruscan tombs. These had been collected by the Marquis di Cavelli, Giampietro (Giovanni Pietro) Campana (1808–80), known as the patron of nineteenth-century tomb-robbers (Norman 1997: 91). Other parts of the collection—not including antiquities—were bought by the South Kensington Museum, and another by the Museum Napoleon III—a polemic and ephemeral museum opened and closed in 1862 in Paris—and later dispersed in museums throughout France (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 168–78).

In contrast to the situation in the Ottoman Empire, in Italy and Greece experts had to content themselves with studying the archaeology in situ owing to the ban on any antiquities leaving the country. In several of the Italian states this had been the case for a long time. Although the success of the regulations had been unequal, the Napoleonic experience had reinvigorated the determination to stop ancient works of art leaving the country: new legislation such as the Roman edict of 1820 had been issued in this context (Barbanera 2000: 43). In Greece the export of antiquities was also outlawed in 1827 (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 47), although the continued trade in antiquities made them partly ineffective. Given the impossibility of obtaining riches for their museums by official means, together with opposition from local archaeologists to foreigners excavating in their own countries, most excavations in Italy and Greece were undertaken by native archaeologists. Examples of these were, in Italy, Carlo Fea (1753–1836), Antonio Nibby (1792–1836), Pietro de la Rosa and Luigi Canina (1795–1856) at Rome (Moatti 1993: ch. 5), and Giuseppe Fiorelli at Pompeii. In Greece the main archaeologists were Kyriakos Pittakis, Stephanos Koumanoudis and

Panayiotis Stamatakis (Étienne & Étienne 1992: 90–1; Petrakos 1990). These are only a few names of an increasingly numerous group of local archaeologists working in the archaeological services and in an ever-growing number of museums. Although most of their efforts focused on the classical era, other types of archaeology were being developed such as prehistoric, church and medieval archaeology (Avgouli 1994; Guidi 1988; Loney 2002; Moatti 1993: 110–14). Of special interest is the development of the so-called sacred archaeology, inspired by the interest of the Italian lawyer Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822–94). On the basis of a study of the description of the Rome catacombs provided in documents, he was able to locate many of them starting with those of Saint Calixt in 1844. His efforts received backing from Pope Pius IX, who in 1852 created the Pontifical Commission for Sacred Archaeology.[1] Under this institution the discoveries of other monuments related to the Christian Church in the past continued. Yet, the more general histories of archaeology are mute in describing the accomplishments of Italian archaeologists.

Because of the ban on the export of antiquities, countries were unwilling to finance excavations, although there were some exceptions that will be discussed later on. This meant that most foreign archaeologists focused their studies on already excavated sites and on finds. It is interesting to note that the work of experts came together with that of other consumers of antiquities; in addition to painters and other artists in the 1860s another type of Westerner would be interested in antiquity: the photographer. Photographs increased the circulation of images of antiquity and facilitated the visual experience of the classical model (Hamilakis 2001): one in which the ancient monuments were isolated from their modern context, and emphasized in size and grandiosity, symbolizing knowledge, wisdom and, more than anything else, the origin of Western civilization.

Positivism, the philosophy that raged throughout the academic world in the second half of the nineteenth century, resulted in this period in the production of catalogues. Positivists brought to extremes the eighteenth-century empiricist understanding of knowledge. This should be empirical

[1] In brackets it should be said that sacred archaeology would have an influence not only in other Catholic countries such as Spain, where members of the Church included the Catalan priest Josep Gudiol Cunill (1872–1931), who organized museums and obtained the chair of sacred archaeology in the influential Seminary of Vic in 1898. In Britain a movement to study religious buildings had started in the 1840s (Piggott 1976) and continued for most of the century. Events in Britain had parallels in all Europe (De Maeyer and Verpoest 2000), and included other churches such as the Orthodox Church (Chapter 9). Members of the Church of England started studies on religious architecture in the 1840s (Piggott 1976) and throughout the nineteenth century the Church itself managed to avoid legislation imposing state control on the buildings it owned (Miele 2000: 211).

and verifiable, and not contain any sort of speculation. Knowledge was, therefore, based exclusively on observable or experiential phenomena. This is why observation, description, organization, and taxonomy or typology took the form of large catalogues which reported the old and new finds although they went much beyond their eighteenth-century precedents. Examples of this were, in Italy, the inquiries into Roman copies of Greek sculpture, and research into the Etruscan world, where Greek influences in particular were investigated (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 50; Michaelis 1908: ch. 4; Stiebing 1993: 158). In 1862 Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903) initiated and organized the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum* (Moradiellos 1992: 81–90), an exhaustive catalogue of Latin epigraphical inscriptions. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century German academics took the lead in science as opposed to the French. Detailed study and criticism allowed archaeologists and historians of art to break the previously believed geographical unity of ancient Greek art (Whitley 2000). Empiricism and positivism did not mean that politics were left aside. Mommsen was very explicit about the political aim of his work. He argued that historians had the political and pedagogical duty to support those they had chosen to write about, and that they had to define their political stance. Historians should be voluntary combatants fighting for rights and for Truth and for the freedom of human spirit (Moradiellos 1992: 87).

Informal imperialism in Europe in the last four decades of the century

From the 1860s important political developments took place in Italy. As in the case of Greece, these would not have been possible—at least in the way events evolved—outside the framework of nationalism. The unification of Italy, although practically concluded by 1860, was only considered to be complete after the annexation of Rome in 1870. Italian field archaeology, organized from 1870 by a state archaeological service—the Sopraintendenza de Archeologia—became even more the province of Italians. There were exceptions, but the Italian state was not eager to accept them. This would be made clear to those who attempted to contravene the tacit rules. This was the experience, for example, of a member of the French School who had obtained permission to excavate an archaic cemetery in the 1890s. Soon after the first discoveries had taken place, this work was suspended, only to be resumed under the supervision of the Italian Ministry (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 320). In some cases disputes between Italian and other experts—such as those with German archaeologists following the discovery of an archaic piece at the Roman

Forum—had some echoes in the press where the news acquired some nationalist overtones (Moatti 1989: 127). International occasions such as the meeting of the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology (CIAPP) in Bologna in 1871 were also used to foster nationalist sentiment by the Italian organizers, although these academic rivalries led to criticism by some of the Italian archaeologists (Coye & Provenzano 1996).

Nationalism was also important to the way Greeks perceived their past. The expansion of the territory of Greece throughout the nineteenth century, acquiring areas such as the Ionian Islands in 1864, Thessaly and part of the Epeirus in 1891, led to a desire to erase the Ottoman past. One of the requests for change explained that it was necessary because, among other reasons, 'barbaric and dissonant names . . . give ground to our enemies and to every European who hates Hellas to fire myriad of insults against us, the modern Hellenes, regarding our lineage' (in Alexandri 2002: 193). Emblems would also adopt ancient imagery. The local would only be one level in the collective formation of the national identity; there were others at regional, national and international levels. This building had its tensions that in themselves helped to reinforce the image of the nation (Alexandri 2002). At an academic level, the first integral national history of Greece, the *History of the Hellenic Nation* written in Greek between 1865 and 1876 by Konstantinos Paparigopoulos (Gourgouris 1996: 252), accepted the classical past as the foundational period of the Greek nation. In this account ancient Greece was linked to a second and more definite major Golden Age, the Byzantine medieval era (Gourgouris 1996: 255–6). As in other European countries (Chs. 11 to 13), the medieval period was beginning to acquire a mightier presence through these accounts of the national Golden Ages (Gourgouris 1996: 259). Yet, the appeal of ancient archaeology would remain strong to the Greeks—as is still the case. At that time it was instrumental, for example, in Greece's political claims to annexe other areas beyond the borders established in 1829. The first independent state of Greece was only formed by a few Greek territories and had left aside many other territories inhabited by a predominantly Greek population. The Megale Idea, the 'Great Idea', as this project was called, came closer to reality through the following decades with the incorporation beginning in 1864 of the seven Ionian islands which were under British protection, of Thessaly in 1881, Crete in 1912, and Greek Macedonia in 1913 (Étienne & Étienne 1992: 104–5). In Greece the importance conferred on archaeology was such that it was even financially backed by a generous source, the lottery, whose money was fully dedicated to antiquities from 1887 until 1904. After that date archaeology had to share the lottery funding with payments to the wartime fleet (Étienne & Étienne 1992: 108–9).

Classical Rome and Greece were attractive models, therefore, both for Italian and Greek nationalisms, and for European imperialism, and this was to remain so during the outburst of imperial folly the world experienced from 1870. Comparisons were regularly drawn between ancient Rome and the modern empires, these being, to begin with, Britain and France (Betts 1971; Freeman 1996; Hingley 2000; Jenkyns 1980 but see Brunt 1965). But if the model of Rome served as a rhetorical model of inspiration for politicians, the other side of the coin was also true. Several studies have highlighted the influence that contemporary events had on historians' and archaeologists' interpretations of the past (Angelis 1998; Bernal 1994; Hingley 2000; Leoussi 1998).

The creation of the foreign schools led to further competition between empires. The new foundations by Germany and France in Greece were not viewed impassively by the British. In 1878 *The Times* published a letter by Richard Claverhouse Jebb (1841–1905),[2] then a professor of Greek at the University of Glasgow, in which he wondered why Britain was behind France and Germany in opening archaeology institutes in Athens and Rome (Wiseman 1992: 83). National prestige was at stake. Eventually, the British Academy in Athens would be set up in 1884 (Wiseman 1992: 85). It had been preceded by the creation of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* in 1880. The British Academy would only have its own publication, the *Annual*... from the end of the century, but as an institution it remained generally under-funded well after the Second World War (Whitley 2000: 36).

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens was opened in 1881, preceding, therefore, the British foundation (Dyson 1998: 53–60; Scott 1992: 31). Other foreign schools in Athens would be the Austrian in 1898 and the Italian in 1909 (Beschi 1986; Étienne & Étienne 1992: 107). A similar situation to that occurring in Athens was taking place in Rome. There, the German initiative of converting the internationally based Istituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica into the German Archaeological Institute in 1871 was soon followed by the opening of the French School in 1873. Others would follow: the Austro-Hungarian Historical Institute (1891), the Dutch Institute (1904), the American (1894) and the British (1899) Academies (Vian 1992: passim).

Large-scale excavations began with Olympia by the Germans, and later also included that of the French at Delphi and the Americans at the Athenian

[2] Richard C. Jebb also pointed to the low profile of the only chair of classical archaeology in Britain. The Disney Chair in Cambridge, then occupied by an obscure clergyman with some interests in antiquity, was later occupied by Percy Gardner, a Hellenist formerly from the British Museum and a scholar with direct knowledge of the excavations of Olympia and Mycenae. Later, in 1887, Oxford University instituted the Lincoln and Merton Chair of Classical Archaeology, occupied by Gardner for almost forty years (Wiseman 1992: 83–4).

Agora (Étienne & Étienne 1992: 107). It is important to note, however, that the number of excavations in Italy and Greece were less frequent, partly because potential sponsors—mainly the state and official institutions—were not easy to convince of the value of excavating merely for the sake of widening the knowledge about the period. Professor Ernst Curtius (1814–96), for example, had to argue for twenty years before he succeeded in obtaining state funding from Prussia for his project to excavate the Greek site of Olympia. He had originally proposed to excavate the site in 1853. In his memorandum to the Prussian Foreign Ministry and the Education Ministry he explained that the Greeks had 'neither the interest nor the means' to do major excavations and that the task was too big for the French, who had already started to dig elsewhere. Germany had 'herself inwardly appropriated Greek culture' and 'we [Germans] recognise as a vital objective of our own Bildung that we grasp Greek art in its entire, organic continuity' (Curtius in Marchand 1996a: 81). The outbreak of a war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean War (1853–6), however, delayed his project. In 1872 Curtius tried again. He argued that in order to avoid decadence, Germany should 'accept the disinterested pursuit of the arts and sciences as an essential aspect of national identity and a permanent category in the state's budgets' (in Marchand 1996a: 84). He failed again in his plea: to the instability in Greece, he had to add the opposition by the Prussian chancellor Bismarck, who saw the endeavour as fruitless given the ban on bringing back antiquities for German museums (Marchand 1996a: 82, see also 86).

Finally, Curtius could countermand Bismarck's opposition with the support received from the Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich. The prince appreciated the symbolic importance of excavating a major Greek site. As he explained in 1873, 'when through such an international co-operative venture a treasure trove of pure Greek art works . . . is gradually acquired, both states [Greece and Prussia] will receive the profits, but Prussia alone will receive the glory' (in Marchand 1996a: 82). The prince's negotiations resulted in the excavation treaty signed by the Greek King George in 1874 (Marchand 1996a: 84). Curtius' archaeological campaign started the following year and continued until 1881. Unfortunately, no great discoveries were made, in contrast to the large quantity of finds resulting from the German excavations in the Greek city of Pergamon in Turkey in the same years (see below). Curtius' efforts, accordingly, received little public recognition (*ibid.* 87–91). Unlike the discoveries yielded by the excavations at Pergamon, those from Olympia were not sufficiently useful for the imperial aspirations of Germany. Curtius would later bitterly remark that the bureaucrats 'revel in this accidental mass of originals [coming from Pergamon] and feel they have equalled London' (in Marchand 1996a: 96n).

The difficulty in obtaining state sponsorship was not unique to Germany, but shared by all and it was related to the problems of acquiring collections. The limits to the export of antiquities meant that, to expand their collections with objects originating from Italy and Greece, the great museums of the European powers had either to buy established collections (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 167; Michaelis 1908: 76) or to acquire plaster copies of the major works of ancient art from Italy and Greece (Haskell & Penny 1981; Marchand 1996a: 166). As will be explained later in this chapter, works of art would be obtained in great quantities through excavation and/or plunder in other countries—mainly those under the rule of the Ottoman Empire—with less restrictive legislation regarding antiquities.

In any case, the charm exerted by the Graeco-Roman civilization as an example to modern imperialism was also expressed by the increase in institutionalization of classical archaeology in the imperial metropolises in this period. In France the German-inspired reform of the universities during the early years of the Third Republic (1871–1940) encouraged the creation of new chairs of archaeology at the Sorbonne and several provincial universities, these usually being taken by former members of the French School at Athens and Rome (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 206–27; Schnapp 1996: 58). In the United States, classical archaeology was initially the major focus of the Archaeological Institute of America created in 1879. Its foundation has been considered to represent the beginnings of the institutionalization of the discipline in the United States (Dyson 1998: chs. 2–4, esp. 37–53; Patterson 1991: 248). During the last decades of the nineteenth century and until the First World War, the peak period of imperialism, foreign archaeology in Greece and Italy became marked by the rivalry of the imperial nations in their research. This was demonstrated by the appearance of foreign schools in Athens and Rome. Germany and France were the first to initiate the new trend. Germany not only transformed the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica into a Prussian institution in 1871 (and then into the German Archaeological Institute) but also opened a branch in Athens and began to publish *Athenischen Mitteilungen.* This move was observed with concern by the French, who in 1873 opened a French School in Rome and in 1876 the Institute of Hellenic Correspondence, and started to publish the *Bulletin des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* (Delaunay 2000: 129; Gran-Aymerich 1998: 211). Members of the former were also responsible for organizing expeditions in Argelia (Chapter 9), building an imperial network that will be analysed below. The examination of the flow of ideas between colonies—even between informal and formal colonies—will highlight interesting linkages between hypotheses that have hitherto been addressed separately.

The analysis of the connections between the political context of research and the archaeology of the Greek and Roman civilizations in this period needs also to consider the reasons behind the emphasis placed on language and race. As had happened in the archaeological studies of the northern and central European nations (Chapter 12 and others), the archaeology of Italy and Greece also became increasingly inspired by these topics. Together with liberal ideologies held by scholars such as Theodor Mommsen, the same authors often proposed the importance of the study of race and language in antiquity. For the latter, for example, philology provided the data needed to reconstruct its ancient history, which would in fact be read as a direct equivalent to the race history of Greeks and Romans. Racial discussions on Greek archaeology revolved around Aryanism. The belief of the existence of an Aryan race came from language studies, and in particular, the discovery made at the turn of the century of the linkage of most languages in Europe with Sanskrit in India, a linkage which could only be explained by the existence of a proto-language (Chapter 8). The spread of Indo-European languages from a primeval homeland could only be explained as the result of an ancient migration of a people—the Aryans. These were argued to have been the invaders of Greek lands who had created the prehistoric civilizations uncovered in Mycenae by Heinrich Schliemann and, from 1900, Knossos by Arthur Evans (McDonald & Thomas 1990; Quinn 1996; Whitley 2000: 37). The Aryan race was judged superior to any other. The perfection of the Greek body displayed in classical sculpture was interpreted as the ideal representation of the Aryan physique (Leoussi 1998: 16–19). Classical Greeks personified, therefore, the epitome of Aryanness, that was also found in their modern heirs, the Germanic nations, including Britain (Leoussi 1998; Poliakov 1996 (1971); Turner 1981). Initially, there were no such claims of purity regarding the ancient Romans. Yet, the Villanova cemetery, discovered in 1853, was interpreted as that of a population who had arrived from the north—the Indo-Europeans—responsible in the long term for creating the Latin civilization. Later, however, racial purity became an issue.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SUBLIME PORTE

The Tanzimat years (1839–76)

The nineteenth century was a period of extreme change for Turkey. As the centre of the Ottoman Empire, it endured a profound crisis in which Constantinople (today's Istanbul), the capital of lands in Europe, Asia and Africa, saw its territorial power diminish dramatically until the final collapse of the

empire in 1918. Contrary to common European perception, the Sublime Porte (i.e. the Ottoman Empire) did not remain motionless throughout this process. The empire had reacted promptly to the political rise of Western Europe. A process of Westernization had started as early as 1789, overcoming the resistance by the traditional forces in Ottoman society. However, its military weakness in the face of its European neighbours, evidenced by disasters such as the loss of Greece and other possessions elsewhere, led the Sultan Abdülmecid and his minister Mustafa Reshid Pasha (Reşid Paşa) to start a 'reorganization' in what have been called the Tanzimat years (1839–76). New measures taken at this period were the promulgation of legislation in 1839 declaring the equality of all the subjects before the law—one of the principles of early nationalism (Chapter 3)—the creation of a parliamentary system, the modernization of the administration partly through centralization based in Constantinople, and the spread of education (Deringil 1998).

Regarding antiquities, the most obvious result of the wave of Europeanization was the organization of the relics collected by the Ottoman rulers from 1846. The collection was first housed in the church of St Irini. It was composed of military paraphernalia and antiquities (Arik 1953: 7; Özdogan 1998: 114; Shaw 2002: 46–53). The opening of the museum could be read as a counterbalance to the Western hegemonic discourse, making Graeco-Roman antiquities 'native' by integrating them into the history of the modern Ottoman imperial state. Thus, the empire claimed symbolically to civilize nature reinforcing the Ottoman right to the territories claimed by European philhellenes and the biblical lands (Shaw 2000: 57; 2002: 59). The small collection at St Irini eventually germinated into the Ottoman Imperial Museum, officially created in 1868 and opened six years later. In 1869 an order had been issued for 'antique works to be collected and brought to Constantinople' (Önder 1983: 96). Some sites such as the Roman Temples of Baalbek in Lebanon were studied by Ottoman officials displaced there as a result of the violence which had erupted between Druses and Maronites in 1860 (Makdisi 2002: para. 23). Baalbek was not used as a metaphor of the imperial decline, as Europeans had done until then referring to the Ottomans, but as a representation of the Empire's own rich and dynamic heritage (*ibid.* para. 28). In 1868 the Education Minister, Ahmet Vekif Pasha, decided to give the post of director of the Imperial Museum to Edward Goold, a teacher in the Imperial Lyceum of Galatasaray. He would publish, in French, a first catalogue of the exhibition (www nd-e). In 1872 the position went to the headmaster of the Austrian High School, Philipp Anton Dethier (1803–81). Under his direction the antiquities were moved to Çinili Köşk (the Tiled Pavilion), in the gardens of what had been until 1839 the Sultan's Palace—Topkapi Palace. Dethier also planned the enlargement of the museum, created a school of archaeology and was behind

the promulgation of the firmer legislation regarding antiquities in 1875 (Arik 1953: 7).

The authorities' reaction was not strong enough to counter-alleviate the Europeans' greed for classical objects. From 1827 Greece's ban on the export of antiquities had left the Anatolian Western coast as the only source of classical Greek antiquities to furnish European museums. This would obviously affect the provinces of Ayoin and Biga, as well as the Aegean islands then under Ottoman rule. The European endeavour centred on ancient sites such as Halicarnassus (Bodrum), Ephesus (Efes), and Pergamon (Bergama) on the mainland and on islands such as Rhodes, Kalymnos, and Samothrace. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries British, Germans, and others would divest this area of its best ancient classical works of art, an appropriation to which later in the nineteenth century its Islamic heritage would be added. Western intervention, however, was increasingly viewed with mistrust by the Ottoman government, and a growing number of restrictions were set to control it, backed by ever-tighter legislation.

France had an early but short-lived interest in Anatolian archaeology that resulted in Charles Texier's (1802–71) expedition funded by the French government in 1833–7 (Michaelis 1908: 92). During the central decades of the nineteenth century Britain became the main contender in Anatolian archaeology (Cook 1998). The sound political and economic relations between the Ottoman Empire and Britain constituted an ideal background for the intention of the British Museum Trustees to enrich the collection of Greek antiquities, enabling the organization of several expeditions (Jenkins 1992: 169). The first, led by Charles Fellows (1799–1860), a banker's son who indulged in travelling, took place in the early 1840s (Stoneman 1987: 209–16). A permit was obtained to collect the antiquities at Xantos on the island of Rhodes for they were 'lying down here and there, and . . . of no use'. It was granted 'in consequence of the sincere friendship existing between the two Governments [Ottoman and British]' (letter from the Grand Vizir to the Governor of Rhodes in Cook 1998: 141). It would only be after the next major excavation, that of Halicarnassus, that resistance would begin from the Ottoman government towards this European appropriation.

Restrictions started with the dig excavations at Halicarnassus, and continued with that of Ephesus. In 1856 a permit was obtained to remove the sculptures suspected of belonging to the ancient mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the Castle at Bodrum. In this case the British Museum commissioned Charles Newton (1816–94) to undertake the first work in the field, in the 1860s supported by others (Cook 1998: 143; Jenkins 1992: ch. 8; Stoneman 1987: 216–24). One of the first clashes between the Ottoman government and the excavators sent by the European imperial powers happened here. In this

case the coup de force was clearly won by the foreigners. In 1857, Newton managed to ignore the attempts made by the Ottoman War Minister who requested some of the findings—some sculptures of lions—for the museum at Constantinople (Jenkins 1992: 183). They were finally shipped to the British Museum. The uneasiness of the Ottoman authorities towards Western intervention became increasingly apparent in the 1860s and restrictions continued to grow. In 1863 the permit to remove sculptures from Ephesus (Efes) obtained by Sir John Turtle Wood (1821–90), a British architect living in Smyrna and working for the British Railroad Company, was granted only on the condition that if similar items were found, one should be sent to the Ottoman government (Cook 1998: 146). The excavation exhumed a large quantity of material for the British Museum, which arrived there during the late 1860s and 1870s (Cook 1998: 146–50; Stoneman 1987: 230–6).

In 1871 the permission obtained by the German entrepreneur, Heinrich Schliemann (1822–90), for the excavation of Troy was even more restrictive: half of the finds had to be given to the Ottoman government. The subsequent events would later be interpreted in the Ottoman Empire as a proof of the extreme arrogance of the West. Schliemann did not comply with the agreement and decided instead to smuggle the best findings of his campaign at Troy—the Priam's treasure—out of Turkey in 1873. He claimed that the reason was 'instead of yielding the finds to the government . . . by keeping all to myself, I saved them for the science. All the civilized world will appreciate what I have done' (in Özdogan 1998: 115). The 'Schliemann affair' would have consequences not only for the Ottoman Empire but for Germany as well. The embarrassment of this diplomatic situation made the authorities in Berlin determine that, in the future, private individuals would be dissuaded from excavating abroad (Marchand 1996a: 120) (although Schliemann would be able to excavate again in Troy in 1878). Imperial archaeology was more than ever becoming a conscious state enterprise. In Turkey itself the 'Schliemann scandal' would have as a consequence the promulgation of the laws of 1874–5, whereby the excavator had the right only to retain one third of what was unearthed. The implementation of the law, however, had its problems, no less because it was overlooked by many including the state, for example in a secret treaty in 1880 between the German and the Ottoman governments related to Pergamon mentioned below.

The Hamidian period (1876–1909)

The Ottoman Empire did not remain unaffected by changes in the character of nationalism in the 1870s. As with many other nations, it was mainly in this

period that Ottoman intellectuals started a search for the cultural roots of their national past, for the Golden Ages of their ethnic history. In this self-inspection not only were classical antiquities given more importance but the Islamic past became definitively integrated into the national historical account of Turkey. These changes occurred in the Hamidian period during the reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909), and a key figure in them was Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910), a reformist educated as a lawyer and as an artist in France (among others by the archaeologist Salomon Reinach). Hamdi took over Déthier's post at his death in 1881. As the director of the Imperial museums (Arik 1953: 8) Hamdi Bey would encourage many changes: the promulgation of more protective legislation regarding antiquities, the introduction of European exhibition methods, he initiated excavations, and introduced the publication of museum journals and the opening of several local museums in places such as Tessaloniki, Pergamon, and Cos. Regarding the first change mentioned, Hamdi Bey was behind the antiquities law passed in 1884 whereby all archaeological excavations were put under the control of the Ministry of Education. More importantly, antiquities—or at least those considered so at this time, for there was some ambiguity about whether Islamic antiquities were included—were deemed as the property of the state and their export was regulated. However, as Eldem (2004: 136–46) indicates, there still were many instances in which Europeans managed to smuggle antiquities out of the country.

Under Hamdi's guidance several excavations mainly of Hellenistic and Phoenician sites were undertaken throughout the empire. One of the first excavations undertaken by him was one that he hurriedly excavated in 1883, knowing that the Germans were too interested in it. He also dug the tumulus of Antiochus I of Commagene on Nemrud Dagi. One of the key discoveries by Hamdi Bey was the Royal Necropolis of Sidon (nowadays in Lebanon) in 1887, where he located the alleged sarcophagus of Alexander the Great which he then had moved to the Constantinople museum (Makdisi 2002: para. 29). This resulted in an important enlargement of the existing collections in Constantinople which provided the excuse to claim for the need for a new accommodation for the museum. A new building with a neo-classical façade was constructed in the grounds of the Topkapi Imperial Palace, designed by Alexander Vallaury, a French architect and professor at the Constantinople Imperial School of Fine Arts. The new discoveries, together with other Greek and Roman collections, were moved there in 1891. This museum mimicked its European counterparts: the classical past still served as a metaphor of civilization. Significantly, this past was physically separated from the more recent, Oriental antiquities, which were not moved to the new premises. The new museum was well received by Europeans; as

Michaelis (1908: 276) stated, the museum was ranked 'among the finest in Europe'.

Despite restrictions and new legislation, foreign archaeology's intervention on Turkish soil grew in the Hamidian period. Britain now shared her involvement with other rising imperial nations such as Germany (Pergamon, from 1878), Austria (Gölbasi, from 1882, Ephesus, from 1895), the United States (Assos from 1881, Sardis from 1910) and Italy (from 1913).[3] Of these, Germany would be the nation to invest most efforts in—and obtain more riches from—Anatolian archaeology. This can be contextualized in the favoured treatment that Abdülhamid II gave to the Germans, when he established a strong informal alliance between the Ottoman Empire and Germany in the decades leading up to the First World War. In archaeology, in the first instance, Germany's role owed much to Alexander Conze's (1831–1914) shrewdness regarding the settlement made for the excavation of Pergamon. From his post as director of the Berlin Royal Museums' sculpture collection, Conze convinced the excavator, Carl Humann (1839–96), to downplay the potential of the site to be in a better negotiating position with the Ottoman government. Findings made from 1878 were not publicized until 1880, by which time the Ottoman government had not only sold the local property to Humann in a secret treaty, but also renounced its one-third share of the finds in favour of a relatively small sum of money—a deal partly explained by the bankruptcy of the Ottoman state (Marchand 1996a: 94; Stoneman 1987: 290). In 1880 Germany saw the arrival of the first impressive shipment from Pergamon. Humann 'was received like a general who has returned from the battlefield, crowned with victory' (Kern in Marchand 1996a: 96). As indicated earlier in this chapter, the success in Pergamon resulted in the lack of interest in excavations in Greece—Olympia— which, it was felt, only provided information for science and not objects of value to be displayed in museums (Marchand 2003: 96). For the idea of archaeology as history of art, however, the excavations of Pergamon came to form part of a trilogy that was to be the basis of the understanding of Greek archaeology. As the excavation of Olympia in Greece had provided a higher understanding of the sequence from the archaic to the Roman periods, and that of Ephesus provided information from the seventh century BCE[4] to the Byzantine era, the work on Pergamon reinforced knowledge of the urbanism, culture and art of the post-Alexandrine and Roman periods (Bianchi Bandinelli 1982 (1976): 113–15).

[3] References for the imperial archaeology in the Hamidian period are for Britain (Gill 2004); Germany (Marchand 1996a); Austria (Stoneman 1987: 292; Wiplinger and Wlach 1995); the United States (Patterson 1995b: 64), and Italy (D'Andria 1986).

[4] In this book BCE [before common era] will be used instead of BC and CE instead of AD.

The numerous findings unearthed in the various campaigns of Pergamon—the first one finished in 1886 but then continued in 1901–15 and from 1933 (Marchand 1996a: 95)—would also create in Germany the need for a large museum similar to the British Museum and the Louvre. The Pergamon Museum, planned in 1907, would eventually open in 1930 (Bernbeck 2000: 100). The excavation of Pergamon was also important on another level. In 1881 Alexander Conze became the head of the German Archaeological Institute. The campaign at Pergamon had taught him several lessons, not least that the institute had to be formed by salaried experts, following the directives of the main office of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin (Marchand 1996a: 100). Under his direction, the German Archaeological Institute became the first fully professionalized foreign institute.

Finally, the German excavations were very influential in several European countries.[5] The successor to Conze's Austrian chair from 1877 was Otto Benndorf (1838–1907).[6] After teaching in Zurich (Switzerland), Munich (Germany), and Prague (Czechia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), he was appointed in Vienna, founding the archaeology and epigraphy department. In 1881–2 he excavated the Heroon of Gölbasi-Trysa, in Lycia (a region located on the southern coast of Turkey), sending reliefs, the entrance tower, a sarcophagus, and more than one hundred boxes to the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Museum of Art History) in Vienna in 1882. He helped Carl Humann with his excavation in Pergamon and later in the century, in 1898, he founded the Österreichische Archäologische Institut (Austrian Archaeological Institute) and was its first director until his death.

The study of the past in the Hamidian period did not only differ from the previous years in the greater control exerted by the Ottoman government regarding classical antiquities. It also contrasted with the Tanzimat era in the firm integration of Islamic history as part of Turkey's past. This coincided with a renewed impulse given to national history (Shaw 2002: chs. 7–9). Although the best-known national history of Turkey, Necib Asim's *History of the Turks*, was only published in 1900, publications similar to those produced by the European nations existed from the 1860s, such as that published by a converted Polish exile, Celaleddin Pasha, in 1869, *Ancient and Modern Turks* (Smith 1999: 76–7). These histories assisted in the formation of a new, modern identity for the Ottoman Empire. In them, the Islamic past

[5] For American archaeologists in Turkey see Gates (1996).

[6] There are many more German and Austrian scholars working on the Greek world whose scholarship was extremely influential in the development of the philological and art-historical approach in the last decades of the nineteenth century. To name a few, one can mention Franz Wickhoff (Art History), Robert Ritter von Schneider (Greek Archaeology), Wolfgang Reichel (Homeric Archaeology), and Eugen Bormann (Ancient History and Epigraphy) (see also others in Marchand 1996a).

was described. During the Hamidian period Islam was being used as one of the main reasons to hold the state together, although in practice different religions and ethnic groups were tolerated as an integral part of the empire (Makdisi 2002: paras. 10–13). The Islamic past became worth researching, preserving and displaying. In the new landscape of the empire, religious and imperial sites—places that were somehow related to the history of the Ottoman ruling family—became national symbols (Shaw 2000: 66). In some of them monuments were erected as historical mnemonics, as objects to assist memory. Thus, in 1886 a mausoleum was built for the resting place of Ertugrul Gazi, the father of the first sultan of the House of Osman and one of Turkey's original heroes (Deringil 1998: 31).

Yet, although the Islamic past was definitively becoming part of the nationalist agenda, the appeal of the archaeology of the Islamic period only increased gradually. There were signs pointing in this direction, such as the creation of a first Department of Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum in 1889, that is, about twenty-five years after its opening. However, when the classical works of art were moved to the new museum premises in 1891, Islamic works of art were left behind, being taken from one venue to another until 1908, when they were eventually assembled in Topkapi's Tiled Pavilion. Despite their apparent lesser importance, the very act of displaying objects hitherto vested with religious significance marked in itself an important landmark and its significance should not be underestimated. This was not the result of storing objects as a response to a threat of destruction of religious objects, as had happened in Paris a century before when the Museum of French Monuments was created (Chapter 11), but part of a conscious process of nation building. Religious objects were being converted into national icons. The importance of antiquities from the Islamic period also became apparent in 1906, when new legislation tried to put a halt to their rapid disappearance to the European market which was growing increasingly eager for exotic Oriental objects. The lateness in building a sound scholarly base for the historical and artistic understanding of the Islamic past may explain why archaeology was practically left aside in the construction of pan-Islamic nationalism, a movement that also had followers in the Ottoman Empire such as Egypt (Gershoni & Jankowski 1986: 5–8).

Islamic antiquities would finally be given priority as secularized metaphors of the Golden Age of the Turkish nation after the constitutionalist Young Turk Revolution of 1908–10 (Shaw 2000: 63; 2002: ch. 9). Several commissions were organized, the first one in 1910, to discuss the preservation of Islamic antiquities in the country. In the following years others would be organized, one in 1915 to take on researching and publishing works 'of Turkish civilization, Islam, and knowledge of the nation' (in Shaw 2002: 212). Finally, in the

same year the Commission for the Protection of Antiquities was set up to deal with the enforcement of the legislation protecting antiquities. A report on the deplorable state of the palace of Topkapi was issued acknowledging that 'Every nation makes the necessary provisions for the preservation of its fine arts and monuments and thus preserves the endless virtues of its ancestors as a lesson in civilization for its descendants' (in Shaw 2002: 212). As these words make clear, the nationalist vocabulary had definitively been accepted in Turkey's policy towards archaeological heritage.

In addition to the re-evaluation of the Islamic past, at the start of the twentieth century a fresh interest in the prehistoric past emerged. Interestingly, it was promoted by a pan-Turkish ideology which proposed the union of all Turkish peoples in Asia in one nation-state (Magnarella & Türkdogan 1976: 265). The proponents of this ideology organized the Turkish Society (Türk Dernegi) in 1908, an association with its own journal, *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland). The society's objectives were to study 'the ancient remains, history, languages, literatures, ethnography and ethnology, social conditions and present civilizations of the Turks, and the ancient and modern geography of the Turkish lands' (in Magnarella & Türkdogan 1976: 265). As in Europe, the search for a national prehistoric past became a quest for the racial origins of the nation identified in the Sumerians and Hittites. This would feature in the discourse on the past adopted by Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) after his rise to power after the First World War.

POST-NAPOLEONIC EGYPT: PLUNDER AND NARRATIVES OF EMPIRE AND RESISTANCE

The plunder of Egyptian antiquities

There had been a long tradition of interest in Egyptian antiquities even before the studies undertaken in situ in the Napoleonic period (Chapters 2 and 3). After the power struggle which followed the French and British invasions, Muhammad Ali, an army officer of Macedonian origin, was confirmed as Egypt's ruler in 1805. Under him, Egypt acted with increasing independence from her Ottoman master. His period in office (r. 1805–48) was characterized by a state-led modernization towards the Western model. In this context, some native scholars travelled to Europe. One of these was Rifaa Rafii al-Tahtawi (1801–73), who spent some time in Paris in the late 1820s, where he became aware of the European interest in Egyptian (and classical) antiquities. One of his collaborators was Joseph Hekekyan (*c.* 1807–74), a

British-educated Armenian engineer born in Constantinople who worked on the industrialization of Egypt (Jeffreys 2003: 9; Reid 2002: 59–63; Solé 1997: 69–73). The situation al-Tahtawi found back in Egypt was deplorable compared to the standards he had learned in Paris. Antiquities were not only being destroyed by the local people, who saw the old temples as easy quarries for stone or lime, they were also being plundered by collectors of antiquities. These were led by the French, British and Swedish consuls—Bernardino Drovetti (1776–1852), Henry Salt (1780–1827) and Giovanni Anastasi (1780–1860)—and their agents—Jean Jacques Rifaud (1786–1852) and Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778–1823) as well as by professional looters.[7] Later scientific expeditions had also taken part in the seizure of antiquities. The French expedition of 1828–9 headed by Champollion was by far the most modest. In addition to many antiquities, the expedition obtained a major piece of one of the obelisks at Luxor, which was erected at the Place de la Concorde in Paris in 1836. This was one of the many examples in which obelisks became part of the urban landscape of imperial Europe. The obelisk at the Place de la Concorde in Paris was the first one to be removed in the modern era. Then, in 1878, another one—the so-called 'Cleopatra's Needle'—was erected on the Thames Embankment in London and in 1880 New York acquired its own obelisk at Central Park. As a result only four obelisks were left standing in Egypt (three in the Karnak Temple in Luxor and one in Heliopolis, Cairo), whereas Rome had thirteen, Constantinople had one, and Britain, France, and the US had one each.

Other expeditions were not as modest as Champollion's. Richard Lepsius, sent by the Prussian state between 1842 and 1845, in addition to recording many site plans and rough stratigraphic sections (later published in his multivolume *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*), managed to increase considerably the Berlin Museum's collections (Marchand 1996a: 62–5). Lepsius advocated for Prussian involvement in Egypt as a way for Prussia to become a major player in the study of that civilization. As he put it:

> It seems that for Germany, for which above all other nations scholarship has become a calling, and which has not yet done anything to further scholarship since the key to the ancient land of wonders was found [Champollion's decipherment of the hieroglyphs], the time has come to take up this task from her perspective and to lead on toward a solution.
>
> (Marchand 1996a: 62–3).

[7] On the personalities dealing with archaeology in this period see Fagan (1975: 97–256); Jasanoff (2005: chs. 7–9); Manley and Rée (2001); Mayes (2003); Vercoutter (1992: 60–82). On the French expedition of 1828–9 Fagan (1975: 97–256); Gran-Aymerich (1998: 79); Jasanoff (2005: 287–99); Vercoutter (1992: 60–82). About the obelisks see Fagan (1975: 260); Habachi (1977: ch. 7); Iversen (1968–72); Jasanoff (2005: 293).

One of Lepsius' colleagues, Ernst Curtius, reported that Lepsius had always been proud 'that he was allowed to be the one who unfurled the Prussian banner in a distant part of the world and was permitted to inaugurate a new era of science and art in the Fatherland' (in Marchand 1996a: 63).

Tahtawi's protests against the lack of interest towards the ancient Egyptian civilization, together with Champollion's pleas to the pasha, eventually resulted in the promulgation of an edict in 1835 forbidding the export of antiquities and making it illegal to destroy monuments (Fagan 1975: 262, 365; Reid 2002: 55–6). The ordinance also regulated the creation of an Egyptian Antiquities Service housed in the Ezbeqieh gardens of Cairo, where a museum was formed. The museum was to house antiquities belonging to the government and obtained through official excavations. However, most of these measures came to nothing, for the pasha was not interested in creating mechanisms to enforce the law. Instead, he subsequently used the museum collections as a source of gifts for foreign visitors; the last objects dispatched in this way were sent to the Archduke Maximilian of Austria in 1855.

European demand and Muhammad Ali's lack of care for the past encouraged the development of a strong antiquities market. Antiquities were being shipped out of Egypt in great quantities, the most popular destinations being the great museums. As Ernest Renan (1823–92), perhaps chauvinistically, described the situation in the 1860s:

> Purveyors to museums have gone through the country like vandals; to secure a fragment of a head, a piece of inscription, precious antiquities were reduced to fragments. Nearly always provided with a consular instrument, these avid destroyers treated Egypt as their own property. The worst enemy, however, of Egyptian antiquities is still the English or American traveller. The names of these idiots will go down to posterity, since they were careful to inscribe themselves on famous monuments across the most delicate drawings.
>
> (Fagan 1975: 252–3).

The antiquities market was also promoted by the appearance of a new type of European in Egypt. They were tourists helped, from 1830, by the publication of tourist guides starting with one in French and followed by others published in English and German (Reid 2002: ch. 2).

Auguste Mariette

Change would only come with the advent of the French archaeologist Auguste Mariette (1821–81). Mariette's first visit to Egypt took place in his role of an agent with the remit of obtaining antiquities for the Louvre. In 1850–1 he

excavated the Serapeum at Sakkara, providing the Louvre with a large collection of objects. He returned to Egypt in 1857 to assemble a collection of antiquities to be presented as a gift to 'Prince Napoleon'—Napoleon III' cousin—during his planned (but never undertaken) visit to Egypt. Before Mariette returned to France in 1858 a good friend of the pasha, the French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps (the builder of the Suez Canal between 1859 and 1869), convinced him to appoint Mariette as 'Maamour', director of Egyptian Antiquities, and put him in charge of a resurrected Antiquities Service. He was given funds to allow him 'to clear and restore the temple ruins, to collect stelae, statues, amulets and any easily transportable objects wherever these were to be found, in order to secure them against the greed of the local peasants or the covetousness of Europeans' (in Vercoutter 1992: 106). Mariette saw the beginning of a period of about ninety-four years of predominance of French archaeology over Egyptology, lasting even during much of the 'temporary' British military occupation of Egypt from 1882 (Fagan 1975; Reid 2002: chs. 3–5; Vercoutter 1992).

Mariette managed to set up a museum in 1863 and to slow down the pace at which Egyptian monuments were being destroyed, partly by forbidding all archaeological fieldwork other than his own. To a certain extent he was also able to hold back the export of antiquities. In 1859 the news of a discovery of the intact sarcophagus of Queen A-hetep and the seizure of all findings by the local governor required Mariette's strong intervention to stop this illegal appropriation of archaeological objects. The resulting treasure was presented to the pasha and included a gift of a scarab and a necklace for one of his wives. The pasha's delight at both the findings—as well as, and as Fagan points out (1975: 281), at the discomfiture of his governor,—led him to order the building of a new museum, which would eventually be opened at the suburb of Bulaq in Cairo. The Queen A-hetep finding was also important in a different way. When the Empress Eugénie, Napoleon III's wife, asked the pasha to receive this discovery as a gift to her, he sent the Empress to ask Mariette, who refused to handle it. This decision was not received happily by either of the sovereigns, but it was a landmark in the conservation of Egyptian archaeology (Reid 1985: 235). Mariette also ignored Napoleon III's comment that the antiquities of the Bulaq would be better off in the Louvre (*ibid.* 2002: 101).

Mariette—as well as his successor to the post, Gaston Maspero—was merely able to reduce the destruction and illegal export of antiquities rather than stop it completely. There were even accusations of the Antiquities Service's involvement in the illegal handling of works of art (Fagan 1975: passim). He had to be especially vigilant towards the agents of the great European museums. The craving for more antiquities had not halted, despite

the law that new museum acquisitions could now only be acquired through the legal export of antiquities. The continuation of illegal trade of antiquities indicates that the European governments were in practice disregarding Egyptian law. This disrespect was explained by Wallis Budge, assistant keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, described by Fagan (1975: 295–304) as one of the major illegal looters of antiquities, in the following manner:

> Whatever blame may be attached to individual archaeologists for removing mummies from Egypt, every unprejudiced person who knows anything of the subject must admit that when once a mummy has passed into the care of the Trustees, and is lodged in the British Museum, it has a far better chance of being preserved there than it could possibly have in any tomb, royal or otherwise, in Egypt.
>
> (Fagan 1975: 304).

The fear of losing the French control of Egyptian archaeology when Mariette's health deteriorated fostered the creation of the first foreign school in Cairo, the Mission Archéologique, the French Archaeological Mission of 1880, later transformed into the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology (Reid 1985: 236; Vernoit 1997: 2). Therefore, as already in Italy and Greece, in Egypt the French state funded an institution to deal with antiquities. In contrast, the similar British institution, the Egypt Exploration Fund (later called Egypt Exploration Society) founded in 1882, was a private initiative. The impetus for its creation came mainly from the English lady novelist and travel writer, Amelia Edwards (1831–92). Edwards had travelled to Egypt with her companion Kate Griffiths in 1873–4 and then set out to popularize the Egyptian world through her publications and numerous talks as well as to denounce the extent of the looting of antiquities (Champion 1998: 179–82; Fagan 1975: 322; Moon 2006). In Britain she received the support of Reginald Stuart Poole (1832–95), the keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. The objectives of the Egypt Exploration Fund were 'to organise expeditions in Egypt, with a view to the elucidation of the History and Arts of Ancient Egypt, and the illustration of the Old Testament narrative, so far as it has to do with Egypt and the Egyptians' (in Fagan 1975: 323). This emphasis introduces an important factor that will be further discussed in Chapter 6: the influence of the Bible in the archaeology of Egypt, as well as Mesopotamia, Palestine, and to a certain extent Lebanon and Turkey. Accordingly, the Fund promoted legal intervention in Egyptian archaeology by scientifically excavating promising sites and respecting the legislation regarding the destination of the finds. Amelia Edwards would also become important in Egyptian archaeology for her role in academic Egyptology. In her Will she endowed a chair of Egyptian archaeology at the University of London to be occupied by

her protégé Flinders Petrie (1853–1942). In addition to the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology and the Egypt Exploration Society, the Germans established a 'general consulate' for archaeology in 1899 which in 1907 became the German Institute for Egyptian Antiquity (Deutsches Institut für ägyptische Altertumskunde) (Marchand 1996a: 195).

The imperial resistance against a native alternative

Protagonism in nineteenth-century Egyptian archaeology had resided in foreign activities on Egyptian soil. This was not only caused by the interest of the imperial powers in appropriating the Pharaonic past, but also by their opposition to accepting native expertise in the study of antiquities. Mariette's role—as well as those of his successors—in stopping antiquities leaving Egypt was not matched by an opening of the foundation of a national Egyptian archaeological institution. A generalized patronizing attitude prevailed towards Egyptians. Hekekyan's geomorphological studies in the Cairo area, one of the earliest of this kind, was received in Britain with the criticism that the survey was not reliable because it had not been supervised by an authoritative scholar such as his sponsor, the President of the London Geological Society, Leonard Horner (Jeffreys 2003: 9). Another case of Europeans' patronizing attitude or prejudice towards Egyptians is that of the French archaeologist Mariette, who gave orders that no native would be allowed to copy inscriptions in the museum. Also Maspero's description of the opening of the Archaeology Museum in 1863 years later is revealing. He said that the Pasha, Khedive (viceroy) Ismail (r. 1863–79), 'being the true Oriental that he was . . . the loathing and fear which he had of death kept him from entering a building containing mummies' (in Reid 2002: 107). Native would-be Egyptologists seeking careers in the Antiquities Service were denied entry during Mariette's time, despite some being trained at the School of the Ancient Egyptian Language or School of Egyptology, created by his colleague (and friend) the German scholar Heinrich Brugsch in 1869 (*ibid.* 116–18). Despite Mariette's efforts against this, after his death some of Brugsch's disciples were able to achieve positions of importance within official Egyptian archaeology. One of them, Ahmad Pasha Kamal (1849–1923), would become the first Egyptian curator at the Cairo Museum. He was appointed to the museum after Mariette's death, and in the first few years organized a course on Egyptian hieroglyphs for a small number of students. Yet, following Maspero's departure to France in 1886, a period of chaos resulted in which the museum was led by incompetent directors (Fagan 1975: 353) who disregarded native expertise. Kamal had to close his Egyptian hieroglyphs school. Few of his

students found jobs in the Antiquities Service, and Kamal himself was marginalized at the museum in favour of more junior French archaeologists. During this period, however, another Egyptian trained in Brugsch's school, Ahmad Najib, became one of the two inspectors-in-chief (*ibid.* 186–90). Upon Maspero's return from France in 1899 Najib was supplanted from his post. Although no Egyptian was given the directorship of any of the five provincial inspectorates, Ahmad Kamal was promoted to become one of the three curators of the museum (the others being of French and German origin). Kamal's appointment acted as a precedent, and made possible the opening of other museums elsewhere in Egypt run by local staff (Haikal 2003; Reid 2002: 204).

Kamal continued his efforts to teach Egyptology, first at the Higher School Club, then at a newly founded private Egyptian University in 1908–9,[8] and finally from 1912 at the Higher Teachers College. His pupils, although they still experienced a chilly reception by the Europeans in charge and were denied entry to the Antiquities Department, would form the important second generation of native Egyptologists (Haikal 2003). Kamal retired in 1914, his post being filled by a non-Egyptian. When he again insisted on the need to train Egyptians shortly before his death the then director of the museum replied that only a few Egyptians had shown any interest on the subject. 'Ah M. Lacau', the answer came, 'in the sixty-five years you French have directed the Service, what opportunities have you given us?' (in Reid 1985: 237).

Egyptians had also been denied the chance to study and preserve Islamic art—then called Arab art and archaeology (Reid 2002: 215). As might have been expected, given the situation described above, the initiative of caring for the Islamic period had come from Europeans—mainly from French and British citizens. This had come with the creation of the Committee for the Conservation of Monuments of Arab Art in 1881. Three years later the Museum of Arab Art was opened by this institution at the ruined mosque of al-Hakim with only one staff member—the doorkeeper (*ibid.* ch. 6, esp. 222). Although in most cases Egyptians outnumbered Europeans in the committee their influence was less powerful. They were officials who had other commitments and were not paid to serve in a committee whose discussions were, moreover, undertaken in a foreign language—French. In addition, the decisions made by the committee were taken on the basis of a technical section exclusively formed by Europeans who worked daily on the matters

[8] The Egyptian University was created in 1908 under the inspiration of Khedive Abbas (Abbas Hilmi II), overcoming the opposition of the British Consul General in Egypt Lord Cromer who had previously vetoed the institution as a breeding ground for nationalists (Reid 2002: 248).

under discussion. Not surprisingly, Egyptian attendance at meetings seems to have been poor, this being due to the resistance against European dominance or perhaps to reluctance in the face of foreign expertise. However, it was an Egyptian, Ali Bahgat (1858–1924), who directed the excavations at the Islamic ruins of Fusat begun by the Museum of Arab Art in 1912 (Vernoit 1997: 5). Despite this, in this period, Islamic archaeology did not reach the importance that had been granted to Pharaonic Egypt. At the turn of the century new premises for the Museum of Arab Art were built, but their cost was only a quarter of that of the new buildings opened in 1902–3 for the Egyptian Museum displaying collections of Pharaonic Egypt. It may be worth noting that this imbalance in the importance given to each museum is paralleled in the number of pages the widely used Baedeker tourist guide assigned to them in its edition of 1908. Two and a half pages were devoted to Islamic art as opposed to twenty-eight on Pharaonic Egypt (Reid 2002: 215, 239).

The obvious power that the classical model had in the Western world was epitomized by the publications of the British Consul General in Egypt from 1883 to 1907, Lord Cromer, who, for example, in *Modern Egypt* (1908), often included untranslated Greek and Latin quotations. He served as the president of the London Classical Association after his retirement and also had an effect on Egyptian native scholarship. However, not only Europeans paid attention to the Graeco-Roman past. A few decades before Cromer, as Reid indicates, Al-Tahtawi's *Anwar* (1868), which has been admired for its novel treatment of Pharaonic Egypt, in fact had twice the number of pages dedicated to the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods (Reid 2002: 146). Also in the mid 1860s excavations were undertaken in Alexandria, the town to the north of Egypt of Hellenistic origin, by another Egyptian savant, Mahmud al-Falaki (1815–85). He was a naval engineer who had become interested in astronomy in Paris, and in combining it with geography and ancient topography. His excavations aimed at drawing a map of the city in ancient times, a work that scholars have used ever since (*ibid.* 152–3). Despite his expertise, Mahmud al-Falaki seems to have perceived Europe as the centre for 'pure science'. He believed that scientists living elsewhere should assist European research by compiling data and resolving applied problems (*ibid.* 153).

The examples of Al-Tahtawi and al-Falaki, however, seem to have been the exception. In spite of al-Falaki's initiative most of those involved in the Institut égyptien (1859–80), the place in Alexandria where papers on Graeco-Roman topics were read and articles published, were Europeans. Similarly few Egyptians participated in the discussions (*ibid.* 159). No Egyptian Muslims or Copts played a part either in the foundation of a Greco-Roman Museum in 1892 or a Société d'archéologie d'Alexandrie in 1893. In 1902 from the total membership of 102 members of the society, only four were

Egyptians. The bulletin of the society was published in the major European languages but not in either Arabic or Greek (*ibid.* 160–3). Yet, in addition to Europeans there was another group who showed an interest in the study of the Graeco-Roman past. These were Syrian Christian immigrants who had arrived in Egypt from the mid 1870s, undertook many translations and wrote about the classical period in many publications written in Arabic (*ibid.* 163–6).

Unique to Egypt, of course, was its Pharaonic past. From the three possible types of nationalism existing in Egypt at the time, ethnic or linguistic nationalism, religious nationalism, and territorial patriotism, it was, to a certain extent, the second and, particularly, the third type that had a major influence at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Gershoni & Jankowski 1986: 3). This form of nationalism allowed the integration into the national discourse of the country's most ancient past. The Pharaonic past became the original Golden Age of the nation in the early national histories of Egypt. Of special importance was the work of Tahtawi, now considered the most important thinker of Egypt, most notably the first volume of his national history which was published in 1868–9 (Reid 1985: 236; Wood 1998: 180). The Pharaonic past became part of the secondary school curriculum in Egypt from at least 1874 (Reid 2002: 146–8; Wilson 1964: 181). In the midst of the nationalist ferment of the 1870s and early 1880s, local interest in ancient Egypt made possible the publication of books on the subject written in Arabic mainly by ex-students of Brugsch's school. At least two appeared in the 1870s, three in the 1880s, and six in the 1890s (Reid 1985: 236). The emergent nationalism movement against British control over Egypt would eventually be led by a young lawyer, Mustafa Kamil (1874–1908), the founder of the Nationalist Party (*al-hizb al-watani*) and by Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, who created the Party of the Nation (*hizb al-umma*) (Gershoni & Jankowski 1986: 6). Although some alluded to the Islamic Golden Age of the Mamluks, for others the Pharaonic period was more appropriately native. In 1907 Kamal stated that:

> We do not work for ourselves, but for our homeland, which remains after we depart. What is the significance of years and days in the life of Egypt, the country which witnessed the birth of all nations, and invented civilization for all humankind?
>
> (in Hassan 1998: 204).

Nationalist sentiment for the Pharaonic past would prove a serious blow to the foreign hold on Egyptian archaeology. This mainly happened around the time Britain had conceded a greater degree of independence to Egypt in 1922, the very year of the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb.

CONCLUSION

The nineteenth-century European powers inherited the practices established in the early modern period, such as the value given to the ancient Great Civilizations as the origin of the civilized world (Chapters 2 to 4). In the context of a firm belief in progress, historians set about to show how civilized their own nation was, by describing the inevitable steps that had propelled it to the summit of the civilized world in comparison with its neighbours. As seen in Chapter 3, early nineteenth-century imperial intervention, as a logical continuation of the Enlightenment and early modern imperialism, had resulted in the appropriation of archaeological icons from Italy, Greece (partly through the Roman copies of Greek works of art) and Egypt which were then exhibited in the greatest national museums of the imperial powers—the Louvre and the British Museum. An emerging group of quasi-professional pioneers had started the process of modelling the past of Italy, Greece, and Egypt into both Golden and Dark Ages. The end of the Napoleonic era would not halt their activities. On the contrary, archaeology, as a form of hegemonic knowledge, proved useful not only for producing and maintaining ideas commonly held in the imperial powers, but also in defining the colonized areas and legitimizing their assumed inferiority. This was the context in which the events narrated in this chapter took place. Simplifying the situation to the extreme, one could propose that there were two types of archaeology: that undertaken by the archaeologists of the imperial powers and that carried out by local archaeologists.

Regarding imperial archaeologists, imperialism fostered the remodelling of discourses about the past of areas beyond their boundaries. People beyond the core of imperial Europe were perceived as static, needing guidance from the dynamic entrepreneurial European classes to stimulate their development or to regain—in the case of the countries where ancient civilizations had occurred—their lost impetus. An exception was made originally with the modern inhabitants of those areas in which the classical civilizations had emerged. At first they were imagined to be carriers of the torch of progress, a perception particularly strong in Greece, but also present in Italy. Direct contact with the realities of these countries soon resulted in a transformation of Western perceptions, equating them to a great extent with societies elsewhere. Locals were generally viewed either as having degenerated from their earlier ancestors, or as the descendants of the barbaric peoples who had provoked the end of the area's glorious period. The role of the Western archaeologists coming from the most prosperous nations—mainly Britain and France to start with,

others subsequently—was supposedly to reveal either the past Golden Ages of these degenerated territories or to uncover the barbaric past which explained the present. As the nineteenth century wore on, the difference between core Europeans and the Others—including the countries of Mediterranean Europe—became rationalized in racial terms, the first being seen as containing a superior, all-white, dolichocephalic, Aryan race (Chapter 12).

In the imperial powers, the importance of the continuing re-elaboration of the mythical past for a nation resulted in increasing institutionalization. The initial individual ventures and isolated state projects were gradually substituted by larger archaeological expeditions directed by the major centres of archaeological power, some already in place—the great museums, the universities—and other new ones—the foreign schools. A growing number of scholars dedicated to the decipherment and organization of archaeological remains were recruited to the proliferating university and museum departments specializing in the study of classical antiquity. The exploration of the past was legitimized as a search that would support the advancement of science. But this aspiration was only understood in national terms. This is clear from the competition between archaeological expeditions from different countries for the acquisition of works of art for their own national museum. There was, however, a major difference between Britain (and later also the US) and the other great powers' archaeology—in particular that of France and Prussia/Germany—mainly before the 1880s: there was a lack of a conscious government policy regarding foreign excavations. In Chapter 1 a distinction was made between the Continental or State-interventionist model and the Utilitarian model of Britain and the US. In the former, expeditions were organized by the mother country and received government backing from the start. In Britain and the US, however, private initiatives continued to predominate until the last decades of the nineteenth century. In many cases, however, entrepreneurs were supported by their government in securing permissions to excavate and transport archaeological objects and monuments back home. Some even eventually obtained financial backing from the Trustees of the British Museum or, especially in the case of America, private foundations. The differences between both models became more diluted during the period of greater impact of imperialism, especially from the 1880s, when Britain, and to a certain extent the US, inaugurated a state policy of actively encouraging foreign excavations and opened their first foreign schools.

It is important to note that the interest of the imperial powers in the antiquities of the countries analysed in this chapter was selective: it focused on the classical period and disregarded, to begin with, both prehistory and the Islamic past. A similar pattern will be analysed in the colonial world in

Chapter 9. In fact, this lack of concern towards Islamic antiquities (with the exception, perhaps, of numismatics, epigraphy and paleography (Ettinghausen 1951: 21–3), and to a very limited extent also towards all other non-classical antiquities) became diluted in the late nineteenth century, when non-classical antiquities became a focus of Western curiosity (Ettinghausen 1951; Rogers 1974: 60; Vernoit 1997). From that period, Islamic antiquities became the target of both local nationalists and the prosperous classes in the Western imperial powers. Yet, whereas for local nationalists the Islamic past was a Golden Age explaining the origin of the nation, for Westerners it became equivalent to exoticism, and the representation of the Other (Said 1978). Thus, in the West, especially from the 1890s, Islamic art was taken as a whole. Funding for Islamic archaeology centred on monuments and coins and their aesthetic and commercial value. The fresh attention directed towards the Islamic past would eventually draw Western archaeologists to explore other areas under the power of Constantinople from Albania and Kosovo to the territories in Saudi Arabia and Yemen. These areas are not discussed in this chapter for this would take us beyond the chronological limits established for this work, although sporadic initiatives may have occurred in this period (see, for example, Potts 1998: 191).

European hegemonic views of the past were contested in different ways in each of the countries analysed in this chapter. In the southern European countries antiquities became, from early on, metaphors for the national past and icons of national prestige and, therefore, measures were taken to protect them from the imperial craving for them. Laws were passed to criminalize the export of antiquities. Societies were organized and archaeology was taught at university level. In this way, imperial archaeologists had to content themselves with studying antiquities in competition or collaboration with local archaeologists. (Yet, in the long term, the accounts from the imperial archaeologists were more successful. In widely read histories of archaeology produced in the post-imperial powers (still Britain, France, and North America) their names are spelled out, while similar treatment is not given to their Italian and Greek counterparts.) In the nineteenth century, the growing use of imperial languages—English, French, German and perhaps Russian—also nourished the creation of national academies with traditions separate from each other. The transformation of the ethos of foreign schools in Italy is a case in point. Italian was abandoned as a medium of communication shortly after the internationally inclusive Istituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica was substituted by the nationally-led foreign schools from the 1870s. In this atmosphere the endeavours of local archaeologists were often met with contempt by archaeologists coming from more prosperous countries. However, it would be too simplistic to claim that in the archaeology of

nineteenth-century Italy and Greece there were two opposing accounts, that of the hegemonic imperial powers and the alternative local view. When examined more closely each of them encompasses a diversity of voices.

Resistance against European informal colonialism and its lust for classical antiquities was more difficult beyond Europe, and this chapter has discussed the cases of Turkey and Egypt. In the 1830s many of the provinces still under the political control of the Ottoman Empire contained ruins of a glorious past which had already been or were eventually to become incorporated as an integral part of the origin myth of the Western nations. The Greek remains found in Turkey, the impressive monuments located in Egypt, and, from the mid nineteenth century, those in Mesopotamia (Chapter 6), became a target of the Western lust for appropriation. The seizure of ancient works of art was enormous. During the second half of the nineteenth century the largest contingent of antiquities, and the most celebrated, were especially those coming from the first two areas. They were received by the large imperial museums in Europe—the Louvre, the British Museum, the Munich Glyptothek, the Prussian Altes Museum, and the Russian Hermitage. The Ottoman Empire, however, did not remain impassive to the appropriation of its past by Westerners. The nineteenth century saw the formation, still timid, of a local scholarship with competing narratives about their national past. At the beginning of the century the obvious political decadence of the Ottoman Empire had encouraged politicians and scholars to approach Western thinking. Nevertheless, the formal and structural differences between Ottoman and Western knowledge were too large for a swift transition. The diversity of countries within the empire and their wide autonomy also explains how the transition occurred at a different pace in the various parts of the Ottoman Empire. In Turkey a form of civic nationalism was imposed from above at the start of the nineteenth century and with it the first museum was organized. Yet, it would only be later in the century that this ideology spread in earnest among intellectuals. From the 1870s more protective legislation regarding antiquities was passed: the museum in Constantinople was modernized and others were opened, scientific journals began to be published, and excavations started. Less Westernized than Turkey, Egypt also saw the early organization of museums, only to be dispersed as Egyptian rulers used them as a source for prestige gifts. Egypt being under European control, and European archaeologists in charge of archaeology, the chaos of plunder by treasure hunters was only partially halted from the 1860s. Under their direction, however, local archaeologists stood little chance of finding employment in this field, although a few did. A more extreme example would be archaeology in Mesopotamia. As will be seen in Chapter 6, this remained almost completely in the hands of imperial archaeologists and would only be developed by local archaeologists in the twentieth century.

6

Biblical Archaeology

The increase of interest that the study of ancient monuments had raised, mainly from the eighteenth century, attracted many individuals to the classical lands. There, as explained in the last chapter, a search for the roots of Western civilization and of the flourishing nineteenth-century empires took place. In addition, however, in some of those countries—mainly in Egypt and Mesopotamia—this concern would not be the only one which boosted scholars' interests. These lands had witnessed some of the accounts related in the Christian Holy Book, the Bible,[1] and therefore the search for classical antiquity came together with—and was sometimes overshadowed by—research on the biblical past. Work focused first on Egypt, then on Mesopotamia (modern Iraq and parts of Iran), and then moved to other areas: Palestine, and to a certain degree Lebanon and Turkey. After the first travellers who managed to overcome the difficulties of access imposed by the Ottoman Empire, there followed diplomats in the area working for the various imperial countries as well as more specialized explorers, including geographers and antiquarians. Later on, especially in Palestine, many of those who looked for ancient remains were in one way or another connected with religious institutions. Therefore, imperialism will not be the only factor to consider in the development of archaeology in the area described in this chapter, for religion also had an essential role. As explained in the following pages, these were overlapping, complementary forces.

CHRISTIANITY AND BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The influence of religion on the archaeology of the biblical lands can be seen both in the religious beliefs of those who undertook it, as well as, more

[1] The Bible is comprised of the Old Testament, or Hebrew Tanakh, and the New Testament literature. The Jewish scriptures are known in Hebrew as the Tanakh, and they are equivalent to the Protestant Old Testament. Protestants and Catholics accept the New Testament as part of the Bible, and in addition Catholics accept as part of the Old Testament the books known to Protestants as the Apocrypha, which are a set of late first millennium BC Jewish writings. Some

importantly, in how it had an effect on research. The aim of most of the archaeologists working in the biblical land—especially in the core area of Palestine and Lebanon—was to illustrate, confirm, or challenge the biblical account, and they were not interested in any period dated either before or after the events related in the Holy Book. Thus, an interest in the Islamic archaeology of the area would only appear at the end of the period dealt with in this book (Ettinghausen 1951; Vernoit 1997: 4–5), and pre-biblical archaeology would develop later.

During the nineteenth century archaeology in the biblical lands was practised almost exclusively by Christians. Most archaeologists were attracted to the archaeology of the area by devotion and were explicit about their reverent intentions. The information provided by the Bible constituted an important element in their inquiries. Although the main connections between all the wide range of religious debates and developments in the field of archaeology are still to be investigated, it is clear, however, that there was a close engagement in religion experienced by some of the protagonists in this chapter—some of whom were employed by the Church as clerics, and others such as Petrie who took these religious debates very seriously (Silberman 1999b). Not surprisingly, most Catholics came from France whereas most Protestants came from Britain, the United States, and to a great extent from Germany. One could wonder whether the stronger tradition of reading the Bible among Protestants, and their willingness to illustrate texts in their many nineteenth-century printings of the Bible, may have resulted in a higher interest in the Holy Land. Also, an issue in need of examination is whether the emphasis on pilgrimage, holy sites, and relics among Catholics might also have been an influence, and, finally, whether the Orthodox Church had its own interest in Palestine.

The value of the ancient remains was firmly connected to their role in the history of Judeo-Christian religions. Obviously, this mainly referred to archaeology in Palestine, but the archaeology of Mesopotamia, and to a limited extent in Egypt and other areas such as Lebanon and Turkey, was also influenced to a great degree. The attraction exerted by biblical archaeology was intertwined with more general debates on the role of religion in nineteenth-century society. Biblical archaeologists worked in the context of a more general debate in contemporary society about the value of religious values and the role of religion in politics and society. The infallibility of the Church, which had first received a serious blow with the rise in power of the

Protestants (like the Church of England) regard the Apocrypha as useful but not authoritative. They would certainly have been known to Protestant scholars working in Palestine (Freedman *et al.* 1992).

monarchy and the emergence of the modern state during the Reformation period (Chapter 2), was threatened by a novel increase of civil power and by the social upheavals resulting from nationalism—the late eighteenth-century novel impulse in the creation of the modern state—and industrialization. Religion was also affected to a varying degree by the by-products of Enlightened rationalism: negatively by atheism, agnosticism and secularism; and positively by the growing importance of education and sociability in the creation of novel religious institutions. The former did not affect archaeology directly, in the sense that we do not know of any atheist or agnostic undertaking archaeological work to disprove the Bible; in fact the opposite seemed to be the case. The positive outcomes of rationalism in religion are worth exploring. In accordance with the growing importance of education and sociability, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed the founding of societies and, in the Evangelical world, there were several revivals.

Among the newly founded religious societies one type would be important for biblical archaeology, especially that of Palestine. These were the Missionary societies, created as a way to evangelize the pagan peoples (as well as the poor in Western societies)[2] that the imperial powers were encountering in their expansion around the world, including Palestine and Lebanon, which were mainly inhabited by non-Christians. Since the sixteenth century the territory of Palestine had been under Ottoman control and relatively closed to European influence. In the first half of the nineteenth century a few Christian missions were allowed into the area. Their numbers grew during the second half of the century, an expansion which was partly related to the increasing number of pilgrims visiting the Holy Places. These mainly came from France, Russia and Germany. In this period colonies formed by members of several Christian sects also settled there. The missions to Palestine had an obvious significance for Christians. One of the first missions sent to Palestine was that of the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews, who settled in Jerusalem in 1823. A German religious brotherhood, the Bruderhaus, also formed a community in the same city in 1846 with the intention of evangelization. The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission started in 1847 to offer Russian pilgrims spiritual supervision, provide assistance and sponsor charitable and educational work among the Arab population. Christian missions were supplemented by those of Jewish groups mainly from the 1870s.

[2] Missions were also established in the towns of the imperial powers, for it was believed that the industrial poor would succeed in obtaining health, strength and wisdom only if they firmly believed in the Gospel and its message of hope. Some of these missions were the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804, to publish and disseminate the Bible), the Salvation Army (1865), and the Faith Mission (1886), to which initiatives such as the creation of Sunday Schools (1780) have to be linked (Ditchfield 1998).

The Missions would be one of the breeding places for biblical archaeologists in the nineteenth century. In contrast to other countries, therefore, religion was one of the main reasons why so many archaeologists lived locally. Unique to this part of the world were the members of religious colonies and missions who engaged in archaeology. A selection of these included Eli Smith (1801–57), Frederic Klein, Conrad Schick (1822–1901), and Gottlieb Schumacher (1857–1925). The first of them, Smith, lived in Beirut. He was an American-born Presbyterian minister, a student of Andover Theological Seminary who pioneered the translation of the Bible into Arabic and helped Edward Robinson in his efforts to chart the geography of the Bible (see below). Frederic Klein, who discovered the Moabite Stone, was in a similar situation, but cannot be said to have been an archaeologist: he had been preaching in Palestine for about seventeen years before he found it. The German Conrad Schick (1822–1901) arrived in Jerusalem as a member of the German religious brotherhood, the Bruderhaus. In his fifty years living in Jerusalem he made many contributions to archaeology supporting the work of the British Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF). Gottlieb Schumacher, who had been born in America, had moved to Palestine as a child with his family as a member of the Tempelgesellschaft ('Temple Association'), a Swabian Protestant pietest sect which aimed to colonize Palestine with Christians. During the nineteenth century not many Jews lived in Palestine, or in any of the other countries under consideration in this chapter (although their numbers grew steadily throughout this period). Archaeology undertaken by Jews living in the area increased after the First World War, and especially after the founding of the Hebrew University from 1925 (Silberman, pers. comm. 19.12.2004).

INFORMAL IMPERIALISM AND RACISM IN THE BIBLICAL LANDS

Informal imperialism in the biblical lands

The major influence of religion in the archaeology of the biblical lands does not mean that politics did not have an influence. Indeed, in this area of the world it would be difficult to separate the two. Imperialism was clearly a powerful force. Most of the territory was officially still under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, but during the nineteenth century Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt came under the axis of the British colonial world in some capacity—Egypt only from 1881 and the first two not officially until the First World War. With the control of the area, Britain sought to secure its trade and

colonial links to India and the Orient. As in any other region of the British informal empire, archaeology represented one more tool of imperial domination, and as such the political elites became interested in it. Yet, this interest was also dominated by the religious overtones of the antiquity of the area. It is symptomatic that the official establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in Westminster Abbey under the patronage of Queen Victoria and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Silberman 2001: 493). Britain was not the only imperial power in the region: to counterbalance its power, France guided Lebanon's politics, especially from the 1860s, and was able to make a limited contribution to Egyptian archaeology even under British rule. Other countries, mainly Germany and the United States, would appear on the scene at the end of the century. To start with, the imperialist ambitions of Germany in her Drang Nach Osten—the surge towards the East—had an obvious effect. Kulturpolitik, the theoretical apolitical neutrality on the basis of German foreign policy aimed at conversion to German interests without force, resulted in the creation of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (German Oriental Society) in 1898 as well as the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenshaft des Heiligen Landes (German Evangelical Institute for the Antiquity of the Holy Land) in 1900. The American School of Archaeological Research was also founded in the same year.

Archaeologists were not removed from the political situation. Nationalism provided the framework for imagining ancient peoples, i.e. as old nations, but it also had a strong influence on the way in which language and race issues were considered. Going back to the 1840s, the British archaeologist Austen Henry Layard (1817–94) explained in his popular book about his experiences in Mesopotamia:

> With these names [Assyria, Babylonia and Chaldaea] are linked great nations and great cities dimly shadowed forth in history; mighty ruins in the midst of deserts, defying, by their very desolation and lack of definite form, the description of the traveller; the remnants of the mighty races still roving over the land; the fulfilling and fulfilment of prophecies; the plains to which the Jew and the Gentile alike look as the cradle of their race.
>
> (Layard 1849 in Larsen 1996: 45).

Imperialism also tainted archaeologists' practice. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this. The first refers to imperial rivalry, represented by the competition between Layard and Botta in Mesopotamia, an issue explained later on in the chapter. Secondly, it is only within the framework of imperial competition that the complications surrounding the publication of the inscription of the Moabite Stone can be understood. This was an affair that occurred in 1870. It had been provoked by Clermont-Ganneau, a young French consul-archaeologist, who

published hurriedly a translation of a piece to which the Prussians claimed to have scientific rights, and which the Briton, Charles Warren (1840–1927), had agreed with his French colleague to publish simultaneously (Silberman 1982: ch. 11). Other examples illustrating the connection between imperialism and archaeology will be provided later in the chapter. Regarding whether national identity was superseded in the biblical lands by religious identity, there is no indication in the literature that this happened, leading, for example, to collaboration among members of the same faith in opposition to followers of another.

Racism, anti-Semitism, and archaeology

Another factor central to understanding the political and religious context of archaeology in the biblical lands is the growth of racism, and especially anti-Semitism, i.e. racism against the Jews and other Semite peoples. Racism began to spread in the Western world mainly from the 1840s (Chapter 12). One of its manifestations was anti-Semitism, an issue that had a long history behind it, an issue beyond the limits of this book (Lindemann 2000; Poliakov 1975). Anti-Semitism, a term coined in the late 1870s, came to symbolize the antagonism towards the Jews that had grown steadily from the early years of the century. Semite was a term derived from the biblical name of Shem used from the 1780s to denote the languages related to Hebrew, which also included Phoenician. Following the laws of positivism, scholars tried to rationalize the place of the Semites in the evolutionist scheme of races by which all human races were graded from the least to the most evolved (Bernal 1987). The French scholar Ernest Renan (1823–92), the Professor of Hebrew in the Collège de France and excavator of several sites in the Levant in the early 1860s, considered the Aryans and the Semites the first noble races (Liverani 1998: 8; Olender 1992: ch. 4), but comparing both would say that:

> The Semitic race appears to us as incomplete through its simplicity. It is, dare I say it, to the Indo-European family what drawing is to painting or plainsong to modern music. It lacks that variety, that scale, that superabundance of life that is necessary for perfectibility.
>
> (Renan 1855 in Bernal 1987: 346–7).

Anti-Semitism infiltrated academia mainly from the later decades of the second half of the nineteenth century. A few examples from the field of archaeology will help to illustrate this. The British scholar Flinders Petrie would identify the levels excavated in Tell el-Hesi, in Palestine, as the different episodes of racial domination in the area (Silberman 1999b: 73). He wrote:

> The invasion of the nomad horde of the Israelites on the high civilization of the Amorite kings must have seemed a crushing blow to all culture and advance in the arts; it was much like the terrible breaking up of the Roman empire by the northern races; it swept away all good with the evil; centuries were needed to regain what was lost.
>
> (Petrie 1891 in Silberman 1999b: 73–4).

Anti-Semitism also had an impact on Mesopotamian archaeology. At the turn of the century, with the increasing opposition to Jews spreading all over the Western world, biblical archaeology was also used as a weapon against them. The German Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922), for example, argued that the Mesopotamian origin of the biblical tradition released Christianity from its links with the Jewish heritage and converted it to the first 'true universal religion' (Larsen 1987). Anti-Semitism also clearly affected Phoenician archaeology. From a positive feeling about the industrious ancient Phoenician merchants (especially in favour in capitalist Europe, Britain, and Ireland in particular (Champion 2001)), at the end of the century things changed. Beyond the original Phoenician area archaeological remains were now described as Greek. Also, interest in the archaeology of Phoenicians in the core area of Lebanon and Syria clearly diminished (Liverani 1998: 13).

BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT AND TURKEY

The archaeology of Egypt and Turkey has been discussed in the previous chapter, although its connection with biblical archaeology needs further explanation. As argued in Chapter 6, the attraction exerted by the Pharaohs' land was principally connected to its ties with the classical world—mainly the move of obelisks to Rome in the early centuries of the era—, the presence of spectacular remains like the pyramids and the romanticism of its association with the exotic. Although Egypt's link with the biblical past was not a key issue for the earliest interest in Egyptian antiquities, scholars did not ignore the fact that Egypt had been mentioned in the Old Testament, mainly in Genesis and in Exodus. In Genesis it was explained how Joseph was sold into slavery in Egypt by his brothers. Exodus narrated the adoption of Moses by an Egyptian princess as a baby, how as an adult he discovered his origin, fled from Egypt and came back after God ordered him to save his people from slavery. It continued to describe how Moses had tried to convince the Pharaoh to let the Israelites worship in the desert, and how the Pharaoh's refusal had led to the ten plagues that had devastated Egypt. The story ended with the Israelites' flight from Egypt. In contrast to archaeology in Mesopotamia and

Palestine, the biblical past of Egyptian archaeology seems to have attracted scholars inspired by a religious impulse only from the 1870s. In 1882 the aims of the British-based Egypt Exploration Fund included 'to organise expeditions in Egypt, with a view to the elucidation of the History and Arts of Ancient Egypt, and the illustration of the Old Testament narrative, so far as it has to do with Egypt and the Egyptians' (in Moorey 1991: 6). The fund invited Edouard Naville (1844–1926), a Swiss scholar, professor at the University of Geneva who had studied in Berlin under Karl Richard Lepsius (also mentioned in Chapters 3 and 5), to excavate at Tell el-Maskhuta. He interpreted the unearthed ruins as the House of Atum, one of the store-cities built by the Hebrews in their period of enslavement in Egypt. Another such city was later uncovered by the Briton, Petrie, at the site of Ramses in Tel el-Retabeh in 1905–6. Petrie's interest in Egyptian archaeology had had a religious background from the start. He had been attracted to it through Pyramidology—a pseudoscience which saw the pyramids as an act of God, which had inscribed his divinity in their proportions. Although he soon abandoned this theory as unreliable (Silberman 1999b), the appeal of the study of the Bible and its archaeology would remain and would eventually take him to Palestine.

The mounting evidence of the Old Testament in Egyptian territory was strengthened in the last two decades of the century. Two more examples will be mentioned. First, in 1887 official documents written on clay tablets in Akkadian in cuneiform script—the type of script used in Mesopotamia, then the language of international diplomacy—were found fortuitously at Tell el-Amarna. Those tablets were acquired by the museums of Berlin and London. They told of the Levant's rulers and their relations with the Egyptian administration and of life in Canaan (ancient Palestine) in the fourteenth century BCE. They also mentioned a people, the Hapiru or Habiru, whom scholars identified as the Hebrews. In 1896 the stela of Merneptah was found by Petrie. On it was inscribed a victory hymn celebrating the Pharaoh's campaign in Canaan in which a people called Israel had been destroyed. The second finding was discovered at the temple of Amun at Karnak, where a scene was identified with Pharaoh Shishak's invasion of Palestine. It included a topographical list of cities that had been studied earlier in the century by Champollion (Elliot 2003; Moorey 1991: 4–6).

Research into the Bible also took scholars to Turkey where the inquiry was related to both the Old and the New Testament. In 1865 the French scholar Ernest Renan undertook a visit to Turkey publishing *St Paul* (1869). His research was followed by that of William Ramsay (1851–1939) (Shankland 2004: 23), the Regius Professor of Humanities at Aberdeen University from 1886, who again used Paul's travels as the basis of his enquiries, traversing Turkey to study the ancient topography (Moorey 1991: 21). Regarding

research into the Old Testament, one of the peoples mentioned in it, in Genesis 15:20 and 1 Kings 10:29, were the Hittites. In 1876 the British scholar Archibald Henry Sayce (1845–1933) found some inscriptions carved on rocks in Turkey that he argued could demonstrate the presence of Hittites in the area. Ten years later, the discovery of clay tablets at a place called Boghazköy attracted the attention of the German scholar and cuneiform expert, Hugo Winckler (1863–1913), who began his own expedition to the site in 1906. Boghazköy was identified as Hattusa, the capital of the Hittites, a powerful force in the Middle East from 1750 BCE until 1200 BCE. During the excavations thousands more tablets were recovered, most of them written in an unknown language: Hittite. This was deciphered in 1915 by the Czech Professor of Assyriology of the University of Vienna, Bedrich Hrozny (1879–1952). The language proved to be Indo-European. Winckler's excavations revealed the remains of a mighty capital city with temples, palaces, fortifications, and gateways. Tablets found in the temples confirmed that the ritual ceremonies described in the Pentateuch (the five books composed by Moses, i.e., the Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy), until then thought to be too complicated for the period in which they had been written, were similar to those described in the Boghazköy tablets (Zukeran 2000). The Hittite past would not only be acclaimed by Christians and by archaeologists investigating the archaeology of the Bible, it would also have a very different type of appropriation later in the century when Kemal Atatürk began his search for a strong and unified Turkey (Magnarella & Türkdogan 1976: 256).

MESOPOTAMIAN ANTIQUITIES AND THE OLD TESTAMENT

In this section nineteenth-century archaeology of the area of modern Iraq and Iran is discussed. European interest in the antiquities of the Pashalik of Baghdad, a province of the Ottoman Empire that roughly coincides with modern Iraq, had already started in the early modern era with the finding of Persepolis by Pietro della Valle (1586–1652) and other followers. This line of scholarship led to the Danish Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815) (Simpson 2004: 194), and was partly connected with a search for remains linked to the biblical account. At the start of the nineteenth century the area was relatively closed to European influence and only a few Europeans lived there, of which some had an interest in the antiquities of the area (*ibid.* 194–5). One of them was the English traveller and scholar Claudius Rich (1787–1821), from 1808 to 1821 appointed the East India Company's resident in Baghdad (Lloyd 1947: chs. 3 and 5; Simpson

2004: 198–201). Interested in antiquities, and knowing about the biblical past of the area, he visited the site of ancient Babylon, a city frequently cited in the Bible, and published two books on the information he gathered. In 1821, before he left Mesopotamia, he visited, among other sites, the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus, which together formed the site of Nineveh, near Mosul, in the north of Mesopotamia. He also copied the stone-cut cuneiform inscriptions at Persepolis in Iran, and this and Nineveh were published in 1836, more than ten years after his untimely death (Larsen 1996: 9).

Regarding Iran, the foreign archaeologists visiting the area were mainly British and Russians. British travellers included the Scottish diplomat Sir John Malcolm (who visited the court in Tehran in 1800, 1808, and 1810) (1782–1833), the diplomat James Morier (who stayed in Persia in 1808–9 and 1811–15) (1780–1849), James Silk Buckingham (1816) (1786–1855) and James B. Fraser (several journeys in 1821–34) (1783–1856). In 1817–20 the Russian Academy of Fine Arts sponsored an expedition to Persia, headed by the British artist Robert Ker Porter (1777–1842), who had been partly educated in Russia. He explored Persepolis and other sites, which he illustrated in drawings. Russian interest in Iran, connected to Russian imperialism (Nikitin 2004) (see also Chapter 9), was, however, challenged by Britain. Throughout the nineteenth century, the reigning house in Iran, the Qajar dynasty (1781–1925), was able to play off the imperial powers and convert Iran into a buffer state between the neighbouring Russian and British empires. The country had to adjust to the changes in the Western world, with the reigns of Fath Ali Shah (r. 1797–1834) and Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–96) the most important ones in the process. During the rule of Fath Ali Shah an original use of the past could be seen in the 1820s and 1830s in the anachronistic creation of rock reliefs representing the Shah. These types of representations had their origin in pre-Islamic Iran, when they expressed royal power. The Shah had been acquainted with them through Persepolis during his time, in 1794–7, as prince-governor of the region where the ruins are. Contacts he established with some of the travellers (Morier, Ker Porter) may have made him appreciate them in a more Western-like fashion (Luft 2001). Some also see the revival of mural paintings mainly during his rule as an effect of Western influence (Diba 2001).

In Western Europe, after Rich's death, his collection of antiquities was bought by the British Museum. Due to lack of enthusiasm only a small sum of money was paid for it. Despite the relative unimportance of the public display, in the 1830s the antiquities gathered by Rich would be of paramount importance for the future development of Mesopotamian archaeology. One of the visitors to the museum was the German-born Jules Mohl (1806–76), an Arabist who had decided to move to Paris, at the time the Mecca for European Orientalist scholars (McGetchin 2003). Mohl had become one of the secretaries

of the Parisian Asiatic Society, an association that had been created in 1829 to promote the study of Oriental languages and cultures (Chapters 8 and 9). Mohl saw the potential of Rich's collection and dreamt of making the Louvre the major European museum holding antiquities from Mesopotamia. He convinced the French authorities to send a consul to Mosul to undertake excavations and send sculptures and inscriptions back to the Louvre. In 1847, only four years after the arrival in the area of the consul-excavator, Paul Émile Botta (1802–70), the Louvre had managed to open the first collection of Assyrian monuments to the public. The early Louvre collections came mainly from a palace unearthed in the Assyrian city of Khorsabad, a site about ten miles away from Nineveh, where excavations had proved difficult (Larsen 1996; Moorey 1991: 7–14). The excavations were useful for biblical studies. The material brought to Paris was analysed by, among others, the French scholar Adrien de Longperier (1816–82), who was able to read in one of the cuneiform inscriptions the name of Sargin and identified it with the name of Sargon, King of Assyria, mentioned in the book of Isaiah 20:1. The palace found by Botta was, therefore, that of the Assyrian King Sargon II (*c.* 721–705 BCE), one of the Mesopotamian rulers mentioned in the Old Testament.

Britain's engagement in Mesopotamian archaeology had a very different start. In Chapter 1 a distinction was made between the European Continental or State-interventionist model distinguished by the government financial backing to archaeological expeditions as against the Utilitarian model followed in Britain and the US which relied on private funding. The archaeology in Mesopotamia was not an exception: despite the potential of the British Museum display of Rich's antiquities there was no investment in a consul-excavator like the French Botta. Only private initiative, the insistence of a young English man, Austen Henry Layard, through the mediation of the Ambassador at Constantinople from 1844, Sir Stratford Canning, made the British Museum establish him as the representative of Britain at Mosul. The museum eventually sponsored Layard's work in 1846, but only after he had spent one year digging at Nimrud, and with a sum of money far from that bestowed by France on Botta (Larsen 1996: 23, 109).

The interest in the biblical account seems to have been one of the factors that spurred Layard's interest in Mesopotamia. Yet, this was not believed by one of his friends, who in 1846 cynically commented to him:

> The interest about your stones is very great, I hear—and if you can as I said before attach a biblical importance to your discoveries you will come the complete dodge over this world of fools and dreamers; you can get some religious fellow to inspire you with the necessary cant, for which I won't think a bit the worse of you.
>
> (Moorey 1991: 3).

Regardless of Layard's actual purposes, whether religious or opportunistic, his discoveries, together with the transcriptions of texts by the British consul in Baghdad, Henry Rawlinson,[3] made it possible to identify many kings and cities mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures within the Assyrian texts. Layard excavated in Nimrud, once Assyria's second capital, known as Calah in Genesis. In Kuyunjik—Nineveh—among many other things, he unearthed some slabs depicting the siege of Lachish described in 2 Kings 18:13–14. Layard popularized his findings mainly with his 1849 publication of *Nineveh and its Remains*. In addition, in an attempt to excite the British public's imagination with regard to the ancient civilizations of Assyria and, more generally, of Mesopotamia, the book was promoted by the Christian Evangelicals as a confirmation of the divine punishment of Nimrud and Nineveh announced by the prophets in the Bible (Moorey 1991: 9). Links between the Mesopotamian texts and the Bible continued after Layard's, and Botta's, endeavours (Caygill 1992: 39, 46–8; Larsen 1996: 22, 68, 283, 309; Lloyd 1947: chs. 10–12). The names of Shalmaneser (mentioned in Kings 17:13), Hezekiah (2 Kings 18–19), Judah (Isaiah 36–7), and Menahem of Samaria on slabs commissioned by the Assyrian King 'Pul' (2 Kings 15–19) were all identified around the early 1850s. In his *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* of 1853, Layard was able to provide a list of some fifty-five rulers, cities and countries in Assyrian and Hebrew that were both in the Old Testament and in the newly uncovered Assyrian texts (Moorey 1991).

However, archaeology in Mesopotamia was not only about the Bible; there was much more to it. Layard's extensive preserved writings are an invaluable source for investigating his intentions, a task which would otherwise be impossible (Larsen 1996; Reade 1987). They make it clear, for example, that Layard never considered Assyrian monuments to have achieved the supremacy reached by the Greeks; his view, shared by many others, was that Assyrian art was an inferior ancestor to classical art. His notes also make clear that he saw archaeology as something that would bring glory to his own nation, and the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions as a matter of national honour. The involvement of Britain and France in the archaeology of Mesopotamia was felt by him to be like a competition. 'I think', wrote Layard in a letter to Canning in 1845, 'we might manage to transmit some sculpture to Europe as soon if not sooner than the French. This would be very important for our reputation' (in Larsen 1996: 77). And in another letter written several months later he said, 'if the excavation keeps its promise to the end there is much reason to hope that Montagu House [the British Museum] will beat the Louvre hollow' (*ibid.* 96). The rivalry reached its peak when teams sent by both countries excavated at

[3] On the decipherment of Persian cuneiform see Pope (1975: ch. 4) and Adkins (2003).

the same sites in the early 1850s. The first major pieces of sculpture staged at the British Museum arrived in 1852 and were soon perceived as serious competition to those housed in the Louvre. As with the archaeology of the classical world, including Egypt, in Mesopotamia archaeology had become an arena for imperial rivalry. The importance conferred by the heritage authorities was reflected in the creation of a new department of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum in 1860 (Caygill 1992: 38).

Official resistance to the imperial appropriation of the Mesopotamian heritage seems to have been minimal to begin with. Although permits had to be sought, the literature does not highlight impediments similar to those seen in the case of Turkey (Chapter 6). During the nineteenth century there is no information concerning an interest in archaeology being developed by local scholars. The only native archaeologist seems to have been Hormuzd Rassam (1826–1910), of whom it has been said that he became 'perhaps more English than the English themselves' (Reade 1993: 59). As he once stated, his 'aim was to discover unknown edifices, and to bring to light some important Assyrian monument for the gratification of the *British* public, especially those who valued such discoveries for their biblical or literary studies' (in Reade 1993: 59, my emphasis). Hormuzd Rassam learnt the techniques of archaeological fieldwork—and the combatant attitude towards the French—from Layard. Rassam continued for a few years after Layard stopped his fieldwork. In the early 1850s he worked directly for the consul in Baghdad, Henry Rawlinson, the major decipherer of the cuneiform script (together with Edward Hincks (Adkins 2003: ch. 13; Larsen 1996: ch. 20; Pope 1975: ch. 4) and François Lenormant (1837–83)), making discoveries such as that of the palace of Ashurbanipal.

Rassam would come back to archaeology in the 1870s, and the conflicts that arose then assist us in exploring the rise of racism in European archaeology. After a period of almost twenty years working elsewhere for the British government, in 1877 Hormuzd Rassam was asked to lead an archaeological expedition to Assyria and Babylonia. This was related to George Smith's (1840–76) discovery of a clay tablet from Nineveh in which the Deluge was alluded to. In 1866 Smith had been employed in the British Museum as a 'repairer' with the aim of searching the tablet collections and finding joins between fragments. He was mainly self-trained in Assyriology, and perhaps the first to admit the complexity of making correlations between the Old Testament and the Assyrio-Babylonian sources. As he said:

> I must confess that the view held by the two Rawlinsons and the German professors is more consistent with the literal statements of the Assyrian inscriptions than my own, but I am utterly unable to see how the biblical chronology can be so far astray here as the inscriptions lead one to suppose.
>
> (Moorey 1991: 12).

In 1872, George Smith gave a lecture to the recently founded Society of Biblical Archaeology in which he announced his reconstruction of a tablet in which the Great Flood was mentioned. This event greatly revived the interest in Mesopotamian archaeology. For Rassam this discovery would cause archaeology to occupy most of his latter active years. However, this time would be tainted by accusations by Wallis Budge, a figure already mentioned in Chapter 5, who at the time was an assistant at the British Museum. Budge charged Rassam with having stolen cuneiform tablets during the excavations to sell to dealers in Baghdad. The antiquities market was raging with this type of material. It has been calculated that in the 1880s the Baghdad antiquities market put on sale between 35,000 and 40,000 cuneiform texts (Andrén 1998: 46). Disbelieving Budge's accusations, Rassam's old supporter, Layard, wrote to a friend accusing Budge of having spread his lies

> to supplant Rassam, one of the most honest and straightforward fellows I ever knew, and one whose great services have never been acknowledged—because he is a 'nigger' and because Rawlinson, as his habit, appropriated to himself the credit of Rassam's discoveries.
>
> (Larsen 1996: 355).

Although Rassam's name was cleared in court, he received a much smaller compensation than he had claimed. Budge, however, was promoted in the museum to help him pay his legal fees (Larsen 1996: 366).

Parallel to this research, between 1877 and 1900 several French archaeologists excavated in sites in Iraq and Iran which were somehow connected to the Bible. The main scholars involved were Sarzec, Loftus, Dieulafoy, and de Morgan. In Iraq, the French vice-consul in Basra, Ernest de Sarzec (1832–1901) excavated in Tello, ancient Girsu. This was one of the most important capital city-states in ancient Sumer, one of the oldest civilizations of ancient Mesopotamia. Sumer had several urban centres such as Eridu, Nippur, Ur and Uruk (Erech in the Bible) in the delta of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. In 1881, Sarzec sold a first collection of figurines, cylinders, seals, and inscribed slates to the Louvre. Osman Hamdi Bey, nevertheless, would stop his excavations until an agreement was reached for the findings to go to Constantinople. French diplomacy, however, managed still to obtain favours from the Sultan Abdülmecid when excavations resumed in 1888 (Eldem 2004: 136).

Some of the other archaeologists coming from France excavated in Iran. There, the reigning shah for most of the second half of the nineteenth century was Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–96). He continued with his predecessors' efforts at controlled Westernization—for example, the telegraph was introduced in the 1860s—, but fears of its consequences led to extreme difficulties for Europeans in obtaining economic concessions. Nasir al-Din Shah even

toured Europe in 1873, 1878, and 1889. Some changes became evident in urban development, dress code, health care, photography, luxury goods and painting. Several artists studied in Europe promoting a new Perso-European style (Amanat 1998). A European-style institution, the Dar al-Funun, was opened in Tehran in 1851, and in it art classes adopted the system which its director, Abu'l Hasan (1814–66), had encountered during his study trip to Italy in 1845–50. At his death in 1866 he was substituted by Ali Akbar Muzayyin al-Dawleh, who had studied at the École de Beaux-Arts in Paris. One of his best students was Kamal al-Mulk, who was sponsored to pursue his training in Paris, Florence and Rome for three years (Ekhtiar 1998: 59–61).

The French archaeologists working in Iran at the end of the nineteenth century were the Dieulafoy couple and de Morgan, who excavated in Susa, in modern Iran. In 1881, Marcel (1844–1920) and Jane (1851–1916)[4] Dieulafoy excavated the palace of the Achaemenian King Darius I in Susa (sixth century BCE). Years later Jacques de Morgan (1857–1924) went back to the site and, after signing a treaty with the King Mozaffereddin Shah, excavated there between 1897 and 1902. Susa was mentioned in Neh. 1:1, Esther 1:2 and Dn 8:2. De Morgan found the Code of Hammurabi at Susa, which dated to the eighteenth century BCE. This provided information about the oldest law code known until then, remarkably similar in many elements to the Hebrew law code, notably to some of the customs referred to in Genesis. Its links with the Pentateuchal Mosaic Law were soon highlighted by the translators, the first being Father Vincent Scheil (1858–1940), a Dominican, Assyriologist and director of studies at the École pratique des hautes études.

Around the mid 1880s Mesopotamian archaeology was a discipline being developed in most major European countries (Larsen 1987: 98). From the last decades of the century Britain and France's involvement became supplemented by that of Germany and the US. Germany's interest in Mesopotamian archaeology crystallized in 1898 with the creation of the German Oriental Society, an institution supported at the very highest level of German society (Larsen 1987: 99). Concerning German efforts, Budge would say years later that:

> many shrewd observers have remarked that Germany only began to excavate seriously in those countries [Assyria and Babylonia] when she began to dream of

[4] Jane Dieulafoy can be considered as one of the first women archaeologists. Another of the pioneers who dealt with biblical archaeology was the British researcher Gertrude Bell (1868–1926), who published *The Desert and the Sown* (1907) with her observations of the Middle East, and *A Thousand and One Churches* (1909) about her work with Ramsay in Turkey. In 1909 she visited the Hittite city of Carchemish (2 Chronicles 35:20, Jeremiah 46:2), found Ukhaidir and went to Babylon and Najav, the holy Shi'ite city of pilgrimage. Her knowledge of the area would lead to her recruitment by the British Intelligence during the First World War, after which she would become the Honorary Director of Antiquities in Iraq and would establish the Museum in Baghdad (Wallach 1997).

creating the German Oriental Empire, which was to be reached by way of the Baghdad Railway

(Budge 1925: 293 in Larsen 1987: 100).

Archaeology in Mesopotamia was encouraged by the German consuls in Baghdad. Consul Richarz repeatedly asked the Foreign Ministry to send an archaeological expedition to Mesopotamia. In 1896 he suggested the excavation of the ancient city of Uruk (Warka). As he explained:

Frenchmen, Englishmen, and North Americans have overlooked it just as if by fate's decree, the act of unearthing these cultural centres, these schools which produced thousands of years of ancient wisdom, were reserved for the nation of poets and thinkers, the docta Germania.

(in Marchand 1996b: 307).

One of the key German excavations at the turn of the century was that of Babylon (Iraq), conducted from 1899 to the First World War by the German Robert Koldewey (1855–1925). Having been trained as an architect, he had early experience in the archaeology of Greece and the Near East. He introduced stratigraphic excavation methods and, as a consequence, he was able to observe the sun-dried clay walls that formed most of the Mesopotamian buildings. He also uncovered numerous tablets mainly of the neo-Babylonian period, including some alluding to the Jehoiachin of Judah mentioned in 2 Kings 25:29. He also found the Ishtar Gate, which he managed to move to Berlin, although due to the political situation it only went on display years later, in the 1930s (Bernbeck 2000). Another archaeologist who worked in collaboration with Koldewey, Walter Andrae (1875–1956), excavated in Ashur from 1903 to 1913, a site that provided information about Assyria before its government moved to Nimrud and Nineveh (Moorey 1991: 45).

In addition to Germany, the other country that became involved in Mesopotamian archaeology at the end of the nineteenth century was the US. The newly developed interest has been partly explained by German scholars who had emigrated to the US (Larsen 1987: 101; 1992: 128–9). At a meeting of the American Oriental Society in 1884, a resolution was adopted that explained that 'England and France have done a notable work of exploration in Assyria and Babylonia. It is time for America to do her part. Let us send out an American expedition' (in Cooper 1992: 138). Under the direction of William Hayes Ward, a first exploratory expedition was immediately sent in that same year, 1884, with positive results. It finally led to the start of American involvement in the Near East with the excavations, in Iraq, of Nippur (identified as Calneh, Genesis 10:10), which led to the finding of the Sumerian archives as well as many artefacts. The components of the team show how

professionalism had now started to be the norm. They were all attached to the University of Pennsylvania, the team being formed by Ward himself as well as John P. Peters (1852–1921), a professor of Semitics, and the epigrapher Hermann Volrath Hilprecht (1880–1900), the professor of Assyriology (Cooper 1992: 139, 149; Lloyd 1947: 184–5). The University of Chicago came to complement the efforts of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1894 the Haskell Oriental Museum was opened at the University of Chicago. The museum was not the only one to receive large donations from the young magnate John D. Rockefeller, who in this way promoted an extreme version of the British/American model of funding that has been highlighted in Chapter 5. Rockefeller also funded the University of Chicago Oriental Exploration Fund's expedition to Bismaya (Iraq, ancient Adab, one of the Sumerian states of Shinar), located south of Nippur, which ran from 1903–5. The site had a chronology of at least two millennia dating back to the Uruk period (mid fourth millennium BCE), and a ziggurat was uncovered as well as several temples, a palace, an archive of tablets, houses, and a cemetery. Tablets, sculptures, and stone relief carvings constituted the main objects moved to Chicago (Meade 1974: 90–2; Moorey 1991: 45–53; Patterson 1995b: 64).

As distinct from Italy, Greece, and Egypt, other foreign schools only started to make their appearance in the last years of the period under analysis. The American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) was founded in 1900 'to prosecute Biblical, linguistic, archaeological, historical, and other kindred studies and researches under more favourable conditions than can be secured at a distance from the Holy Land' (in Moorey 1991: 35). It was created almost thirty years after the school in Athens (Patterson 1995b: 63). Britain would only open a British School of Archaeology in Iraq with private funding in 1932, the year in which the Mesopotamian area came under British mandate. Turning to France, there was a 'deficit' of institutions in the area, according to Gran-Aymerich (1998: 268). The archaeology of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, and Iran all depended on the French School in Cairo.

THE SEARCH FOR THE HOLY LAND: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PALESTINE

Explorers, biblical topography, societies, and inscriptions (1800–90)

There are some eighteenth-century precedents to scholarly interest in Palestine. One of them was that of Adrian Reland (1676–1718). He was a Dutch Christian Hebraist and Orientalist, Professor of Oriental Languages at Utrecht

from 1699. He published, in Latin, *Antiquitates Sacræ Veterum Hebræorum* (1708) and *Palæstina ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata* (*Palestine illustrated by Ancient Monuments*) (1714) in which earlier sources were critically analysed. Napoleon's invasion of Egypt led him to Palestine, where he also seems to have dispatched explorers, but nothing important came out of it, perhaps due to the arrival of the British and to Napoleon's retreat (Silberman 1982: 15). A British explorer, from 1808 Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge, Edward Daniel Clarke (1769–1822), arrived there in 1801, undertaking a search for the truly biblical sites (*ibid.* 18–20). In 1806, a German traveller, Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767–1811), discovered Gerasa in Jordan, a town which was not named in the Bible, but referred to in the expression 'country of the Gerasenes' (Mk 5:1, Lk. 8: 26, 37). In 1812 the city of Petra, described in Obadiah 3, 4 and Jeremiah 49:16–18, had been located by the Swiss Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (1784–1817), a disciple of Clarke. With Seetzen having been assassinated by poison by the Iman of Yemen and Burckhardt dead of malaria, the impetus for new explorations decreased (Silberman 1982: 27). However, Petra would later be studied further by two French travellers: Leon de Laborde (1807–69) and Louis Linant de Bellefonds (1799–1883), who published their findings in 1828.

Despite these precedents, modern scholarship reserves the title of 'Father of Biblical Archaeology' for the American Edward Robinson (1794–1863). He was a Congregationalist from New England trained at the Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts, a seminary where a conservative approach was taken in opposition to the revisionist approach supported at Harvard. In Andover he was taught by a brilliant Hebraist, Moses Stuart (Moorey 1991: 15). Between 1826 and 1830 he studied in Germany with Carl Ritter, once one of Humboldt's protégés, and one of the instigators of the development of geography and the study of migrations (Chapter 11). Back in America he was appointed the Professor of Sacred Literature at Andover, and then the first Professor of Biblical Literature at the new Union Theological Seminary in New York, yet he convinced his new masters to allow him to take three or four years for his own travels in Palestine. Robinson started the tradition of research in biblical topography. In his 1841 book he explained the reasons behind his attraction to the Holy Land:

> As in the case of most of my countrymen, especially in New England, the scenes of the Bible had made a deep impression upon my mind from the earliest childhood; and afterwards in riper years this feeling had grown into a strong desire to visit in person the places so remarkable in the history of the human race. Indeed in no country of the world, perhaps, is such a feeling more widely diffused than in New England.
>
> (Moorey 1991: 15).

Robinson worked in Palestine for two-and-a-half months in 1838 and visited the area again in 1852, charting the geography of the Bible. In his travels throughout Palestine, Robinson was accompanied by one of Andover's former pupils, the Reverend Eli Smith, who had become a missionary in the Levant and was fluent in Arabic. Both set out to inspect the country for ancient biblical place names and were able to identify over a hundred sites. Robinson published *Biblical Researches in Palestine* in 1841 and *Later Biblical Researches* in 1856 (Moorey 1991: 14–16; Silberman 1982: ch. 5).

Robinson's work on biblical topography created an interest in ancient topography and the beginning of religious tourism in the area (Silberman 1982: 51). His work was later complemented by that of the American William Francis Lynch (1801–65), the Swiss doctor and politician Titus Tobler (1806–77) and by the Frenchman Victor Guérin (1821–90). Lynch's aim was to examine the possibility of a new trade route through the Holy Land linking the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. He organized an expedition to the Dead Sea which was unsuccessful in its economic aims, but which raised enormous public interest in the area (Silberman 1982: ch. 6). Tobler visited the region in 1845–6, 1857, and 1865, producing many records of his travels. Guérin went there several times between 1852 and 1875 and published a multi-volumed *Geography of Palestine* (1868–75). During this period the French explorer Félicien de Saulcy (1807–80) undertook one of the first excavations in the area of the so-called Tombs of the Kings in northern Jerusalem in 1850–1 and again in 1863 (Moorey 1991: 17–18; Silberman 1982: ch. 7). The Piedmontese engineer Ermete Pierotti also worked in Jerusalem in an atmosphere of fierce international antiquarian competition (Silberman 1982: ch. 8).

Societies would be one of the novel players in biblical archaeology in Palestine in the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite this, some still gave preference to the other biblical areas. This seems to have been the case for Samuel Birch, a keeper of the British Museum, who forgot to mention the Holy Land in his inaugural lecture of the London-based Society of Biblical Archaeology:

> [The society's] scope is Archaeology, not Theology; but to Theology it will prove an important aid. To all those it must be attractive who are interested in the primitive and early history of mankind; that history which is not written in books nor on paper, but upon rocks and stones, deep in the soil, far away in the desert; that history which is not found in the library or the mart, but which must be dug up in the valley of the Nile or exhumed from the plains of Mesopotamia.
>
> (Moorey 1991: 3).

The Society of Biblical Archaeology was not the first learned association of its kind. There was another one already in existence from 1864, the Palestine Exploration Fund. In 1873 a prospectus explained that:

> No country should be of so much interest to us as that in which the documents of our Faith were written, and the momentous events they describe enacted . . . Much would be gained by obtaining an accurate map of the country; by settling disputed points of topography; by identifying ancient towns of Holy Writ with the modern villages which are their successors.
>
> (Shaw 2002: 60).

In accordance with this, the aim of the fund was to provide 'for the accurate and systematic investigation of the archaeology, topography, geology and physical geography, natural history, manners and customs of the Holy Land, for biblical illustration' (in Moorey 1991: 19). As well as the production of a map of the country, research concentrated on Jerusalem mainly through excavations. Under the aegis of the fund, the Survey of Western Palestine was organized, covering first Jerusalem (1865), then Sinai (1868–9), western (1871–7) and eastern Palestine (1881), by men such as Lt Claude Regnier Conder (1848–1910), Lt Horation H. Kitchener (1850–1916) and others. Their research was published between 1871 and 1878, with a map issued in 1880 on a scale of one inch to the mile. The latter included an area from Tyre to the Egyptian desert and from Jordan to the Mediterranean, with some nine thousand Arabic names recorded. The accompanying *Memoirs* contained a description of many sites. Although many imperfections were identified at a later stage, it obviously constituted a key step in the archaeological understanding of Palestine. In contrast, lack of appropriate techniques in the excavations undertaken in Palestine, as well as other sites such as Jerusalem, by Captain Charles Wilson (1865–6) and later by Captain Charles Warren (1867–70), led to conclusions of disputed usefulness (Moorey 1991: 19–20; Silberman 1982: chs. 9 and 10; 2001: 493–4). They were not unaware of the political significance of their work. As Wilson said in a memo, 'the map would be of great importance as a military map should . . . Palestine ever be the scene of military operations' (in Abu El-Haj 2001: 23). Mapping and imperialism intersected, as happened in many other parts of the colonial world. Yet, mapmaking involved the production of knowledge, in this case not only of imperialist knowledge but also religious understanding of the territory. Local Arab populations were dispossessed of their own history by selecting from their place names those which suggested an older Judaeo-Christian topography. Arabic names were not recorded because of their intrinsic value, but because of their Hebrew and Christian roots (Abu El-Haj 2001; Silberman 1982: ch. 12).

The British PEF had a short-lived American counterpart in the Palestine Exploration Society set up in New York in 1870. In the words of its organizers:

> The work proposed by the Palestine Exploration Society appeals to the religious sentiment alike of the Christian and the Jew… Its supreme importance is for the illustration and defence of the Bible. Modern skepticism assails the Bible at the point of reality, the question of fact. Hence whatever goes to verify the Bible history as real, in time, place, and circumstances, is a refutation of unbelief… The Committee feels that they have in trust a sacred service for science and religion.
>
> (in Shaw 2002: 61).

Other societies of longer life were the Deutsche Palästina-Verein (the German Society for the Exploration of Palestine, 1877) founded by German Lutherans, the Russian Orthodox Palestine Society (1882) and the Catholic École Biblique (1890).

The researches conducted by the British and Americans were complemented in this period by those of the French, mainly represented by Renan and Clermont-Ganneau. Ernest Renan, despite focusing his attention on ancient Phoenicia (see below), also travelled into Galilee and southern Palestine on his trip of 1860–1. Also, Charles Clermont-Ganneau (1846–1923), a former pupil of Renan and, more importantly, the French Consul in Jerusalem from 1867, studied several important inscriptions. The most important was that of the Moabite Stone, an inscription found by chance which mentioned King Mesha of Moab, a monarch alluded to in 2 Kings 1:1, 3:4: 4–27 (Moorey 1991: 20; Silberman 1982: ch. 11). Clermont-Ganneau also translated a rock-cut inscription in the channel leading to the Pool of Siloam found in 1881 attributed to Hezekiah on the basis of 2 Chronicles 32:4, 30; a reused inscription in Greek in which Gentiles were warned against penetrating into the inner courts of the Temple as described in Acts 21: 28; and finally another inscription found at Tell el-Jazar which identified the site in which it was found as Gezer (cited in the Bible in Joshua 10:33; 12:12, etc.) (Moorey 1991: 20–1).

A final discovery of these years were some fragments of scrolls. Knowledge of their existence had been acquired by Moses Shapira (1830–84) in 1878. Shapira was a Russian Jew converted to Anglicanism, who had moved to Jerusalem as a young man and lived as an antique dealer. He had been cheated with a forgery in the past, so was cautious in his examination of the fragments he possessed. His translation revealed parts of the Deuteronomy with a different version of the Ten Commandments but his announcement was received with disbelief, especially after Clermont-Ganneau declared them to be a forgery. Only the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 would show the academic world the possible authenticity of Shapira's scrolls, although many still believe them to be a forgery. By then, it was too late for him (he had

committed suicide in 1884) and for the scroll fragments, which had most probably been burnt in a house fire while in the possession of their final private owner (Silberman 1982: ch. 13).

Schools, journals, and controlled excavations (1890–1914)

In 1890, the French Dominican École Pratique d'Études Bibliques (The Practical School of Biblical Studies, shortened to École Biblique) in Jerusalem was founded by Father Marie Joseph Lagrange (1855–1938) based at the Dominican Monastery of St Stephen, Jerusalem. Its aim was to assist the reading of the Bible within the physical and cultural context, and the landscape in which it had been written. It did not become involved in any major excavations at this time, but helped research through its learned journal the *Revue Biblique* of 1892; the monograph series *Études Bibliques*, launched in 1900; and the syntheses produced by its members, the first of which was published in 1909 by Louis-Hugues Vincent (1872–1960) with the title *Canaan*. Other members were the Semitic epigraphist Antoine-Raphaël Savignac (1874–1951) and the geographer and historian Felix-Marie Abel (1878–1953), as well as the Assyriologist Edouard-Paul Dhorme (1881–1966) who was the first to decipher Ugaritic (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 348).

Many consider Flinders Petrie's excavations at Tell el-Hesi in 1890 as a turning point in Palestinian archaeology. Petrie had no formal training in archaeology, but he had become interested in it through the influence of his family (his mother collected coins, fossils and minerals and his maternal grandfather had been an explorer in Australia). He went to Egypt in 1880 and was appointed an explorer for the British-funded Egypt Exploration Society from 1883 to 1886 (Chapter 5). In Egypt he excavated several sites at the Delta. Influenced by the eugenics theories of Galton (Chapter 13), Petrie interpreted the presence of imported Greek pottery as proof of European and Middle Eastern racial contact and conquest in antiquity and published his ideas in his book *Racial Types from Egypt* (1887) (Silberman 1999b: 72–3). In 1890 he was briefly employed by the Palestine Exploration Fund. He decided to excavate in Tell el-Hesi in the belief that it was Lachish (Tell el-Hesi was later identified as ancient Eglon). His excavations were of key importance for archaeology in Palestine. Petrie's mastering of stratigraphy and typology, techniques which he had learned from Pitt Rivers, allowed him to establish a reliable sequence. This was based on the chronology provided by pottery of Egyptian origin, which he knew well. His recognition of tells as sites formed by the accumulation of several archaeological layers was also fundamental for later research in the area (Moorey 1991: 26–8; Silberman 1982: ch. 14).

After Petrie the PEF funded the work of Bliss, Dickie, and Macalister. The American Frederick J. Bliss (1859–1937) followed Petrie's excavations in Tell el-Hesi. Bliss was the son of a Presbyterian missionary and had been raised in Lebanon. Although Bliss adopted the stratigraphic method he failed to integrate Petrie's ceramic method into his chronology, and the inadequacies of his results—as well as those of Petrie—led to the dismissal of the method by biblical scholars (Moorey 1991: 30). In 1894–7 Bliss worked with the British architect Archibald Campbell Dickie (1868–1941) (later Professor of Architecture at Liverpool) in Jerusalem contributing to the archaeological understanding of the city. Between 1898 and 1909 he collaborated with the Irish archaeologist Robert Armstrong Stewart Macalister (1870–1950). Both excavated at several sites: at Tell-es-Safi, Tell Zakariyeh (the biblical 'Azekah'), Tell el-Judeideh and Tell Sandahanna (the classical Marisa/Mareshah). Their excavations made it possible to build a stratigraphic sequence of Pre-Israelite, Jewish (Iron II) and Hellenistic-Roman periods (Moorey 1991: 30–2). Nonetheless, in 1900 Bliss was dismissed as the fund's Explorer, supposedly because of his poor health. In fact, the fund was becoming anxious at the meticulous methods followed by Bliss which prevented the quick discovery of exciting new finds needed by the fund-raisers (www nd-g).

In the early twentieth century, between 1902 and 1908, the interest of the PEF in the study of the Philistines (mentioned in the Bible for example in 1 Samuel 13:15–14:15) led Macalister to excavate Tell el-Jazar (Gezer). Macalister had in 1900 become the director of the PEF, and remained in the post until 1909. He worked on his own with two hundred untrained labourers and only one foreman, and as a result found it difficult to have a proper control of the stratigraphy and the location of objects. He did not seem to be very worried about this, as he commented that 'The exact spot in the mound where any ordinary object chanced to lie is not generally of great importance' (Macalister 1912: ix). Despite all this, he was able to separate the Middle (second Semitic) and the Late Bronze Age pottery (Moorey 1991: 32–3). In 1911–13 the PEF's interest in the Philistines led Duncan Mackenzie (1861–1934) to excavate at Ain Shems (Beth-Shemesh, mentioned in Joshua 15:10–11, 21:16; 1 Samuel 6:9–18; 1 Kings 4:9; 2 Kings 14:11–13; and Chronicles 28:18). His knowledge of Aegean archaeology (he had worked with Arthur Evans at Knossos in Crete) allowed him to recognize the painted 'Philistine' pottery (Moorey 1991: 36). Finally, the PEF also funded a survey of the Wilderness of Zin by Charles Leonard Woolley (1880–1960) and Thomas Edward Lawrence (1888–1935), work that provided cover for a British military mapping operation in southern Palestine in preparation for the First World War. The survey recorded multiple sites in the Negeb Desert and the Wadi Arabah, providing the most comprehensive account of the region at the

time. It concluded that Salomon (several mentions in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles) had used routes from Aqaba to the Mediterranean for his trading enterprises, and not those from Suez to Pelusium (Silberman 1982: ch. 18).

From the 1880s, and especially after 1900, the sponsorship of excavations provided by the British PEF was complemented by that of other societies such as the German Oriental Society, the German Society for the Study of Palestine (the Deutsche Palästina-Verein) and the American School for Oriental Study and Research. Between 1902 and 1914, the German Oriental Society funded the work of the Lutheran Ernst Sellin (1867–1946), Professor of the Old Testament at the University of Vienna. His aim was to undertake archaeological research in order to confirm the primary historical value of the Bible. He excavated Canaanite and early Israelite cultures in Shechem (mentioned in Jud. 9:46–9), and Taanach (in Jos. [Joshua] passim, 1 Ch. [Chronicles]; Jud. passim, 1 Kings). His work has been criticized for employing field methods which were primitive by the standards of the time (Moorey 1991: 33; Silberman 1999a: 4–5). His later work between 1907 and 1909, and in 1911 at Tell es-Sultan, ancient Jericho, was properly staffed and produced good results although some errors were introduced (Moorey 1991: 33–4).

For its part, the German Society for the Study of Palestine (Deutsche Palästina-Verein), which had already subsidized some unsuccessful excavations on the south-east hill in Jerusalem in 1881 by the Leipzig Professor of the Old Testament, Hermann Guthe (1849–1936), decided to fund excavations at a site considered to be as prestigious as others that were then being dug in Egypt and Mesopotamia. With this in mind, the site of Tell el-Mutesellim, ancient Megiddo, was chosen. In the years 1903–5, Gottlieb Schumacher and Immanuel Benzinger (the author of a book on *Hebräische Archäologie*, 1894) were selected to work on the excavations. Gottlieb Schumacher (1857–1925), whose family background has already been mentioned above, had worked as an engineer surveying for a planned railway between Haifa and Damascus. In the 1880s he had mapped Transjordan and published his archaeological findings both in the journal (Zeitschrift) of the German Society for the Study of Palestine and in the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement. During his excavations with Benzinger from 1903 to 1905 at Megiddo a seal was found bearing the name of King Jeroboam, a monarch mentioned in 2 Kings 14:23–5. Again, no stratigraphic control was undertaken and errors of interpretation were made (Moorey 1991: 34).

The American School for Oriental Study and Research had been founded in 1900 and was backed by a coalition of twenty-one universities, colleges and seminaries. Thanks to the sponsorship of an American Jewish banker, Jacob Schiff, the school was able to send a team in 1908–10 to excavate Samaria. This team included Reisner, Fisher and Lyon. George Andrew Reisner (1867–1942) was,

like Petrie, an Egyptologist, well aware of typology, stratigraphy and the problems associated with excavating tells. In archaeological method he was self-taught. His methods matched the higher standards of the time but his involvement in Palestine archaeology was as limited as that of his British counterpart. The work was followed by Clarence S. Fisher (1876–1941) and David Gordon Lyon (1852–1935), the latter the director of the American School for Oriental Research in Jerusalem from 1906 to 1907. As a student, Lyon, like Reisner, had received some training in Semitic philology in Germany (in Leipzig between 1879 and 1882) after his studies in America. Lyon became the first Professor of Assyriology in the United States in 1882 as the Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard (from 1910 the Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages). He had started to organize the Semitic Museum at Harvard University in the 1880s (Silberman 1982: ch. 16; www nd-h).

Regardless of their nationality and despite all their efforts, one of the major figures of the next generation, William Foxwell Albright (1891–1971), summarized the situation years later in 1914, saying that:

> The dates given by Sellin and Watzinger for Jericho, those given by Bliss and Macalister for the mounds of the Shephelah, by Macalister for Gezer, and by Mackenzie for Beth-Shemesh do not agree at all, and the attempt to base a synthesis on their chronology resulted, of course, in chaos. Moreover, most of the excavations failed to define the stratigraphy of their site, and thus left its archaeological history hazy and indefinite, with a chronology which was usually nebulous where correct and often clear-cut where it has since been proved wrong.
>
> (Moorey 1991: 37).

In spite of such a pessimistic account, in the course of a century biblical archaeology had managed to revolutionize the landscape of the Bible. Yet, the power of the text—of the Holy text as well as that found in inscriptions—had prevented archaeology becoming institutionalized in isolation. The professional base of many of those who undertook archaeological work in Palestine was critical philology and theology (chairs of Oriental Languages, Old Testament, Divinity and Christian Literature have been mentioned in the preceding pages). Professionalism as such would only arrive after the First World War.

PHOENICIA AND THE BIBLE

A final area where biblical studies had an impact was in the old territory of Phoenicia, roughly located in modern Lebanon and parts of Syria. The Phoenicians were an ancient people mentioned in the Bible as the Canaanites

(a name now reserved in archaeology for the Bronze Age archaeological 'cultures' of the area), and by the Egyptians as the Phut. During the Iron Age, in the first millennium BCE, the Phoenicians had established colonies throughout the Mediterranean. Those established in the north of Africa with their centre in Carthage became known as the Carthaginians or Punic. In the Bible the Phoenicians were condemned in various passages by Ezekiel and Isaiah as the home of Baal and Astarte and the birthplace of Jezebel (Bikai 1990: 72).

Iron Age Phoenicians spoke a Semitic language, and had developed an alphabetical script. Its decipherment was made possible after the discovery of some bilingual Graeco-Phoenician inscriptions in the Mediterranean islands of Cyprus and Malta. There, small columns of marble with inscriptions had been discovered in 1697, one of them being sent as a gift to the king of France. The discovery of two Palmyran inscriptions in Rome at the start of the eighteenth century had also intrigued scholars. The decipherment of the Phoenician script was the work of the Briton, John Swinton (1703–77), keeper of the University of Oxford archives from 1767, and the French Jean Jacques Barthélemy (1716–95), author of *Réflexions sur l'alphabet et sur la langue dont on se servait autrefois à Palmyre* (1754).[5] Their success was helped by thirteen new bilingual texts copied at Palmyra by Robert Wood (*c.* 1717–71). Wood had travelled extensively in Europe and the Middle East between 1738 and 1755. In 1763 he became a member of the Society of Dilettanti (Chapter 2). As a result of his trip to the Levant he published *The Ruins of Palmyra* (1753), in which he described and presented measured drawings of the Roman imperial monuments of the ancient city located in present-day Syria, and, more importantly for this chapter, *The Ruins of Baalbek* (1757), a site located in Lebanon that had been occupied by Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans, which had been wrongly connected with the Baalgad mentioned in Joshua 11: 17. On his trip Wood was accompanied by James Dawkins (–1757), a Jamaican-born scholar who also set out to see the world between 1742 and 51, and Giovanni Battista Borra (1712–86), a Piedmontese artist, architect, landscape designer and draughtsman. A later explorer was the French artist Louis François Cassas (1756–1827), who visited Syria, Egypt, Palestine, Cyprus and Asia Minor, drawing ancient Middle Eastern sites such as Baalbek.

During the nineteenth century Phoenician archaeology fell under the influence of French archaeology, especially during the second half of the century after the Civil War between the Muslim Druses and the Christian

[5] Bernal (1987: 186) provides some light on Barthélemy's image of the Phoenicians as not related to the route towards civilization ending with modern Europeans, and as simple in thought and art.

Maronites, which ended in 1860 with Druse massacres of local Christians. This was used by France as an excuse to occupy Lebanon.[6] It is within this context that Renan's work took place. Ernest Renan (1823–92) was an expert on Semitic languages who came to archaeology through his interest in the study of the Bible and the Semitic languages. His first celebrated book was *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (*General History of Semitic Languages*). At the time of the tensions between Druses and Christians he was sent by the French Emperor Napoleon III (r. 1848–70) to the area to write a report on the ancient sites of Phoenicia. For this he became part of the military expedition. He was not the first to undertake excavations in the area, as in 1855 the chancelier of the General Consulate of France in Beirut, Aimé Péretié, had excavated in Magharat Tabloun, the ancient cemetery of Sidon. The sarcophagus he discovered and then sent to the Louvre had an inscription on the cover which was that of Eshmunazor II, a fifth-century BCE king of Sidon. The influence of Renan's work would be further-reaching. Using soldiers as his workforce, he directed four digs in Aradus (Arvad, mentioned in 1 Macc. 15:23), Byblos (the city to which the Bible owes its name), Tyre (described by the Prophet Ezekiel) and Sidon (Gen. 10:15; 1 Ch. 1:13). He published his results—documentation on monuments, rock-cut tombs and inscriptions—in his monumental volume *Mission en Phénicie* (1864) (Moorey 1991: 17). Soon after his return from his travels to the Levant, Renan was called to the chair of Hebrew in the Collège de France. However, when in his inaugural discourse he denied the divinity of Christ, he fell out of favour and was forced to resign his professorship in 1864. He would be readmitted in 1870.

The *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* was his second major work in archaeology and one that would occupy him for the rest of his life. This compendium aimed to reproduce all monuments and inscriptions, and translate them. It followed the scheme set by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum* that had started to be organized just a couple of years earlier by the German Theodor Mommsen (Chapter 5). In fact, there was a precedent, a project that had been undertaken in Germany: in 1837 Wilhelm Gesenius (1786–1842), a German Orientalist and biblical critic, Professor of Theology at the University of Halle, had assembled and commentated on all the Phoenician inscriptions then known in his volume *Scripturae liv quaeque Phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt* (1837). During the 1870s and

[6] In 1864 a semi-autonomous Christian-dominated province was set up, governed by a non-Lebanese Ottoman Christian responsible to Constantinople. French influence would be unofficial until the First World War, but after the confrontation it crystallized in a French mandate being established in the area.

1880s Renan combined his work on the corpus with works of erudition, following a trend he had started with his hugely controversial book a *Life of Jesus* (1863), in which he presented an animated and accurate picture of the New Testament's landscape (Moorey 1991: 17). This would be the first of a series of seven books, the last published in 1882, in which the history of the Christian Church was explained in chronological order. He then started to write a *History of Israel* (1887–91), producing three volumes.

Phoenician historiography became enmeshed in the myriad of images developed by nineteenth-century scholars, some of which had much earlier roots (Liverani 1998). These were in a great part connected to the growth of anti-Semitism. Animosity against the Jews had been growing from the early nineteenth century, and increased in its last decades. The belief in the Aryans as the superior human race placed the others in an inferior rank. The Phoenicians were described as a Semitic people alongside the Jews and so considered inferior. The French historian Jules Michelet, for example, in his *Histoire romaine* of 1831 had described the Phoenicians as 'a people who were hard and sad, sensual and greedy, and adventurous without heroism', and whose 'religion was atrocious and full of frightful practices' (in Bernal 1987: 352). The Phoenicians were known to scholars as the enemies of both the ancient Greeks and the Romans (in the Punic Wars). They were also criticized due to the practice of infant sacrifice described in biblical (Jeremiah 7:30–2) and classical sources. Joseph-Arthur, count of Gobineau (1816–82), had written on them in his *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (*The Inequality of Human Races*) (1853–5):

> Besides the refinements of luxury, that I have just enumerated, human sacrifices—that sort of homage to the divinity which the white race has only ever practised by borrowing from the habits of other human species, and which the least new infusion of its own blood made it immediately condemn—human sacrifices dishonoured the temples of some of the richest and most civilised cities. In Nineva, in Tyre, and later in Carthage, these infamies were a political institution, and never ceased from being fulfilled with the most exacting formality. They were judged necessary to the prosperity of the State.
>
> Mothers offered their infants to be disembowelled on altars. They took pride in seeing their suckling infant moan and struggle in the flames of Baal's hearth.
>
> (Count of Gobineau 1983 [1853–5]: 371–2).

Renan's 1855 consideration of the Semitic peoples as inferior to the Aryans was also popularized a few years later by writers such as Gustave Flaubert (1821–80) in his 1862 novel *Salammbô*, which was contextualized in Carthage, the North African colony founded by Phoenicians in the ninth century BCE.

Despite rejections on the basis of lack of data by the Louvre's curator of antiquities, Guillaume Frœhner (Wilhelm Fröhner) (1834–1925), the image of the cruel Phoenicians who practised infanticide was maintained in the popular imagination.

Anti-Semitism, however, cannot by itself explain the rejection of Phoenician archaeology. The criticism found in the Bible against the Phoenicians also explains their rebuff in modern historiography. The Phoenicians were Semitic peoples, but not that much ('Semiti, ma non tanto'), as Liverani aptly says (Liverani 1998: 6). Phoenicians were not as preoccupied with business, and importantly their religion was not monotheistic; in Phoenicians one could find 'a raw mythology, rude and ignoble gods, voluptuosity accepted as a religious act' (Renan 1855: 173 in Liverani 1998: 7). Renan would even try to distinguish between race and language when in 1862 he talked about 'the Semitic peoples, or at least those talking a Semitic language' (*ibid.*).

In Lebanon there were also Greek ruins to be excavated, which prompted the intervention of Ottoman as well as of German archaeologists. The growing interest in antiquities, which at the start was focused particularly upon classical antiquities, led Ottoman archaeologists to become interested in the archaeology of the area. The 1874 law of antiquities, issued in Turkey a year after Schliemann smuggled Priam's treasure out of the country (Chapter 5), also restricted the export of antiquities from Lebanon. Constraints were increased with the law of 1884. From then on, being under Ottoman rule, legislation led to the most valuable pieces being sent to the museum in Constantinople instead of to the European and the new American powers. In 1887 the Ottoman archaeologist Hamdi Bey excavated in the royal cemetery of Sidon, finding twenty-six sarcophagi, including that of King Tabint, which he took to the Ottoman Imperial Museum, a gesture which was also interpreted—to a certain degree—as compensation for the first sarcophagus found at Sidon and taken to the Louvre in 1855. The new arrivals prompted the construction of a new museum building, for which neo-classical architecture would be chosen (Shaw 2002: 146, 156, 159).

German and French archaeologists would also work in Lebanon from the turn of the century until the First World War. In November 1898, the Kaiser Wilhelm II, during his visit to Germany's ally, the Ottoman Empire, passed by Baalbek (known as Heliopolis during the Hellenistic period) on his way to Jerusalem. He was amazed by the ruins, which the Germans used to press (successfully) for further archaeological favours: within a month, an archaeological team led by Theodor Wiegand (1864–1936), a scientific attaché to the German embassy in Constantinople and a specialist in ancient Greek art and sculpture, was dispatched to work on the site between 1900 and 1904.

Wiegand's campaign produced a meticulously presented and illustrated series of volumes (Lullies & Schiering 1988). Parallel to the German excavations, the French, represented by the Orientalist George Contenau (b. 1877), excavated in Sidon.

ARCHAEOLOGY, BIBLICAL LITERARY CRITICISM, AND THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION

> Why expend such energy in this far away, inhospitable, dangerous land? Why this costly ransacking of this millennia-old rubbish heap, all the way down to water level, when there is no gold or silver to be found? Why this international competition to secure as many as possible of these desolate mounds for excavation? . . . To these questions, there is but one answer, if not an exhaustive one; the major motivation and goal [of these endeavours] is *the Bible*.
>
> (Delitzsch, 'Babel and Bible', 1902: 1 in Marchand 1996b: 330).

A century before these words were written, the Bible was still indisputably considered a major source—for some the main or even the only source—of intellectual and religious life in the Judeo-Christian world. However, contemporary intellectual trends were already threatening the unique position held by the Holy Book. The historicist impetus that had caused many to enquire about the past of Rome and Greece, as well as the national past, could not but affect the way in which the Bible was comprehended. Was the Bible an exclusively religious book or should it also be seen as a historical source? The text-based historical analysis, which complemented the philological and epigraphical sources that had been applied to the study of the classical authors by Niebuhr and the modern sources used by Ranke (Chapter 11), was also adopted by European scholars specializing in other disciplines such as theology and Oriental languages. However, the critical analysis of the Bible was not something completely novel in the nineteenth century. It had precedents going back to the Reformation. In the sixteenth century, the wish to clarify the scriptures had led to a first inquest into the nature of the Bible led by religious men like Luther (1483–1546), an impetus further reinforced during the rationalist era in the eighteenth century. The linguistic analysis of parts of the Bible such as Genesis had been begun by authors such as the Dutch Jew and rationalist Benedict (Baruch) de Spinoza (1632–1677) and the Frenchman Jean Astruc (1684–1766). The former began a translation of the Hebrew Bible and was one of the first to raise questions of higher criticism. The work of the latter, Astruc, was not widely read or believed, but it unveiled the fact

that Moses could not possibly have been its single author under the direction of God, as the examination clearly pointed to several hands. Biblical philology entered a new era with the work of the extremely influential Heinrich Ewald (1803–75). He produced a celebrated Hebrew grammar (1827). He also wrote *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (*A History of the Israeli People*) (1843–59) in which he developed an account of Israel's national history that, he argued, had begun with the Exodus and culminated (and at the same time practically ended) with the coming of Christ. For this history he examined critically and arranged chronologically all the available documents then known.

The nineteenth-century discovery of the biblical cities of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine and ancient Phoenicia attempted to corroborate dates provided by the biblical account—although, in fact, they often managed to highlight problems, with the result of creating more confusion. Tablets found in the excavations included the names of Assyrian, Babylonian and Israelite kings as well as events that were referred to in the Old Testament, and topographical study revealed sites mentioned in both the Old and the New Testament. However, scholars were divided on the extent to which the Bible could be taken as a historical text. Conservatives maintained that the Bible was infallible as a historical source. Critics, however, raised doubts. They argued that the archaeological evidence was incomplete and often hypothetical. Criticism was led by the German scholars such as Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) (Moorey 1991: 12–14, 54). Wellhausen had studied with Ewald (see introduction) and learnt from him the method he later developed and which became known as Higher Criticism. He was appointed Professor of Theology in Greiswald, then of Oriental Languages in Halle (moving later to Marburg and Gottingen). With his uncompromising scientific attitude, which brought him antagonism from the established school of biblical interpreters, he analysed the Bible from a philological and etymological angle. His output was substantial, and his most important books included a history of Israel first published as *Geschichte Israels* (1878) and a book testing the Hexateuch—the first six books of the Old Testament (*Die Komposition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bucher des Alien Testaments*, 1889).

In addition to Wellhausen, it is worth mentioning the work by Eberhard Schrader (1836–1908), who had also studied under Ewald. Schrader was a Professor of Theology at Jena and then of Oriental Languages in Berlin. His book *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* of 1872 has been described as a model of nineteenth-century scholarship. In it, Schrader went book by book through the Old Testament, selecting the passages that could be related to results obtained by archaeological research. In England this tradition was observed by William Robertson Smith (1846–94), who occupied the chair of Hebrew at Aberdeen Free Church College in Scotland in 1870 and later

moved to the chair of Arabic in Cambridge. Smith introduced Higher Criticism to Britain in his books *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1881), *The Prophets of Israel* (1882) and *The Religion of the Semites* (1889). Following Wellhausen's method, he studied the Deuteronomy. Wellhausen was also followed by the Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, Samuel Rolles Driver (1846–1914).

Among the conservatives there was opposition to Higher Criticism. In particular, Wellhausen's proposals were resisted by the Anglican clergyman and Professor of Assyriology at Oxford, Reverend Archibald Henry Sayce. As he said in 1894:

> The records of the Old Testament have been confronted with the monuments of the ancient oriental world, wherever this was possible, and their historical accuracy and their trustworthiness has been tested by a comparison with the latest results of archaeological research . . . the evidence of oriental archaeology is on the whole distinctly unfavourable to the pretensions of the 'higher criticism'. The 'apologist' may lose something, but the 'higher critic' loses much more.
>
> (Sayce in Elliot 2003).

In 1892, after a new discovery in Palestine, he argued:

> To dig up the sources of Genesis is a better occupation than to spin theories and dissect the scriptural narrative in the name of 'higher criticism'. A single blow of the excavator's pick has before now shattered the most ingenious conclusions of the Western critic . . . we doubt not that theory will soon be replaced by fact, and that the stories of the Old Testament which we are now being told are but myths and fictions will prove to be based on a solid foundation of truth.
>
> (Sayce in Elliot 2003).

Sayce argued that the Hebrews had been able to read and write even before Abraham, as they had lived in environments influenced by Egypt and Mesopotamia, societies that archaeology had proved to be literate. Moreover, cuneiform tablets had been unearthed in excavations undertaken in Palestine. The accuracy of the Book of Exodus had been proven by the excavations of the store-cities of Pithom and Ramses. The Pentateuch had not been composed during the Exile for it was inconceivable that the Israelite scribes would have borrowed the creation story from their Egyptian oppressors. Sayce maintained that the Hebrew scribes knew of Babylonian and Assyrian accounts, and that some parts of the Old Testament had been inspired by them (Elliot 2003).

Sayce's opponent and representative of Higher Criticism in England, Driver, warned about the ambiguity of the archaeological discoveries, pointing to

questionable interpretations and illogical inferences. He argued that the date of the Pentateuch depended

> upon the internal evidence supplied by the Pentateuch itself respecting the elements of which it is composed, and upon the relation which these elements bear to one another, and to other parts of the Old Testament. The grounds on which the literary analysis of the Pentateuch depends may, of course, be debated upon their own merits; but archaeology has nothing to oppose them.
>
> (Driver 1899 in Elliot 2003).

Driver's words were echoed by an American scholar, Francis Brown, when he stated in an address given as President of the Society of Biblical Literature that

> One of the crudest mistakes in using Archaeology as a conservative ally is made when it is employed to win a battle in literary criticism. It is not equipped for that kind of fighting. It has its proper place in the determination of historical facts, but a very subordinate place, or none at all, in the determination of literary facts. To attempt to prove by Archaeology that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, is simply grotesque. The question is not whether Moses could write, it is whether he did write certain books which there is strong internal and historical ground for holding he did not write; and on this point Archaeology has nothing to say, nor is it likely she will have anything to say.
>
> (Moorey 1991: 40–1).

Driver argued that, although archaeological discoveries had confirmed the existence of Israelite kings and Assyrian rulers, this did not prove the accuracy of the Bible. Before Shishak's invasion, nothing discovered by archaeologists had supplied confirmation of any single fact recorded in the Old Testament. Archaeology had neither been able to verify that there had been a person called Abraham as described in Genesis, nor prove the existence of Joseph. Driver dismissed Sayce's arguments one by one, often adopting a contemptuous tone. He insisted that criticism did not go against religious faith, or against the articles of Christian faith. The Old Testament remained a text in which Christ's arrival had been prophetically announced and was a rich source of prophetic and spiritual lessons. In his *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible* published in 1909 he explained how archaeological evidence could be interpreted in relation to the Old Testament. Archaeology was able to provide data on the history and civilization of the ancient Near East and the place of Israel within it. Years later, the American scholar and main representative of biblical archaeology after the First World War (what has been called the Golden Age of biblical archaeology), Albright, praised this work as doing far more good in 'warning students against the

dangers of "archaeology" than it did harm by discouraging those biblical scholars who were inclined to leap too hastily into the archaeological arena' (Albright 1951 in Elliot 2003).

CONCLUSION

The biblical lands were located in Palestine, Lebanon, and parts of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Turkey. In them archaeology represented the search not only for the classical past but, especially in Palestine and Lebanon, mainly for evidence supporting the biblical account. Early research related to the discovery of ancient documents. This obviously assisted philological studies, especially after the breakthrough in reading the various scripts and languages in which texts had been written in the biblical lands. Translations of Egyptian and cuneiform texts became a reality from the 1820s and the late 1830s respectively thanks to the efforts of men such as the Frenchman, Champollion (Chapters 3 and 5) and the Briton, Rawlinson, both of whom, in addition to many others, provided the means to push back the frontiers of written history in the area. Later on, research also focused on physical monumental remains and the study of ancient geography. The antiquities unearthed started to flesh out not only the philological knowledge but also the very physical image of the Judeo-Christian past with objects, works of art and monuments. Excavations helped to forge a historical imagination of the topography of the Holy Land. Archaeology thus assisted in the creation of a visual image for the religious accounts related in the Bible. The intention to illustrate the biblical narrative with material objects and sites was very much in the minds of the early archaeologists. However, it has been argued that the public preferred the image of an imagined Holy Land more than the facts offered by the archaeologists, and this explained the financial difficulties of societies such as the Palestine Exploration Fund (Bar-Yosef 2005: 177).

Biblical archaeology had similarities with informal imperial archaeology elsewhere, where archaeology was used as one more tool in the imperialistic zeal of the main imperial powers. These similarities result from the area being divided between Britain and France, whose zones of influence resulted in Palestine and Lebanon respectively in the core biblical lands, and a power struggle in the others which resulted in Britain's lead, ensuring a safe route towards British India, in the final decades before the First World War. The tensions between the empires were felt in archaeology, and examples of this,

given in the text, include the competition between Layard and Botta in Mesopotamia, and Clermont-Ganneau and Charles Warren in Palestine.

However, the archaeology of the Bible differed with respect to the other areas of informal imperialism. These mainly related to the important role of religion, both regarding the protagonists undertaking the job (many belonging to Christian institutions, others very much aware of the religious debates raging at the time), and regarding the aims of research which focused on the search for sites and events mentioned in the Bible. Because of the religious overtones of biblical archaeology, the professional base of archaeologists was formed not only by the usual philologists and the amateurs coming from the army or diplomacy as well as a few proper professional archaeologists such as Petrie. Importantly, and this is exceptional in comparison to other parts of the world, in addition to the groups just described archaeology was also undertaken by theologists and members of religious institutions. Furthermore, the religious associations of biblical archaeology also stopped local archaeologists such as the Ottoman scholar Hamdi Bey, or the various Egyptian antiquarians, from competing with the Europeans; the biblical past was not one of their concerns, a situation that contrasts with what was explained in Chapter 5 in respect to other types of antiquities. If Hamdi Bey became interested in Lebanese archaeology, this was not owing to its biblical topography but as a consequence of the discovery of the royal cemetery of Sidon, in which several Hellenistic sarcophagi of supreme artistic quality (among which, that so identified as the Sarcophagus of Alexander the Great) were discovered. A final difference that separates biblical archaeology from other types of archaeology is the special twist that racism took in the area, for if racism affected scholarship elsewhere, that against the Semites became particularly acute from the last decades of the nineteenth century. This affected negatively particular fields in biblical archaeology such as the study of the Phoenician archaeology: what had been defined as Phoenician, both in Lebanon and around the Mediterranean shores from east to west, and even further into the Atlantic, was either ignored, believed not worthy of consideration, or interpreted as something else (usually Greek). As explained in this chapter, racism also affected the professional integration of the only archaeologist of Mesopotamian origin, Hormuzd Rassam, in Britain, the country he had moved to after meeting Layard.

Biblical archaeology, therefore, is a unique case in informal imperialism: religion provided a strong alternative interest beyond the search for the classical model. The religious interest influenced archaeology in many ways: in who was doing archaeology and who paid for it, in what was excavated and in how interpretations were well received in the Western world. The classical model, however, would be paramount in the archaeology of the rest of the world. It had

had, as seen in previous chapters, a positive influence on archaeologists in their studies of the antiquities of Italy, Greece, Egypt and Mesopotamia. However, the reception of ancient monuments and works of art from the Great Civilizations of other parts of the world such as Latin America and Asia would provide a challenge, an issue to which we now turn in Chapter 7.

7

Informal Imperialism beyond Europe: The Archaeology of the Great Civilizations in Latin America, China, and Japan

INFORMAL IMPERIALISM AND THE EXOTIC: ENCOUNTERS AND DIVERGENCES

This chapter examines two very different examples of informal imperialism. The first takes place in Latin America, an area colonized by the Europeans for three centuries and politically independent from the 1810s and 1820s (see map 1). There the ancient Great Civilizations were mainly concentrated in Mexico and Peru, extending to a limited extent to other countries such as Argentina, Belize, Bolivia, and Ecuador. These countries provide the focus for the following pages, whereas a description of developments in the others is reserved for the discussion of internal colonialism in Chapter 10. As mentioned in Chapter 4, after an initial use of monumental archaeology at the time of the Latin-American independence, the emergence of racism led to a process of disengagement: elites only extended their interest in the origins of the nation back to the period of the arrival of the Europeans in the area. The local scholarly pride for the pre-Hispanic past re-emerged, mainly from the 1870s, timidly at first but soon gained sufficient strength to allow indigenous elites a novel rapprochement with their native monuments. Only when this happened would the tension between the national past and the discourse of inferiority advocated by the informal colonial powers be felt. The latter had been formed by explorers, collectors and scholars from the Western world. These were, to start with, mainly French and British, and later also scholars from the US and Germany. A few of them would diverge from the line taken by the majority, and Mexico City was chosen, in the early twentieth century, to undertake a unique experiment: the creation of an international school to overcome the effects of imperialism. The political circumstances, however, unfortunately led to the failure of this trial.

The other case discussed in this chapter is located in East and Central Asia, in China and Japan and, by extension, in Korea. These countries had been able

to maintain their independence in the early modern era mainly through the closure of their frontiers. In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, they were politically compelled to open up to the Western world. In these Asian countries, their antiquity had already acquired prestige and a tradition of study, which had developed independently to the West. In China, nineteenth-century Western explorers were able to undertake their expeditions partly because they took place on the margins of China, i.e., geographical and cultural margins, mainly inhabited by non-Han populations. The Confucian scholar-elite of Late Imperial China was not interested in their findings, which were largely of Buddhist character. This would only change after the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911. In Japan, as distinct from Latin America, racial homogeneity fitted neatly with the racist trends developed in Europe and, in the process of nation-building, a strong ethnic component was included. This strengthened the interest in a search for origins that increasingly adopted Western methods of research. The search for origins also led to the easier acceptance of non-monumental archaeology, allowing, in Japan at least, the institutionalization of prehistoric archaeology. After the initial plunder of archaeological objects by foreign scholars for private and public collections, the East and Central Asian countries reacted in an efficient manner against this situation. A greater control of their economy, relative stability and solid political roots led to a smoother process of institutionalization in these countries. Thus, foreign interest in their antiquities was controlled and managed in a more effective way than in any of the Latin American countries until well into the twentieth century.

The development of archaeology in both Latin America and East and Central Asia shared several similarities but also showed differences. With regard to the similarities, both were prey to the main European colonial contenders in the mid nineteenth century. These included Britain and France, later joined by Germany. In addition, however, each of these areas of the world was under scrutiny by a rising imperial power: the United States in the case of Latin America and Russia towards East and Central Asia. One moot issue, however, is how to understand the presence of Swedish and Austro-Hungarian explorers. It is difficult to pinpoint the political context of their endeavours. In the first case this is because most of the literature dealing with Scandinavian empires refers to the early modern period, in the second because the study of the connections between imperialism and informal empires seems to have escaped scholars' attention. As both these countries were geographically closer to Russia, one wonders whether in the case of China the explorers were influenced by the Russian Empire in its desire to control Asia. (Yet, this argument does not work for the Swedes who were drawn towards Latin America!) Some scholars seem to indicate that the interest by

Hungarian explorers in Asia is related to the search for the original land of their own people. To return to the similarities between the development of archaeology in Latin America and East and Central Asia, another aspect to note is that, being independent, Latin America and Asia were able to develop an internal elite, in many cases formed in the West, or in their own countries following Western standards. This assisted the adoption of the Western method of building discourses about the past. Local scholarship was able to engage—compete, contest, and participate—with the knowledge created in foreign countries.

Exoticism was the main perspective adopted by the West. Despite the lesser cultural distance between the West and Latin America and, to a lesser extent, China, Japan, and Korea (especially when compared with the marked cultural differences with other areas of the world such as sub-Saharan Africa, see Chapter 10), the need to generate discourses about exoticism was strongly felt. Indeed, it could be said that the exotic was fetishized, and that this image was embraced by all of those involved with the imperial observation and the acquisition of the Other (cf. Hinsley 1993: 118). Discourses created for both Latin America and Asia permitted the consumption of their antiquities. The exoticism and monumentality of their ancient art was praised, although at times contradictorily, an attitude that was in direct contrast to the unfavourable Western opinions of the local populations, which tended to describe them as lazy and stupid. This ambiguity of sentiment was mixed with ambivalence: while criticizing the natives for not being civilized enough, at the same time the Westerners wished to maintain their differences with the colonized. As Bhabha said, the colonial Other had to be 'almost the same, but not quite' (Bhabha 1994: 86). The sense of superiority displayed by the Europeans and North Americans was reinforced by the stereotypes that were being created through exhibitions of art and antiquities, and by academic studies. Academics from the informal metropolises became absorbed in the classification of the flora, fauna, and antiquities of these continents in a process of discovery/recovery that characterized the Western imperial attitude.

Beyond similarities, there were also differences. One of the most striking disparities between the institutionalization of Latin American and Asian monumental archaeology is the different disciplinary paths which they followed. Whereas Americanism was mainly discussed in terms of ethnology and anthropology, this was not so in the case of the archaeology of East and Central Asia, which was primarily examined through philology. There is a historical reason for this that is clearly linked to the existence (or not) of a previous colonial experience. The political independence of the countries in Asia during the early modern era had compelled traders and missionaries to become proficient in the various native languages spoken in the area. This had

already led to the development of a philological tradition of oriental languages in several universities in Europe. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was within philology that the study of Chinese and Japanese antiquities first developed in the nineteenth century. This was not the case in America: its effective colonization had left the learning of the native languages redundant, at least for trade, and the imposition of the colonizer's literacy meant the loss of the knowledge about certain ancient scripts that were still in use at the time of the European arrival. The institutionalization of Americanism, therefore, lacked a secure academic base and it was within the study of the exotic, within ethnology and anthropology, that it became anchored.

Another major difference between Latin America and Asia relates to the nature of local traditions and the extent to which we can talk about hybridization. In the first area, the development of archaeology, the European model fully followed European science, for European science had dominated scholars' life since colonization and by the time of independence all local native scientific knowledge about the past that had originated in their own Great Civilizations—Aztec, Mayan, and Inca—had been lost. In China and Japan, however, there existed a long scholarly tradition of the study of ancient documents, and a liking for collecting and describing that tainted the reception of Western knowledge. Although this issue will not be developed further in this book, a final disparity between the processes in Latin America and Central and East Asia can be indicated. This relates to artists' reception of antiquities in modern art: whereas the art and archaeology of China, and especially Japan, influenced late nineteenth-century Western modernist artists, those of Latin America inspired, in the early twentieth century, local artists of the standing of the Mexican artist Diego Rivera.

The archaeology of the Great Civilizations of Latin America, China, and Japan offers a series of examples of connections between nationalism and internationalism. Although most of the scholars mentioned in this chapter are described as members of the country in which they were born and received scholarly education, for some of them their national identity was less clear-cut than may appear in the following pages. Some of them moved from their country of origin and even changed nationality. This was the case of Aurel Stein (1862–1943). He was born in Hungary, educated in Germany and received university education in both Austria and Germany. He then moved to England and then India, from where he initiated his research on China. Stein became a British subject in 1904, and even before he became officially so, he appealed to the British nationalist feeling against the Swedes and Russians in order to obtain funding for his first expedition to China (Whitfield 2004: 10–11, 23). Another example of a trans-national scholar is Friedrich Max Uhle (1856–1944). Born and educated in Germany, he first visited Latin

America when he was thirty-six. He started to work for the University of Pennsylvania three years later, and, in 1900, for the University of California. In 1905, he moved to Peru as the director of the National Archaeological Museum and then to Chile to organize the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Santiago in 1912 and to Ecuador in 1919 where he represented this country in several international congresses. Uhle finally retired in 1933 to live in Berlin (Rowe 1954: 1–19). Stein and Uhle were not the only examples, and the names of Chavannes, Klaproth and Przhevalsky could also be mentioned. The impact that their association to different nation-states and empires had in their studies and interpretation is something still in need of attention. The development of novel, differing approaches to understand the multi-layered and situational features of ethnicity can only enrich a critical study of trans-national scholars in the colonial world.

THE LATIN AMERICAN GREAT CIVILIZATIONS FROM THE 1840s

As seen in Chapter 4, at the time of their independence, the Great Civilizations of Latin America had been used as metaphors for a glorious past which could help the elites living in Mesoamerica and the Andean area to explain their rights to self-government. Yet, the rise in importance of the racial component in nationalism, and in particular the prestige conferred on the Aryan race (Chapter 12), soon led to a rejection of this early enthusiasm. The exception to this, although only to a limited extent as has been explained in Chapter 4, was the development of the Indianist movement in Brazil in the mid nineteenth century, in which the native was seen as a 'good savage' and celebrated as the embodiment of the Brazilian nation. In the new republics of Spanish America this discourse was largely unsuccessful until much later. This, and particularly the lack of legislation protecting antiquities, left the door open to foreign collectors and scholars.

Colonizing Latin American antiquities

The Latin American countries did not escape from the colonial aspirations of the Euro-American powers. From their independence in the 1810s and 1820s (see map 1), most Latin American countries endured a period of chaos that paved the way for the intervention of other powers. The political instability throughout the first decades of independence had resulted in a rise in the

number of Spanish Latin American countries, from the eight newly created after independence to eighteen at the end of the century. Some effective colonization took place in the heyday of imperialism: French attempts to control Mexico's politics in the 1860s led to the conversion of the de facto British colony of British Honduras into a Crown Colony in 1862. The European presence was especially marked in the Caribbean Islands. In most of Latin America, however, direct colonization was not the option chosen by the external powers, and informal imperialism was practised instead. Economic historians have largely ignored the question of whether the imperial powers tried to obtain from their informal empires more than an economic gain.This is obviously a complex question whose answer may be attempted by looking at how antiquities were dealt with. Britain played a key role in the economy of countries such as Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, whereas France became one of the main players in Mexico.

As seen in the two previous chapters, the antiquities of the Great Civilizations of Italy, Greece and Egypt had been understood as the physical remains of the early phases on a path towards civilization, and those of Mesopotamia and Palestine as those leading towards Christianity. Perceptions of Latin American antiquities, however, would generally be very different. From the beginning the antiquities of Latin America remained in a difficult position. They did not respond to the classical or religious canon and therefore could not be integrated into the past of the Western civilization. However, some comparisons were attempted. One with Egypt[1] was made by William Bullock, a man who earned his living organizing exhibitions in his own museum in the Egyptian Hall in London. He brought casts from Mexico and set them up with great success in the Egyptian room on the second floor of his museum in London in the 1820s (Aguirre 2005: chs. 1 and 2; Alexander 1985; Fane 1993: 156–8; Graham 1993: 58–63). Also in the 1820s, the excavation of the Mayan site of Palenque by Antonio del Río was published in London with drawings made by a Frenchman, Jean Frédéric de Waldeck (1766–1875). Significantly, this early attention from Britain towards Mexico would not continue. After the exhibition closed, the British Museum did not express any interest in buying its contents and preparations were made to sell it in France. Only its private purchase and subsequent offer to the British Museum prevented it from crossing the Channel. A smaller selection of objects was then put on display in the Ethnographical Gallery, but no other exhibition similar to Bullock's would be organized for another 130 years. According to the director

[1] Later in the century August Le Plongeon would propose the Mayan area as the origin of the Egyptian civilization. His theories, however, were considered eccentric and resulted in Le Plongeon's marginalization by other scholars (Desmond 1989).

of the British Museum this was not a great loss, as he explained during a parliamentary inquiry in 1860 when he answered positively the question about whether the museum had stowed away in the basement Mexican and Peruvian antiquities (Graham 1993). If the British Museum was not interested, the British foreign secretary, Lord Palmerston, seemed to be (but perhaps on a personal basis): he ordered his chargé d'affaires in Guatemala to acquire a collection of Mayan ruins for the British Museum in 1851. Despite the fact that two scientists were eventually hired for this, the Austrian Karl Ritter von Scherzer (1821–1903) and the German Moritz Wagner (1813–87), the attempt was unsuccessful (Aguirre 2005: ch. 3).

In Britain, the archaeology of the Latin American Great Civilizations[2] became mainly curated in ethnological museums. From the 1870s a few objects were exhibited in ethnographical museums such as the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology set up in the 1870s and the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford opened in the 1880s. Also, in 1886, the Mesoamerican collection bought by the British Museum from the collector Henry Christy (1810–65) in 1860 was put on display in Bloomsbury. The casts made by Alfred Maudslay, purchased by the British Museum in the late nineteenth century, were left in the basement of the South Kensington Museum until 1923 (Williams 1993). The origins of these collections showed that British interest in archaeology in Latin America followed a pattern already familiar in the case of the Western ancient Great Civilizations (Chapters 4 and 5).[3] They were formed without state intervention by private adventurers and by wealthy individuals. Some of these were William Bollaert (1807–76), Henry Christy (1810–65) (a silk and towel manufacturer better known as a collector of French Stone Age material) and Alfred Maudslay (1850–1931). The latter, an explorer of the Mayan world, wrote famous volumes such as *Contributions to the Knowledge of the Fauna and Flora of Mexico and Central America* (1889–1902, vols. 55–9 on archaeology) and *A Glimpse at Guatemala* (1899), describing sites such as Yaxchillán and Palenque.[4] Significantly, the great economic investment in countries such as Argentina was not matched with a British state funding in the archaeology of the northwest of the country where Inca sites were located.

[2] Information about non-monumental archaeology in Latin America, as well as in Central and Eastern Asia, is provided in Chapter 10.

[3] This at least until the major excavation in the late 1920s paid for by the British Museum (Williams 1993: 134).

[4] Alfred Maudslay's attempt to work in Monte Albán was opposed by the Mexican archaeologist Leopoldo Batres, who tried to monopolize the archaeological work in the area (Schávelzon n.d.).

In contrast to the lack of concern by the British state, France, following the continental model of dealing with antiquities of the Great Civilizations which was supported by state intervention, had already paid attention to pre-Columbian archaeology from the time of the Latin American independence. This attention was not independent of the French colonial aspirations in the American continent, including parts of Canada and the United States (Louisiana) in North America, during the eighteenth century which had already resulted in the organization of several scientific expeditions. As the Spanish Empire weakened, the French explored and mapped California as well as other parts of the continent. One of the first demonstrations of French interest in Latin American archaeology was in 1825, when the Geographical Society in Paris organized a competition for the best contribution to archaeology or geography or the best account of a journey in Central America (Bernal 1980: 104). In 1826 the French state also paid a pension to Jean-Frédéric de Waldeck, who by then had visited Toltec and Aztec ruins after having worked as an engineer in Mexican silver-mines, to study Palenque and Uxmal. He published *Voyage archéologique et pittoresque dans la Yucatan* (Paris, 1837) and, with Charles Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg (1814–74), *Monuments anciens du Mexique, Palenque, et autres ruines de l'ancienne civilisation* (1866). The work of Carl Nebel (1805–55) (born in Germany but often described as French) also belongs to the first years of the newly independent Mexico: *Picturesque and Archeological Journey through the most important part of the Mexican Republic from 1829 to 1834* (1836). France's imperialistic interest in Latin America was matched by important scholarly attention towards the antiquities of the area. The Louvre opened a gallery of Latin American antiquities, mainly from Mexico and Peru, in 1850 (Bernal 1980: 132; Williams 1993: 132), and a catalogue—the first of its kind—was published in the following year. In it the antiquarian Adrien de Longpérier explained that the pre-Columbian materials came from a 'virtually wholly unknown' civilization of a highly 'peculiar character' (in Williams 1993: 132).

In 1857, France supported an expedition to Mexico and Central America by the explorer and photographer Désiré de Charnay (1828–1915), that was directly inspired by that of the US Americans Stephens and Catherwood (see below). As a result *Cités et ruines américaines* (1863), with information and photographs of several Mayan sites, was published (Davis 1981). Contrary to their initial appearance, the aims of such contributions to knowledge produced by scientific commissions went further than science. This was demonstrated more than ever in 1864, when France invaded Mexico with the aim of establishing the Hapsburg Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria as Emperor of Mexico. Together with the army, a commission[5] was organized

[5] There is some debate on whether instead of one, two parallel commissions were organized at the time, one directed from France and another from the French already in Mexico.

that explicitly wished to imitate the first Napoleonic Egyptian expedition. The Artistic, Literary and Scientific Commission claimed its aim to be to 'study the means necessary to exploit this country's [Mexico's] resources to activate its production, to increase its wealth and its prosperity' (in Reissner 1988: 73). Archaeology was considered valuable in this respect, for it was included, together with ethnology and linguistics, in one of the subdivisions created in the commission. The commission counted among its accomplishments important publications on Mayan archaeology, which, despite the efforts invested in its study, still continued to be described as inferior. The best archaeologist in the commission, Désiré de Charnay, would explain years later that 'after all, we ought not to deceive ourselves about the beauty and real merit of the American relics. They are archaeological objects, nothing more . . . they call forth surprise, rather than admiration, everything is so badly done' (in Bernal 1980: 126). In addition to Charnay, other influential works were published by the Abbé Brasseur, Edmond Guillemin Tarayre (Schávelzon 2003). Important work was also organized by a parallel Mexican scientific commission formed by well-known scientists of the time such as the engineer Ramón Almaraz, Francisco Jiménez and the geographer and writer Antonio García Cubas (1832–1912) who undertook important work in the site of Teotihuacán. In the International Exhibition held in Paris in 1867 a life-sized model of the pyramid of Xochicalco was exhibited together with drawings of other archaeological remains of the site as well as of Teotihuacán. Reproductions of the statue of Coatlicue and the Calendar stone were also included and figures were modelled from the engravings made by Charnay (*ibid.*).

French interest in America continued after the Mexican débâcle of 1867, when the emperor favoured by France was deposed and executed by firing squad. Americanism grew up from the shambles: the Société Américaine de France (American Society of France) was then founded in 1875 and the first International Congress of Americanists held in Nancy was organized in that same year (Bernal 1980: 155).[6] France continued to sponsor expeditions: in 1878 the state paid Alphonse Pinart (1852–1911) to travel through Mesoamerica and the Andean area for five years and in 1875 a major collecting

Information about the French Scientific Commission(s) to Mexico (1864–7) can be obtained from Bernal (1980: 107–8); Broc (1981); Reissner (1988); Schávelzon (2003); Williams (1993: 124).

[6] The reason behind the Egyptologist Gaston Maspero's involvement in the creation of the American Society of France is explained in Schávelzon (2004). Although this issue is not really explored in this book, it would be interesting to note that processes in the various parts of the world which are dealt with independently in different chapters of this book may have been interconnected.

expedition led by Charles Wiener was sponsored by the Ministry of Public Education (Cole 1985: 51–3; Williams 1993: 125). In 1880–2, Charnay's second expedition was supported by the state, and he published the sites of Popocatepetl, Ixtaccihuatl, and Tula in Central Mexico. In the 1890s, the journey to Mexico undertaken by the chemist and explorer Léon Diguet was also supported by the French. In 1880 Léon de Cessac (1841–91) was sent to Peru[7] and Jules Crévaux (1847–82) received funds to gather together a collection from the Andean area (Williams 1993: 125). In 1905–9 Paul Berthon (1872–1909) travelled to Peru paid by the Ministry of Public Education. In 1878 temporary exhibition of the collections brought to Paris mainly by Wiener led to the creation of a museum of ethnology, the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (later called Musée de l'Homme). From 1895, this museum would publish the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* (Bernal 1980: 155; López Mazz 1999: 41). In 1903 the first chair in American archaeology was created in the Collège de France and the Americanist Léon Lejeal was appointed, marking the start of professional Americanism in France.

German interest in Latin American archaeology was also led by amateurs and was again institutionalized within an ethnological framework. Among the first were the geologists Wilhelm Reiss (1838–1908) and Alphons Stübel (1835–1904), both sons from prosperous families and adventurers in many lands. The plans for their original trip in 1868, to study volcanoes together in Hawaii, changed for practical reasons in order to follow Alexander von Humboldt's trail in South America. For eight years they traversed Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil, and this journey was continued by Stübel on his own through Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and Peru finishing in the United States. Archaeology was only one of their interests, but their geological training helped them to reach high levels of precision for the time in their results. They excavated the cemetery of Ancón in Peru, finding mummies, textiles, and jewellery, a site later published thanks to the sponsorship of the Museum für Völkerkunde (Ethnology) in Berlin, in German and English, *Das Totenfeld von Ancón in Peru / The Necropolis of Ancón in Peru* (1880–7). This was the first descriptive report of a scientific excavation in Peru. The Berlin museum, in turn, received the archaeological material. In Bolivia Stübel explored Tiahuanaco, later published thanks to Max Uhle as *Die Ruinenstätte von Tiahuanaco im Hochlande des alten Peru* (1891–2). Reiss's interest in antiquities led him to write to the Ecuadorian president urging for the protection of the country's antiquities:

[7] Cessac had also been sent on a scientific expedition to California in 1877–9.

Inca ruins and buildings are very interesting and it hurts to see these last vestiges of the culture of the past being destroyed . . . Ruins are not the property of the Hacienda owner but belong to the country . . . and even to the whole civilised world. It would be of extreme importance to rescue the little that still remains . . . There is no other solution for the rescue of these interesting ruins than for the government to assume their protection.

(Reiss in Stüttgen 1994).

Wilhelm Reiss eventually settled in Berlin and between 1879 and 1888 played a leading role in the development of German geological and ethnological studies. For a few years he led the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde (Geographical Society) of Berlin, and was the president of the Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory). He was also involved in the VII International Congress of Americanists held in Berlin in 1888.

The Latin American collections gathered by Reiss and Stübel were acquired by the Museum für Völkerkunde (Ethnology) in Berlin and by the museum of the same name in Leipzig. Adolf Bastian (1826–1905), a good friend of the anthropologist-archaeologist Virchow (Chapter 13), worked in the first of these two museums. He was also a key link in the chain leading from Humboldt to geography and through to culture history. Bastian proposed the concept of the Elementargedanken, the particularities by which each culture employed and expressed culture, forming in this way culture-geographical provinces (Chapter 13). Bastian was interested both in diffusion and in independent invention. It was his concern to study culture history on a very wide scale that led him to acquire Latin American collections. Bastian also sent Max Uhle, one of his museum assistants, to South America. Uhle, despite having been originally trained as a Sinologist, was not new in the field of Latin American antiquities: he had already published on many aspects of Latin American archaeology and helped Stübel to study his collections. Uhle had also contributed to events such as the Congress of Americanists of 1888, for which he was secretary. His trip to America in 1892 to buy objects for the museum would result in the increase of the Berlin collections, but would also mean for him the start of a new life. This will be examined later in the chapter. Eduard Seler (1849–1922), now considered by some to be the founder of German pre-colonial Mexican archaeology (www nd-c), was the director for the American Division of the Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (1904–22). He would combine archaeology not only with ethnography but also with aboriginal American linguistics and native history, becoming one of the few to approach Latin American archaeology from a philological base, an exceptional case in Latin American archaeology.

Other Western countries contributed to a limited extent to Latin American archaeology. Sweden, a former imperial power in the early modern era (Roberts 1979), was one of these. In Beni, in the lowland area of Bolivia, the Swedish scholar and aristocrat, Erland Nordenskjöld (also spelled Nordenskiöld), undertook several excavations of mounds and excavated some material from Ancón on his expedition of 1901–2 to Chaco and the Andean mountain chain (Hocquenghem *et al.* 1987: 180). On this expedition Eric Boman (1867–1924), a Swede who lived most of his adult life in Argentina, assisted with the work (Cornell 1999; Politis 1995: 199–200).

The United States of America exhibited a steady increase in its interest in Latin American antiquities throughout the nineteenth century. In 1823 President James Monroe, during his seventh annual State of the Union address to Congress, had argued that the new American nations were sovereign and should not be subject to colonization, and that the US should keep neutrality in any confrontation in wars between the European powers and their colonies. This doctrine was to dominate nineteenth-century US politics until the early years of the twentieth century, when the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine looked at the Latin American countries as a possible area for economic control. In the US the concern towards the Great Civilizations of Latin America evolved in parallel with the emergence of the imperialistic dreams of this young nation. To begin with, the remains of the American Great Civilizations were seen as representing a native past that distinguished the new continent from the old world. This was the view of John Lloyd Stephens (1805–52), an American who had managed to subsidize his stay in the Mayan area by holding a diplomatic mission in 1839 and 1841. Stephens argued that 'The casts of the Parthenon are regarded as precious memorials in the British Museum . . . Would not the cast of Copan be similarly regarded in New York?' (in Fane 1993: 146). He also declared that the so-called Governor's Palace at Uxmal, one of the Mayan sites visited by him in 1840, 'marks the finest achievement of Uxmal's builders' and added that:

> if it stood this day on its grand artificial terrace in Hyde Park or the Garden of the Tuileries, it would form a new order . . . not unworthy to stand side by side with the remains of the Egyptian, Grecian and Roman art.
>
> (Fisher 1995: 505).

His book, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* (1841, 1843), enhanced by Frederick Catherwood's drawings, became a bestseller. He argued for the link between modern and past native customs, and undertook some excavations in order to prove these views. He took some objects with him on his return with the aim of creating an American National Museum. The project, however, came to nothing because, once in New York, they

perished in a fire that destroyed various items that were going to form the nucleus of the museum (Bernal 1980: 124).

Matters of trade, politics, and archaeology were fused together for US citizens travelling in Latin America, and Catherwood and Stephens were followed by many others. One of those was Ephraim George Squier (1821–88), a journalist trained as a civil engineer, who had acquired some archaeological experience in a survey of the mounds of the Ohio River. After his failure to obtain funding from the Smithsonian Institution, in 1850 Squier was appointed to Central America with the diplomatic mission of researching canal and railroad routes to cross the isthmus which would provide an alternative to those being built by the Europeans. In 1852 he published *Nicaragua: Its People, Scenery, Monuments and the Proposed Interoceanic Canal*, followed in 1855 by *Notes on Central America* in which he described Honduras and Salvador and in 1858 by his *The States of Central America*. Squier acquired antiquities that he then sent to the US. A ship containing 'five large stone idols' was sent to Washington to be the nucleus of the National Archaeological Museum (Hinsley 1993: 109). When his project failed, on his return to the US Squier was sent to Peru in 1862 as United States Commissioner. His experiences led to another book, *Peru; Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* (1877) (Barnhart 2005).

Squier was not the only one not to receive state funding. As in Britain, the state's capitalism and philistinism in the US (as defined in Chapter 1) led to an absence of state expeditions. Yet, as in Europe, the cultural intelligentsia showed an interest in Latin American monumental antiquities, and like in Britain, their study would be sponsored privately. The interest of some American tycoons (and of their wives) is exemplified in the case of Allison Armour, the wife of a Chicago food magnate. For thirty years from 1883 she sponsored Edward H. Thompson's (1856–1935) work in Chichén Itzá, where land was even bought to facilitate the excavation, and in other places in the Yucatán peninsula (Hinsley 1993: 112). An earlier example of this support was the Chicago World Fair in 1893 (some of whose collections were the origin of the Natural History Museum of Chicago). At the Fair Mesoamerican archaeology became popular (Fane 1993: 159–62) through displays such as the moulds and casts of the portal of the Mayan sites of Labná and Uxmal made by Thompson. The public reaction, however, was still mixed. As the Massachusetts Board of World Fair Managers reported:

> Everyone who visited the Exposition will recall the weird effect produced on the imagination by these old monuments of an unknown past standing in stately grandeur amidst all the magnificence and beauty that landscape art and architecture of today could devise.
>
> (Hinsley 1993: 110).

From the last decades of the nineteenth century until the First World War, the interest in the American Great Civilizations in the US would proceed unmatched in Europe. This was parallel to the growing imperialist component of American nationalism, especially after the Spanish-American war of 1898 that resulted in the US appropriation of Puerto Rico and the independence of Cuba. US activities related to Latin American antiquities grew at this time. In the 1880s the Peabody Museum of Harvard University undertook large-scale excavations in Copán (Honduras) and published on Latin American—especially Mesoamerican—archaeology in its publication series (Bernal 1980: 148, 154). These publications served as models to follow. Mexican archaeology was given special treatment in the *American Anthropologist* journal, whose first issue saw light in 1888. A more modest contribution came from the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago in the last years of the nineteenth century (Bernal 1980: 149, 154). From 1904 the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania began to publish on Mesoamerican archaeology, and from 1914 the Carnegie Institution from Washington DC began organizing excavations in the Mayan area (Bernal 1980: 173). American universities and museums also sent archaeologists to the Andean area. Adolph Bandelier's excavations, for example, were paid for by the American Museum of Natural History (Patterson 1995b: 48), whereas Phoebe Hearst personally subsidized Max Uhle through the University of California when German and Pennsylvanian money ceased after 1895.

It may perhaps be necessary here to point out that interest in Latin American antiquities in Spain was almost non-existent. Significantly, there was no teaching on American antiquities in the Spanish School of Diplomacy, where archaeology was taught in Spain from 1856. Most of the American collections amassed during the colonial period that had remained in Spain were still in the hands of the Spanish monarchy (Chapter 2), although the National Archaeological Museum created in 1867 had some in their displays. There were a few exceptions in this lack of concern towards the scientific study of Latin America. One of these was the Spanish scientific expedition to the Pacific and Central and South America organized by the Museum of Natural Sciences of Madrid between 1862 and 1865. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada y Evangelista (1831–98), a polymath who participated in it, would later publish on the antiquities in Peru (1879) and elsewhere (López-Ocón Cabrera & Pérez-Montes Salmerón 2000; Pasamar Alzuria & Peiró Martín 2002: 334). He was also a member of the Unión Ibero-Americana de Madrid (Ibero-American Union of Madrid), a movement founded in 1884 that aimed at creating a Spanish–Portuguese–French front to oppose British interests in America that had been stimulated and influenced by the weakness shown by the Spanish delegates at the Berlin Conference of 1884–5 (Rodríguez Esteban 1998). It was in this context

that the preparations for the celebrations related to the four-hundredth anniversary of the 'discovery' of America in 1892 took place in Spain (Peiró Martín 1995: 98).

It was only with the re-emergence of a certain nationalist pride for the lost Spanish empire in the celebrations of 1892 that interest was raised. An American historical exhibition (Exposición Histórico-Americana) was organized. Yet, even here, Spanish frailty was put in evidence: instead of being a celebration of the glory of Spain, after several discussions the display became a sum of exhibitions by several countries consisting of Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay, Argentina, as well as the US, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Portugal, Austria, Germany together with the representatives of the Spanish state formed by the City Council of Habana, the Body of Mining Engineers, the Archive of the Indies in Seville and the National Archaeological Museum (Marcos Pous 1993b: 69). The newly formed interest in Latin America by Spanish scholarship was, however, quickly forgotten in later years, especially after the loss of the last colonies, Cuba and Puerto Rico (as well as the Philippines), in 1898 (Marcos Pous 1993a; Vélez Jiménez 1997).

The re-emergence of national pride in ancient Great Civilizations in Mexico, Peru, and Argentina

The interest by the European powers and the US was contested and controlled by nationalist archaeology. In the last third of the nineteenth century the institutionalization of archaeology in Mexico and Peru experienced a renaissance. The presence of Aztec and Inca monumental ruins had been used to inspire national pride during independence in the 1820s. This had led to early institutionalization with the creation of museums and legislation, a surge that the global growth of racism in the 1840s provisionally annihilated, leading to the intellectuals' temporary rebuff of their links with the native past in the central decades of the century. The alienation from the pre-Columbian past explains the inadequate institutionalization of native American archaeology at this time. The earlier work of the 1820s was lost. In Spanish America, nothing similar to the explorations propelled by Brazil's Historic, Geographic, and Ethnographic Institute in the late 1850s and early 1860s, and the early research in museums in the 1860s and 1870s (Chapter 4), was initiated. Mexico was a partial exception to this. There, the mid nineteenth-century Indianist discourse seen in Brazil was echoed, if with some delay, by some of

its most important historians. Two of these were the liberal politician and general Vicente Riva Palacio (1832–96) and the historian and minister of education Justo Sierra (1848–1912). They argued that the best feature of the colonial period was the emergence of the mestizo (i.e. the person of mixed Native-European blood) out of the union between Spaniards and Indians, for these people represented the most vigorous force in Mexican history (Brading 2001: 524). Once again, native monumental antiquities became acceptable. The old National Museum of Mexico was founded for the second time in 1865. It was now a public museum of natural history, archaeology and history, located in part of the building of the National Palace in the centre of Mexico City. Aztec motifs became acceptable for the architectural decoration of Mexico City, and an impressive monument to Cuauthémoc, the last free Aztec king, was built in the Avenue of Reforma. The pavilion representing Mexico in the International Exposition held in Paris in 1889 was also designed in neo-Aztec style.

The National Museum of Mexico became the leading academic institution for the study of Mexican antiquities. From 1877 the museum published the *Anales del Museo Nacional* (Bernal 1980: 139, 154). A leading figure in the renewal of interest in archaeology was Captain Leopoldo Batres (1852–1926), the first Inspector of Archaeological Monuments from 1885, an amateur with contacts with the French anthropologist Paul Broca (Chapter 12) (Vázquez León 1994: 70). In 1897 new legislation was introduced which attempted to help protect antiquities (Bernal 1980: 140). In 1909 the function of the Inspección y Conservación de Monumentos Arqueológicos de la República Mexicana (the office for the inspection and conservation of archaeological monuments in Mexico) was legally established. This renewed interest towards the past would pave the way for the definitive inclusion of the pre-Columbian past as the foundation of national history after the revolution of 1910, for which a key role would be played by Manuel Gamio (1883–1960).

The development of archaeology in Peru was less marked. There was an increase of societies, associations and museums in the 1840s, to which the publication, in 1851, of two naturalists, the Peruvian Mariano Rivero (Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz) (1798–1857) and the Swiss Johann von Tschurdi's (1818–89) *Antigüedades Peruanas* was perhaps related. Interestingly, Rivero had been educated in London and Paris, where he met Alexander von Humboldt, who would have a great influence on his future intellectual development (www nd-d). There also seems to have been a growth in the formation of collections and also in large-scale looting at this time together with a thriving market of fake antiquities. These factors were partly encouraged by both local collectors and European museums (Chávez 1992: 45; Hocquenghem *et al.* 1987). Examples of the first were the collections of antiquities

amassed by the physician José Mariano Macedo, and by a certain María Ana Centeno, who then sold their collections to the Museum für Völkerkunde (Ethnology) in Berlin in the 1880s. This degree of interest in antiquities was not shared by the Peruvian state. The rejection of the indigenous past may be explained by the difficulties derived from the political instability of the country. After Spain's attempt to invade Peru in 1865, the country had been unsuccessfully involved in the War of the Pacific (1879–83) between Peru, Chile, and Bolivia, and had been prey to military rule in the 1880s.

Some of the local ideas on Inca society proposed at this time came, in fact, from Argentina, an interest spurred by the presence of Inca ruins in the northwest region of the country. These interests were not based on fieldwork, but on theoretical linkages between archaeology, linguistics, and anthropology, which were seen more clearly here than in other areas. In 1871 the Argentinian lawyer, historian, politician, and professor of ancient Roman law from 1872, Vicente Fidel López (1815–1903), suggested that the Aryan race had been the builders of the Inca monuments in a book, published in French, *Les races Aryennes du Pérou* (*The Aryan Races of Peru*), basing his argument on linguistic arguments. López argued that the Quechua language was an archaic form of Aryan or Indo-European language and, therefore, those who spoke it could be considered Aryan. He saw the site of Inti-Huassi located in the north of Argentina as the second Inca capital. In this way the Inca past was turned into Argentina's past, precisely at the time when the President Bartolomé Mitre had signed the law which led later, in the 1870s, to the extermination of thousands of Indians in the so-called 'Conquest of the Desert'. Fidel López's hypotheses did not fall into a vacuum. Elsewhere, they were well received, for example in the First Congress of Americanists in Nancy, and were subsequently adopted by José Fernández Nodal in Peru and by Couto de Magalhães in Brazil, although in Argentina they did not have much success (Quijada Mauriño 1996).[8] At the start of the twentieth century, in Argentina, local archaeological research flourished, and the work in the northwest thrived with scholars such as the Professor of American Archaeology of Buenos Aires from 1906, Juan Bautista Ambrosetti (1865–1917), who pioneered stratigraphic research in the northwest in sites such as Tilcara, a site that he called the Argentinian Troy after its discovery in 1908. The following generation produced graduates such as the anthropologist Felix Faustino Outes (1878–1939) and Ambrosetti's main disciple, Salvador Debenedetti (1884–1930) who wrote his thesis on the prehistoric pottery of the site of La Isla (Politis 1995: 199).

[8] On López see also Schávelzon (2004).

Turning again to Peru, the pride towards the pre-Columbian antiquities seems to have only emerged in the 1890s, at the time of an increased effort at local development (Patterson 1989: 38). In 1892 a Junta Conservadora (Preservation Committee) was created by Supreme Decree and put in charge of the care of monuments and the organization of excavations (Bonavia 1984: 110). In 1905 the Instituto Histórico del Perú (Institute for the History of Peru) was created, and in the same year the government approached the German archaeologist Max Uhle to form the core collection for a National Archaeological Museum. Uhle worked for the museum between 1906 and 1911, first in the section of 'Archaeology and Savage Tribes' and from 1907 as director. The archaeological sequences of Peruvian archaeology devised by Uhle would form the basis for all subsequent work in the area. However, he never abandoned his diffusionist thesis for the development of the Andean civilization. This had already been proposed by the Argentinian Vicente Fidel López in the 1870s. However, instead of arguing, like López, for the Aryan descent of the Incas, Uhle claimed a Chinese origin for them (Quijada Mauriño 1996: 257–9; Rowe 1954). In this way, he managed to keep the Andean ancient culture apart from any connection with Western civilization. At the same time he maintained that the Inca civilization had arrived from outside the continent in a manner similar to the new wave of civilization that was being brought by the Europeans like him, who were in this way legitimized (Patterson 1989: 39; 1995a: 72). In 1911 the first native archaeologist in Latin America, a medical graduate of the University of San Marcos in Lima, Julio Tello (1880–1947), obtained a doctorate in anthropology at Harvard. His role in Peruvian archaeology falls outside the chronological framework of this book, but his work heralds what was to come, a definitive recuperation of the native heritage as part of the Peruvian national past.

A final note: the International School of Archaeology and Ethnology of Mexico

A few years after the period under investigation would see the design of an experiment that aimed to overcome informal imperialism through its international character and anti-racist rationale. This was the International School of Archaeology and Ethnology of Mexico City formed in 1911. The school was international because teaching was undertaken by scholars from the United States, France, and Germany as well as from Mexico. Its aim was to provide training in research and publication for advanced students. Organized by Franz Boas (1858–1942), its first director was the German Eduard Seler

(1849–1922)[9] (Berlin), followed by Boas himself and then by the American Alfred Tozzer (1877–1954) (Harvard), the French-born geologist, then Professor of Archaeology in the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia, y Etnología (National Museum of Archaeology, History, and Ethnology), George Engerrand (1877–1961) and the Mexican Manuel Gamio. Though conceived in 1904, it did not commence until 1911 and unfortunately had a short life as it was soon affected by the turmoil created by the Mexican revolution. It would cease to exist in practice in 1914 and officially in 1920 (Bernal 1980: 160–7).

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CHINA AND JAPAN

Historical background

In contrast to Latin America, during the early modern period both China and Japan remained closed to Europeans. Contact was possible to a limited extent from the fifteenth century with the imperial powers of the time, Portugal and Spain. The search by the Iberian countries for new trade routes was prompted by the Ottoman control of those in use during the medieval period. Portugal established colonies in the Moluccan Islands (Indonesia) (map 3) and opened a route westwards back round Africa. Searching for an alternative itinerary, Spanish navigators discovered America. Spain eventually established a colony in the Philippines in 1565 and the route to Europe agreed with Portugal was that first taken by the Galleon of Manila. This was a galleon route that functioned from 1571 until 1815 and linked Asia and Europe from east to west. From the Philippine capital, Manila, the galleon went to New Spain—Mexico—and from there goods continued their travel to Seville. One of the results of this encounter was hybridization: Mexican craftsmen copied Asiatic forms and Europeans imitated Chinese porcelain, for example, with the result of the white and blue pottery becoming popular in Italy and Spain and then exported to northern Europe. A wide range of merchandise arrived in Europe via Portugal and Spain. These included Arabian perfume, carpets and pearls from Persia, indigo and cotton from India, cinnamon from Ceylon, spices (pepper, cloves and nutmegs) from Indonesia, porcelain and silk from China, and lacquer, Satsuma wares and folding screens from Japan. Together with this trade, European missionaries landed in the East, the Jesuits being among them the first. The Jesuits had an

[9] Seler had started working for Boas in the Museum für Völkerkunde (Ethnology) in Berlin in 1884 and in it would reach the post of head of the Department of America (1903–18).

important role for they wrote missionary reports that provide key information about life then and, more importantly for the issue under discussion, started the learning of the local languages. Also, the first expeditions were organized and the first maps of the area were drawn. An early map of China was sent by the governor of the Philippines to the king of Spain in 1555 (Alfonso Mola & Martínez Shaw 2003; Checa Cremades 1998).

The Iberian monopoly would be broken in the seventeenth century with the East India Companies that were founded in 1600, starting with the British (1600) and the Dutch (1602). These were followed in the second half of the century by the French (1664), Danish (1670) and in the eighteenth century by the Swedish (1731) companies. They obtained the monopoly of trading with Asia in each of their respective countries (Chapter 8). These corporations continued with the introduction of Oriental objects into Europe. One of those most in demand was porcelain, a type of pottery produced exclusively in China (a technique that was not discovered by Europeans until the early 1700s). From the early seventeenth century, tin-glazed Ming pottery with blue decorations on a white background was mainly imitated at Delft—where the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company were located and where the process had been learned from the Italians—and at other Dutch towns. In the royal and aristocratic palaces of Europe whole rooms were decorated with tile panels, and mahogany furniture inspired by Oriental—particularly Chinese—taste. This popularity of Rococo Chinoiserie peaked between 1740 and 1770. The style imposed by the new ruling dynasty in China from 1644, the Qing of Manchu origin, was also emulated. Increasingly, Japanese influences were added and chinoiserie included 'japanned' ware, imitations of lacquer and painted tin (tôle) ware that imitated japanning and ceramic figurines and table ornaments. This fashion, as well as everything with Oriental flavour, was eventually overshadowed by the sober neo-classicism movement and its obsession towards the classical in the later part of the eighteenth century.

In the eighteenth century, during the reign of Chien-lung (1736–95), China expanded into Xinjiang (then called East Turkestan) and imposed the payment of tribute on Burma, Tibet and Nepal (which had only acknowledged Chinese sovereignty in a formal way). One of China's key imports from Turkey and India was opium. From its initial use to stop diarrhoea, in the seventeenth century opium became used as a recreational stimulant. In 1800 the economic problems caused by opium led the Chinese authorities to forbid this trade. This, however, only led to illegal trading in which many Western countries became involved. China was also affected by the nineteenth-century 'Great Game', a competition mainly between the British Empire and Tsarist Russia over control of Afghanistan and Central Asia, which led to the British

occupation of Kabul in 1839 and to continuous rivalry between the two empires throughout the nineteenth century (Hopkirk 1994; Meyer & Brysac 1999). The confiscation by the Chinese authorities of a cargo of opium in 1839 was the excuse Britain needed to declare war (the so-called first Opium War 1840–2) and force the Chinese to allow her to expand her trade. The result for Britain was favourable. Its technological superiority led to the cession of Hong Kong in the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 and to some Chinese ports, including Canton, to be opened to British residence and trade. Soon afterwards, the French and the Americans obtained similar advantages. China was again defeated in 1856 in a second opium war and the Treaty of Tianjin (1858) opened new ports to trading and allowed foreigners including missionaries with passports to travel in the interior. The US and Russia—whose expansion into Turkestan in the 1860s would represent a threat to China and the other imperial powers in Asia[10]—also signed separate treaties to obtain similar privileges. This situation weakened the Qing dynasty and in 1911 it collapsed, plunging China into chaos (Wakeman 1975).

In Japan the Tokugawa, the military overlords ruling from Edo (modern Tokyo), had governed the country from 1600. In the nineteenth century foreign ships attempted to break Japan's isolation and gain access to the Japanese market without success. Europeans could only trade through Dejima, an artificial island off the coast of Nagasaki. The last decades of the Tokugawa were marked by conservatism and corruption, but the political crisis forced the ruler to resign and in 1868 Emperor Meiji took control. Westernization and industrialization were quickly introduced, including the declaration of a Western-style constitution in 1889. The Japanese, who had already been trading on their own with Europe from the early seventeenth century with expeditions such as that of Hasekura Tsunenaga (1571–1622) organized companies to compete with Westerners in the maritime trade. Pressured by the Russians, China and Japan turned upon Korea, which resisted until Japan forced a series of agreements from 1876. Taiwan, where the Japanese had attempted to create colonies from the mid 1870s (Eskildsen 2002), was occupied by Japan in 1895. Control over Korea led to the Sino-Japanese War (1894–5), with a favourable result to the Japanese. Eventually Japan occupied Korea during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5 and annexed it in 1910. As a result, Koreans were assigned Japanese names, converted to the

[10] Fighting against Russian ambitions to invade the Chinese Xinjiang and Tibet, in 1904 Britain invaded the latter, although in the 1907 Anglo-Russian convention Britain agreed to refrain from interfering in Tibet's internal affairs. The convention, which aimed to limit the rivalry between Russia and Britain, deemed essential to India's defence, also included agreements on Afghanistan and Persia. Thus, the first passed to the British sphere of influence as well as the southern part of Persia, whereas the northern part of Persia became Russian, leaving a neutral zone in between (Leach 2003: 13).

Japanese religion, Shinto, and required to speak Japanese in schools and in business. Manchuria would also be at the heart of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–5, a war related to the Japanese opposition to Russia's permission, granted in 1898, to use the ports with warm waters in winter of Port Arthur and Dairen, a permission denied to the Japanese. This eventually led to the above war won by Japan. In 1914, under the son of the Meiji Emperor, the Taishi Emperor, Japan sided with the Allies led by Britain and France in the First World War.

Antiquities in ancient China and Japan

Throughout their history China and Japan had not been ignorant of their past. It is even possible to see a certain resemblance between the way in which both countries related to antiquities and ancient Rome. In the late Roman Republic and during the Roman Empire, history had been used as a way of providing useful examples for educating, and preserving the Roman virtues and mores from erosion.[11] Around the same time in China a few antiquities were also passed around and preserved. As far back as 200 BCE an Eastern Zhou Dynasty philosopher, Feng Hu Tzu, described a three-age system similar to that used centuries later by Thomsen in Denmark, for it also divided periods into those in which the main artefacts in use were made of stone, bronze and iron (Bleed 1986: 59; Chang 1986: 4–5). About 100 BCE Sima Qian, a historian at the court of the Western Han, visited and recorded the reliable information about ancient monuments in his *Shiji* (Historical Records). The Sung dynasty (960–1297 CE) paid great attention to history. It was considered that past events could provide models, and be a source of inspiration. During their period in office excavations were undertaken at the site of Anyang, the last Shang capital of the fourteenth to eleventh century BCE, and treatises, such as the *Kaogu tu* (*An Illustrated Study of Ancient Things*) written by Lü Dalin in 1092, were produced. In its ten volumes two hundred and eleven bronzes and thirteen jades from the imperial palace, as well as from private collections, were described. In 1123 a catalogue of the antiquities collection of the Sung court, the *Bogo tulu*, was published. The prestige of the antiquities was, however, surpassed by that of the texts, which were sought as the main reference (von Falkenhausen 1993: 840). After an impasse, during the late seventeenth century a certain renaissance of epigraphical studies emerged

[11] In Rome, the writing of history was a task for men of the highest social strata. Ancient relics were stored in temples and some inferences about antiquity were occasionally made for objects as well as ruins (Lintott 1986; Schnapp 1993: ch. 1).

which was still in place at the time of the opening of the country to the Europeans (Barnes 1999: 28–9; Debaine-Francfort 1999: 14–16). In the nineteenth century, scholarship led to a renewed interest in the study of objects. One of the epigraphers in the Chinese tradition was Chen Jieqi (1813–84), whose research led him to compile several hundred rubbings of various terminal roof tiles from the Warring States throughout the Han. He also amassed a collection of antiquities (Debaine-Francfort 1999).

China's perspective on antiquity was influential in both Korea and Japan. In Korea during the kingdom of the Yi dynasty (1392–1910) the search for the past was based on information gathered from inscriptions (Pai 1999: 360). In Japan, Chinese influences were marked especially during the Nara (646–794 CE) period. During the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) frequent regular research into the history of the country included the excavation of two tombs in order to research a stone inscription (Barnes 1999: 28–9). Some authors have seen this partly as a result of Western influence through trade contact, perhaps by the transmission of European trends from Dutch traders, whose movements in the country were confined to an artificial island in the port of Nagasaki (Hoffman 1974), but others link it to internal developments within the Japanese scholarly community (Winkel 1999). During this period, the scholar Arai Hakuseki (1656–1725) criticized Japan's ancient chronicles and argued that there was little evidence for a mythical 'Age of the Gods'. He identified ancient stone arrowheads as belonging to an ancient people of Manchuria who were described in Chinese records known in Japan as the Shukushinjin. A later scholar was To Teikan (1731–98), who studied ancient Japanese history and customs through antiquities and drew parallels between ancient Korea and Japan. By the eighteenth century travel turned into a leisure activity for the prosperous classes and the writing of travelogues became popular. In some, archaeological remains were described, one of the more relevant examples of this being that written by Sugae Masumi (1754–1829) in his *Masumi Yuranki* (*Masumi's travelogue*), which included illustrations of Jomon pottery. Masumi wrote an even more specialized short volume with the title *Shinko shukuyohin-rui no zu* (*Illustrations of old and new ceremonial vessels*). One of the other hobbies of the period, rock collecting, also led scholars such as Kinouchi Sekitei (1724–1808) to archaeology. Several Japanese scholars were also interested in numismatics. One of those was the lord of the Fukuchiyama fief, Kutsuki Masatsuna (1750–1802), who published his own collection of Japanese and Chinese coins in twelve volumes, as well as the first Japanese book on European coins (Cribb *et al.* 2004: 268–9). In Edo there was even an association dedicated to ephemera, the Tankikai (the Oddity Addicts Club) that met from 1824 to 1825 and discussed archaeological artefacts (Bleed 1986; Ikawa-Smith 1982).

Philological research and comparative religions

First the Christian missions and then trade with the Orient inspired a tradition of learning Oriental languages and, to some extent, travel writing. The most important in the latter category was the work published by a German physician working for the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in Japan at the end of the seventeenth century, between 1690 and 1702, entitled *History of Japan, Together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam* (Engelbert Kaempfer, 1727–8) (Cribb *et al.* 2004: 268). At the Athenaeum Illustre (university) of Amsterdam in The Netherlands, the teaching of Oriental languages started in 1686 with the appointment of Stephanus Morinus (1624–1700) to a chair. To begin with, this teaching was connected with biblical studies (Chapter 6).[12] The languages known by Morinus were Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic and Ethiopic. It is unclear, therefore, when the term 'Oriental languages' started to include those of East and Central Asia. In the eighteenth century the Collegio dei Cinesi (the Chinese College) was founded by Father Matteo Ripa (1682–1746) in Naples in 1732. This enjoyed a long existence, and was transformed into the Real Collegio Asiatico (Royal Asian College) in 1869, which after further changes to its name has become today's Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples (Taddei 1979: vi). In France, during the eighteenth century, some translations were undertaken by Chinese and Japanese scholars who had moved to Europe after undergoing religious conversion to Catholicism. One of them was Huang Jialü (1679–1716), sent to France by the Jesuits. In Paris he served as the Chinese-French interpreter at the Royal Library. His follower in the post, Rémusat, would be the first academic to teach Asian languages in France. In 1814 he became the first professor of Chinese language at the Parisian Collège de France.

The chair created in the Collège de France was obtained by Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832). He was a doctor who had taught himself Chinese, and who had also learned Tibetan and Mongolian. He was the first secretary of the Asiatic Society of Paris, a learned association set up in 1822 that, as seen in Chapter 6, had an important role in the birth of the study of Mesopotamian archaeology in France. The society's aims were to promote Oriental languages including the translation of texts and to assist in publishing research by Orientalists (McGetchin 2003). From the very year of its foundation, the society published the *Journal Asiatique*. Rémusat laid the foundations for French Sinology's focus on systematic bibliography with his translation of the bibliographical sections of Ma Duan-lin's *Wenxian tongkao*,

[12] A much earlier precedent seems to have been the decision taken in 1311 by the Council of Vienna that Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean (i.e. Aramaic) should be taught at five Christian universities (Hagen 2004: 146).

though antiquities would not yet be the focus of academic interest. Abel-Rémusat was succeeded by Stanislas Julien (1797–1873), who published on Chinese ancient industries (1869) among other subjects.

As with Rémusat, the main interest of Heinrich Julius Klaproth (1783–1835), the first Professor of East Asian studies at Bonn in 1816, was philology. The benefit for Bonn, however, seems to have been little, given that he was allowed to stay in Paris on the grounds of the lack of resources for his studies in Bonn. Following Humboldt's tradition, he also had an interest in geography and cartography. Nevertheless, he apparently paid more attention to Egyptian hieroglyphs than to Asian antiquities, arguing with Champollion on the subject (Walravens 1999). Nor was the Briton James Legge (1815–97) interested in antiquities. Legge was a Scottish Congregationalist who in 1839 had been appointed by the London Missionary Society to China. As the country was still closed to Europeans, he remained at Malacca for three years before moving to Hong Kong, where he lived for thirty years. Legge learned Chinese and started to translate the Chinese classics in 1841 in order to help missionaries to understand Chinese culture. Several gentlemen involved in trade with China suggested that the University of Oxford create a chair of Chinese Language and Literature and proposed that Legge should be offered it. In 1876 he was appointed Professor of Chinese at the University of Oxford, and held this position until his death. In addition to his work as a translator, Legge would take Sinology into the field of Comparative Religions, with his comparative research on Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and Christianity, and into anthropology through his relationship with the German Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, Max Müller (1823–1900).

Despite the disinterest towards antiquities shown by Rémusat, Klaproth, and Legge, it was the thread of philology that led scholars to them, something that, as we have seen, did not happen in Latin America, but had occurred in the classical and biblical lands. In the case of China and Japan, however, their relative isolation meant that it was only possible for this interest to develop from the 1860s. The scholastic connection between the philologists and the explorers would be through the French philologist Edouard Chavannes (1865–1918). He was the first European to study Chinese funerary and Buddhist monuments. Chavannes had been trained in the Parisian Collège de France and lived in China from 1889, working at the French Legation in Beijing. He undertook his first exploration in 1893, when he visited various archaeological sites in Northern and Central China. In the same year he was appointed professor at the Collège de France. His early years in the post were occupied with philology. In 1905, however, he gave up what he described as 'this interminable business' referring to the translation he was involved in, and turned his interest towards Chinese epigraphy. Accompanied by the

Sinologist Vasily Alekseev, in 1907 he travelled again to China, photographing and documenting antiquities and recording many ancient inscriptions by collecting rubbings of them, a practice invented by Chinese epigraphers in the Sung period (960–1279). His last work was a monograph on the Tai-shan mountain (1910) as a focus of state ritual and local belief. Chavannes had not been the first explorer to visit sites in China, although his interest was certainly more focused than that of his predecessors, mainly explorers, who combined ancient art with geography, cartography, flora, and fauna.

Antiquities in the Age of the Explorers: the Silk Road, Dunhuang, and the Khotan area

The treaties signed in Beijing in 1860 had opened China to Europeans. The first visits in the area were undertaken by individuals supported by the imperial powers: Russia, Britain, France and Germany, followed later by the US. They would compete with each other to bring back to Europe as many antiquities and documents as they could which would then be bought by various museums and libraries. The sites of Khotan and the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas in Dunhuang would be of key importance in the first years of Western exploration into China's antiquities. Both were connected to the Silk Road and had manuscripts, which enabled a link to be made between philology, the study of comparative religions (mainly Buddhism) and antiquities. The Silk Road, a term coined by the German geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen[13] (1833–1905), had been a network of trade routes mainly operative in the first millennium CE in which silk, as well as many other goods, on some occasions travelled great distances. The route linked together China, India, Persia, and had reached into Europe since antiquity. Most merchants only moved short distances and those who travelled its whole length were very rare. At one end the Silk Road reached the western frontier of China. To the south it crossed the wasteland of the Tarim basin and joined with several other branches at the city of Kashgar, in the region of Khotan, the entry to Kashmir towards India (map 2).

Khotan occupied the southern part of the Silk Road in an oasis of the Taklamakan Desert, in Xinjiang. It was located in the east–west corridor connecting China with Afghanistan and Pakistan. The first Westerner to arrive in the area, in 1865, was a writer, William Johnson, who, despite mentioning

[13] From 1868 von Richthofen crossed China in a series of seven journeys studying its geological structure. His research would be key in Ding Wenjiang's first years as head of the Geological Survey of China (Furth 1970: 39–40).

the ruined sites nearby in a report of his trip, did not consider them important enough to photograph. It was not until the finding of ancient documents in the area that the site became a main focus of attention. This discovery happened in 1889, when a British captain based in Kashgar, a certain Bower, bought a Buddhist manuscript in Khotan. The manuscript had been written in Sanskrit, the ancient language of India, which supplied the material for debates concerning Indo-European languages and Aryan races (Chapter 8). The experts' interest in this discovery drew the attention of the consuls at Kashgar, who were in the midst of their particular 'Great Game' (see above), the Russian consul Nikolai Petrovsky (1837–1908) (Wood 2004: 167–9) and his British rival George Macartney. This event supplied a profitable source of income for a local, Islam Akhun, who was able to forge numerous Sino-Indian manuscripts on birch bark and sell them as ancient Khotanese manuscripts, many of which ended up in the British Museum and the Hermitage (Baumer 2000; Hopkirk 1980). Other manuscripts were bought by the French cartographer Jules Dutreuil de Rhins (1846–94) and the Orientalist Fernand Grenard (b. 1866) in an expedition undertaken in 1890–3 (Hopkirk 1980: 47–8).

The most important explorers in Khotan were the Swede Sven Hedin (1865–1952) and the Hungarian-born Aurel Stein, though a British subject by the time of his travels (Meyer & Brysac 1999: chs. 13–15). Hedin had started to journey in Asia in 1885, exploring and mapping large, but mainly unknown areas in Xinjiang, Tibet, and northwest China (map 2). While crossing the Taklamakan desert, he was constantly on the lookout for archaeological sites and remains. He believed these could provide a timescale for changes in the natural environment, a subject in which he was interested. Hedin arrived in Khotan in 1896, learning from the locals about deserted cities whose decorated house beams still protruded from the sand. Within a few months he had examined several sites and undertaken excavations in Khotan and Niya, finding carvings, paintings, documents, and other items preserved by the desert sand. Hedin's most important discoveries were made in 1895, when he visited Tumshuk (Tum'uk), later excavated by Pelliot, and in 1896, when he discovered two important sites on the southern Silk Road, deep into the desert: Dandan Uiliq and Karadong (Håkan Wahlquist, pers. comm. 2.1.2005). In his expedition of 1899 he also discovered Loulan (Wood 2004: 169–79, 195).

It was not until 1900 that Aurel Stein was able to reach Khotan. Stein had inherited a tradition developed in Hungary from the time of Alexander Csoma de Körös, who had begun his travels in 1820 in the search for clues to Hungary's own national origin and eventually became the founder of Tibetology (Mirsky 1977; www nd-f). Stein had been acquainted with Bower's manuscript for years and also knew about the texts with 'unknown characters'

arising from the fakes that were intriguing philologists such as the Anglo-German Orientalist Augustus Rudolf Hoernle (1841–1918), the Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Wood 2004: 192–3). At the time of the discoveries in Khotan Stein was in Austria, where he discussed this problem with a philologist who specialized in Sanskrit, the Professor at the University of Vienna, Georg Bühler (1837–98). In 1887 Stein was offered the joint post of Principal of the Oriental College of Lahore and Registrar of Punjab University in India (Whitfield 2004). In 1900 he was finally able to reach Khotan, on the first of four expeditions into Xinjiang, in 1900–1. Stein mapped the ancient sites along the western end of the southern Silk Road, excavated at Dandan-Uiliq in the Taklamakan desert, northeast of Khotan, at the abandoned site of Niya and a ruined temple in Endere. Having found many inscriptions and documents, he interviewed Islam Akhun, discovering the production of his fakes (Baumer 2000; Hopkirk 1980; Whitfield 2004; Wood 2004: ch. 13).

In addition to Khotan, the exploration of the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas in Dunhuang would also be of crucial significance for European archaeologists in China. The site is one of the greatest and most extensive of the rock complexes in Gansu Province. Dating from the early eighth to the eleventh centuries, its whereabouts had been concealed for almost a millennium. The Library Cave at the Mogao Grottoes in Dunhuang was found by a resident monk in 1900. It was a Buddhist library containing tens of thousands of manuscripts, paintings and printed documents on paper, hemp and silk dating from 400–1000 CE. Despite its religious purpose, the library also contained many secular documents reused for scriptures. These provided information about ordinary life on the Silk Road that would otherwise be unknown to modern scholars. The ornamentation both in the documents and also in the many fragments of silk hangings and other cave decorations provided rich data for art and textile history, complementing those known from surviving paintings and sculptures in other Dunhuang cave temples. They demonstrated that Chinese art styles had extended to Central Asia and even to Europe. The first to describe the site was the Russophile Pole, soldier and explorer Nikolai Mikhailovich Przhevalski (1839–88), whose first expedition (1870–3) had partly been financed by the Russian War Department, and his second (1876–8) had a political aim (Wood 2004: 167). He was also supported by the Imperial Geographical Society (on Przhevalski also see Meyer & Brysac 1999: ch. 9). Another key scholar for the study of the Dunhuang caves was Stein. He reached Dunhuang in his second expedition of 1906–7,[14] unearthing thousands of manuscripts written in Chinese, Sanskrit, Sogdian, Tibetan, Runic Turki, and Uighur. There were also prized

[14] In his second expedition (1906–8), in addition to the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas near Dunhuang, Stein also excavated at Khadalik and Niya, spent five days in Loulan gathering many

Buddhist paintings on silk and the world's oldest printed document, the Diamond Sutra, dating to 863 CE. He was apparently able to smuggle all these documents away by bribing the Abbot, Wang Yuanlu, the leader of the monastic group in charge of the caves, and carried away thousands of manuscripts back to Britain (Hopkirk 1980: ch. 12; Wood 2004: 199–200).

The study of the Dunhuang manuscripts would begin in earnest with the French Sinologist Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) (Debaine-Francfort 1999: 20–4). Having learned Chinese under Chavannes at the École des langues orientales, in 1900 he arrived as a research scholar at the École Française Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, where he was put in charge of forming the Chinese collection in the library. As early as 1901 he had risen to the rank of Professor of Chinese. He returned to France to represent the École at the fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists held in Algiers in 1905, where he was selected to direct an expedition to Xinjiang. Pelliot studied several archaeological sites on this expedition but the most important part of his trip was his work in Dunhuang. In 1910 he stayed there and systematically examined the cave of Mogao. With his permission he entered Wang Yuanlu's secret chamber. After three weeks of analysing the manuscripts he was able to convince the Abbot to sell him a selection. Wang's plans for the refurbishment of his monastery impelled him to agree. The documents, now in the Collection Pelliot at the Bibliothèque Nationale, were not the only purchase. About 230 paintings on silk, cotton, and hemp cloth and about fifty sculptures from the cave were deposited in the Musée Guimet. In 1911 a special chair in Languages, History, and Archaeology of Central Asia was created for Pelliot at the Collège de France. With his works, Pelliot greatly contributed to the study of the languages and the history of religions and cultures of that area. His attention mainly focused on Manicheism, Nestorianism and the history of the Mongol Empire and he paid particular attention to the analysis of Iranian influences on Central Asia (Giès 1996; Hopkirk 1980; Walravens 2001; Wood 2004: ch. 14).

Pelliot was not the only one to send many objects back to Europe. The Russian explorer, Kozlov, sent about 3500 objects he found in 1908 to St Petersburg, all dating from before 1387. These were found in the excavations of a Buddhist stupa in the lost city of Khara Khoto, the 'Black City' on the Edsin-Gol river delta, near the border between China and Mongolia. Once in Russia the finds were divided: the art works went to the Russian Museum, and from there to the Hermitage, and the books and manuscripts to the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Science (Norman 1997: 97–9). The number of objects obtained by other scholars, however, was much higher. It has been calculated that Stein sent to museums—the British

documents, and studied the frescoes at Domoko (Wood 2004: 198–203). Stein would undertake two more expeditions, the third in 1813–16, in which he visited Dunhuang once again, and the fourth, now financed by Harvard University, in 1930.

Library, the National Museum, New Delhi, the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert—a total of about 40,000 relics from his explorations. His success, as well as that of Hedin, led many countries to send their own explorers to unearth riches from the area. The most important were the Russians Dimitri Klementz and Sergei Oldenburg, the Finn Baron Carl G. Mannerheim, the French Charles-Étienne Bonin and Victor Segalen (1878–1919), the Japanese Kozui Otani (1876–1948) and his men (see next section), and the Germans Albert Grünwedel (1856–1935) and Albert von Le Coq (1860–1930) (Wood 2004: ch. 14).

At the start of the twentieth century another scholar who contributed to the study of the epigraphy and languages of China was Berthold Laufer, who led an ethnological expedition to China from 1901 to 1904 on behalf of the American Museum of Natural History in New York. In this expedition, in addition to acquiring ethnographic collections, he took inspiration from Chinese scholarship and made many rubbings of inscriptions (Walravens 1980). Thus, the 'Great Game' for the ancient Buddhist treasures that had initially been led by Britain and Russia (and by a Swedish independent) was later joined by France, Germany, Japan and the United States. The results were received by more than thirty museums across Europe, America, Russia, and East and Central Asia.

To the collections stored in official institutions, private collections would also be added. Private collections had started early in the nineteenth century, the first having been based on Chinese goods—tea, silk, china, rugs, and other commodities—sometimes housed in Chinese-like structures, and then later centred upon antiquities. One example of these was that formed by the American merchant Nathan Dann (1782–1844) that was first shown in Philadelphia in 1838 and then exhibited in London for many years from 1842. Chinese people were also featured to complement the exhibits (Pagani 1997). The collection formed by Émile Guimet (1836–1918) had a different character. He was a French industrialist from Lyons (France) who journeyed around the world in 1876, stopping in Japan, China, and India. In his travels he was able to amass a collection of objects large enough to display in a single museum which opened in Lyons in 1879 and then moved to Paris in 1899. This museum was initially focused on the religions of ancient Egypt, but became increasingly devoted to the past and present of Asian civilizations.

Hybrid archaeology?: the institutionalization of archaeology in China and Japan

In post-colonial studies the concept of hybridity involves the creation of transcultural forms, in this case forms that fall between those of the West and

those of the East. One of the most effective ways to oppose cultural imperialism is to mimic the institutions created in the West. In doing so, however, the unequal balance of power soon became evident. In nineteenth-century archaeology it was the East which imported the institutions of the West and not the other way round. However, the transmission did not flow unidirectionally. In the case of the interpretation of monuments, Western Sinologists and Orientalists could not but absorb the knowledge accumulated in the East and employ this as a basis for the development of their discipline. Paul Pelliot and other historical archaeologists drew upon centuries of work undertaken by Chinese scholars. Prehistoric archaeologists nowadays still use the nomenclature of ancient artefacts devised by the Sung antiquarians (Chang 1986: 9). Changes in China in the late seventeenth century seem to have enabled an easier introduction of Western empiricism. In the case of Japan, Barnes suggests that in addition to this, there were three traditions of scholarly enquiry which facilitated the introduction of prehistoric archaeology: the Naturalist tradition of collecting and describing; a tradition focusing on the collection of rocks, fossils and artefacts; and the yosoku-kojitsu which gave importance to precedence throughout time, and developed within history (Barnes 1990: 932). Thus, the situation was already prepared to accept change when both China and Japan were compelled to open their frontiers to the West.

In their confrontation with the West, China and Japan followed different strategies. China broadly resisted Westernization until the First World War. Japan's tactics, however, were very different. Japan tried to become an imperial power like its Western counterparts, and to a great extent these efforts were successful. Both in China and in Japan, historic archaeology showed a certain reluctance to accept Western-style historical writing until the First World War. This contrasted with developments in prehistoric archaeology in Japan. There, the rapprochement with the West, encouraged by the Meiji government from 1868, led to early measures related to antiquities: the edict of 1871 to protect historical records, collections, and objects, and the opening of museums. The core of the institutionalization of historic archaeology in Japan was the Imperial Museum, whose curators had a historical training. In 1895 they formed the Archaeological Society 'for the study of archaeology in our country, with the view to throwing light on customs, institutions, culture and technologies in the successive periods of our national history' (in Ikawa-Smith 1982: 301). Historical archaeology maintained many links with pre-Meiji scholarship and therefore with antiquarianism. Only in 1916 would the situation start to change. Of key importance in this process was Hamada Kosaku (1881–1938), who had studied in England under the Egyptologist Flinders Petrie, and who, on his

return to Japan, was appointed Professor of Archaeology in the History Department of Kyoto University (Ikawa-Smith 1982: 301).

The main foreign archaeologist to engage with Japanese historical archaeology was William Gowland, one of many foreigners employed to assist with the process of Westernizing of Japan. As a chemist he was given a post in the Imperial Mint in Osaka, then in the process of minting the national coinage. Gowland lived in Japan between 1872 and 1888. There he developed an interest in archaeology, centring his attention on the kofun, i.e. stone chambered tombs of warrior rulers of the so-called Heroic Age built between the third and the seventh centuries CE. He meticulously surveyed and excavated many, including, in the first years, some misasagi or imperial tombs. These he was allowed to survey at ease until access to them was banned. In 1884, Gowland visited Korea to explore its relationship with Japan in the Kofun period, excavating the dolmen at Shibamura there. Only in 1897, nine years after his return to England, would he start to publish his research in Japan (Harris 2004). In 1891, however, a photographer friend, the American Romyn Hitchcock, had already published Gowland's results (Kazuo Goto 2004). Gowland would chair the Japan Society in London, read papers on Japanese archaeology there and write up his research for its *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, the journal of an association that had been established largely by British and American diplomats in Yokohama in 1872.

In Japan, in contrast to historical archaeology, prehistoric studies developed at a similar pace to many parts of Europe. In 1872 an exhibition of ancient pottery and stone tools was held in Tokyo. It was organized by Baron Kanda Takahira (1838–98). From that year he became involved in the set-up of the museums promoted by the Meiji government, the National Museum. In 1884 he published his *Notes on Ancient Stone Implements &c. of Japan* in English and a Japanese edition appeared two years later. The earliest excavations in Japan were undertaken by the wealthy farmer and politician, Negishi Bunko (1839–1902) (Ikawa-Smith 1982: 298). They were continued for a short time by the American zoologist Edward Morse (1839–1917), whose visit to Japan to study marine fauna turned into a two-year appointment in Tokyo Imperial University from 1877. In that same year he excavated the Omori shell middens of the Jomon period that were being uncovered by new railroad construction between Tokyo and Yokohama. For its publication in 1879 Morse adhered to the format and style used by Jefferies Wyman, with whom Morse had been working on archaeological sites in New England while employed at the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, in the early 1870s. Morse organized a museum within the Science Department to exhibit the zoological and archaeological specimens which he and his students had found, and followed the Darwinian evolutionary principles. Morse's

institutional location in a biology department, however, meant that none of his students pursued a career in archaeology (Bleed 1986: 64–5; Ikawa-Smith 1982: 299–300). Despite this, he is always mentioned in histories of Japanese prehistoric archaeology as the founding father of Japanese archaeology (Mizoguchi 2006: 60). To conclude this discussion about Morse, it is interesting to note that his visit to Japan had not been supported by an academic institution, but paid by himself.

A separate programme in Japan that combined archaeology and anthropology began in 1893 and this would open the door for the institutionalization of prehistoric archaeology. The first anthropological association, the Tokyo Jinruigakkai, had been set up in 1886 by a medical student at Tokyo University, Tsuboi Shogoro (1863–1913). He completed his studies in England in 1889 and became the first Professor of Anthropology at Tokyo University in 1893. In an action which reflected contemporary developments in Europe, Shogoro separated himself from evolutionism and adopted a more ethnic emphasis for the interpretation of data—he also explicitly denied having received any influence from Morse (Mizoguchi 2006: 60). His publications followed the rational style developed in the West, supplying an apparently dry typological study of artefacts. However, this Western influence was mediated by the special care which he took to avoid direct confrontation with the traditional historical interpretations that legitimized the sanctity of the imperial lineage (Habu & Fawcett 1999: 589). As Mizoguchi (2002: 29–42, see also 2006: 64–5) indicates, archaeological periods were divided into those safer and those more dangerous to study. The first was the Jomon period of hunter-gatherers and early agriculturalists who, however, did not know about the cultivation of rice. The dangerous period included the Yayoi and Kofun periods. The key issue that characterized both was the practice of rice paddy field agriculture, the dominant way of life of the Japanese since then, which had supposedly been introduced by the Yayoi migration that had also brought the imperial family to Japan.

Regarding the development of prehistoric archaeology in China, Western influence can be seen most clearly a few years into the twentieth century with the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911. The key protagonist is Ding Wenjiang (1887–1936), a Chinese scientist, intellectual, and politician who had studied geology and zoology at Glasgow University. Charlotte Furth (1970) paints him as someone caught between East and West. She connects Ding's classical Chinese education in Confucian ethics to his sincere commitment to public service. He believed that science could transcend cultural difference because it embodied moral truth. Furth referred to Ding as the Chinese Huxley (referring to Thomas Henry Huxley, see Chapter 13) as he advocated a positivistic attitude similar to the British scholar, in which

'scientific reasoning provides the sole guide to truth in all matters about which human beings may reliably know anything' (Furth 1970: 27). Ding was given responsibility for the Geological Survey of China formed in 1913, which began as a geological department under the Bureau of Mines of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. With Ding, and a team of Chinese and foreign geologists including the Swedish geologist, Johann Gunnar Andersson and the French archaeologist, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, a new chapter in the history of research in palaeontology and prehistoric archaeology would begin in China, mainly after the First World War (Debaine-Francfort 1999; Fiskesjö & Chen 2004; Furth 1970). After the war, training in modern archaeological methods was introduced in China (Chang 1986)[15] and only in the mid 1920s would the authorities forbid any further uncontrolled archaeological explorations in Chinese territory.

Japanese rapid Westernization would clearly become visible in an analysis of archaeology beyond the country's frontiers. The two examples provided here are located in Nepal and in Korea. They are very different in nature. The first refers more to an antiquarian pursuit with parallels to that of foreigners such as Stein and Hedin, but with a religious background similar to that found in the archaeology of the biblical lands described in Chapter 6. The second is more related to imperialism. One of the issues that affected historical archaeology before the First World War in Japan was the rapid decline of Buddhism, partly as a result of the many changes to Japanese society brought about by the Meiji Restoration. This situation was at the heart of some Buddhist monks' wish to acquire original Buddhist sutras. Here Kozui Otani (1876–1948) would be a key figure. He was the son of the Abbot of the West Hongan Monastery or Nishi Honganji Temple, the headquarters of the Jodo Shinshu (Pure Land sect of Buddhism) in Japan. At the age of fourteen he had been sent to be educated in London, and there he became familiar with the European expeditions to Central Asia. He also read about the discoveries made by Sven Hedin and Aurel Stein, and became a member of the Royal Geographical Society. He then decided to organize his own expedition accompanied by several Japanese monks from the monastery. Despite Kozui Otani's efforts his adventure could not conclude, for his father's death compelled his return to fulfil his role as abbot. His companions, however, continued the work. Thus Shimaji Daito undertook archaeological research in Nepal, on the Buddha in Tarai, and Shimizu Mokuji, Honda Eryu, and Inoue Koen entered Tarai, travelled to Araurakot, Tilaurakot, and Lunmindi

[15] From the 1870s foreign specialists were brought to the country and some young men were sent to be educated to the US, England and France as well as to Japan (Debaine-Francfort 1999: 16), but this did not affect archaeology.

(Lumbini), where they undertook archaeological research on Buddhist artefacts. They returned to Japan with their finds in May 1904. Between 1911 and 1912, Kozui Otani sent Zuicho Tachibana and Yoshikawa Koichiro to Dunhuang. They remained there for eight weeks and obtained more than four hundred manuscripts. Another scholar looking for Buddhist texts was Ekai Kawaguchi, who visited Nepal four times between 1899 and 1900, and who, in 1913, obtained, together with Professor Takakusu Junjiro of Tokyo Imperial University and Hasebe Ryutai, the Sanskrit sutras of Buddhism that Kawaguchi had long been seeking (Takayama 2002).

In a situation which mirrored the association between imperialism and anthropology in the major European powers, anthropological studies in Japan took place in the context of Japanese expansionism through East Asia (Pai 1999: 354). The primeval primitive area where the Far Eastern races had developed was located in areas where the modern natives were perceived as primitive and backward: Korea, Manchuria and the Russian Maritime Province. In the years immediately preceding the First World War, anthropological and archaeological studies in the occupied territory of Korea described prehistoric cultures as intermediate between North China and Japan. This encouraged an emphasis on race, parallel to the ideas that developed in Europe and America, and which would be reinforced in the interwar period (Pai 1999). As in many other parts of the world, specific contemporary native groups were associated with prehistoric remains, reinforcing the primitive image they displayed. In Formosa (now Taiwan), for example, the Japanese archaeologist (and anthropologist), and perhaps the most important Japanese scholar in these fields around the turn of the century, Torii Ryuzo, linked the Bunun tribe to Stone Age implements found in the New-High Mountain (Jade Mountain) area (Wu 1969: 107).

CONCLUSION: ARCHAEOLOGIES OF INFORMAL IMPERIALISM

This chapter and the two previous ones have dealt with the archaeology of informal imperialism, archaeology which was undertaken in countries where no official colonies had been formed, but where the account of the past produced by the imperial powers of the West imposed itself as hegemonic, although it was, in some cases, strongly resisted by the development of national archaeologies. The focus has been on the archaeology of a group of extremely diverse countries in southern Europe, Turkey, on Egypt, the Near East, Central and Eastern Asia, and Latin America. These countries went

through completely different historical experiences. Some, like Turkey, were declining empires, whereas others, such as Italy and Japan, became imperial powers themselves by the end of the period. In some, like those of Latin America, elites had been part of the Western world in the early modern era, whereas others were completely closed to it. Despite this bewildering diversity, all these countries shared the eventual acceptance of the Western discourse about the past characterized by its rationality and by its conformation to a linear chronology. In the type of narration imposed by the West, the establishment of periods, and, increasingly, also of ethnic attribution, was of fundamental importance. The past so constructed was not purposeless, but rather had a key role: knowledge about it was deemed essential in order to understand the present and to imagine the future. For the powers the study of the antiquities of their informal empire—as well as those of their formal colonies (see Part III of this book)—became one more tool of surveillance and observation, another attempt to grasp the Other's nature and the historical background of the differences between their own national character and that of other parts of the world. The authoritative version of the past constructed by the imperial powers was politically useful to them. It explained the imperialist success of Britain and France, and later of other powers, as the later inheritors of classical civilizations. It also demonstrated the way that other civilizations had failed to pursue successfully the idea of progress. Evidence from the past legitimated the contemporary political order.

The hierarchy of archaeological remains established by the European imperial powers, with the ancient classical civilizations at the peak and others lower down the scale, influenced the type of archaeology that would be developed in informal colonies. The closer the Great Civilizations were to the classical model, the less the prehistoric antiquities attracted the attention of the imperial powers' scholars. Thus, lithic studies were practically unheard of in Greece,[16] Turkey and Mesopotamia. In the same way, the guidance provided by the biblical accounts for the archaeology of Palestine and Lebanon led to an almost complete disregard of any other previous periods of its history until after the First World War. In contrast, in countries where the Great Civilizations were far removed from the classical pattern a few individuals—though usually not the same people as those dealing with historical antiquities—paid some attention to prehistoric remains. This took place exclusively in China and Japan. In Latin America, as will be seen in Chapter 10,

[16] Italy, however, was an exception to this. It is important to remember that the congress organized in La Spezia in 1865 was that of the Italian Society of Natural Sciences, but it was later turned into the first International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology. The congress met again in Italy in 1871. Foreign archaeologists interested in lithic collections included William Allen Sturge (1850–1919) (Skeates, pers. comm.).

only outside Mesoamerica and the Andean area were prehistoric remains taken into consideration.

Hegemony implies consent. Archaeologists from the non-colonized world generally accepted ideas coming from their colleagues in the imperial powers as enlightened and authorized. The most influential imperial power for most of the nineteenth century seems to have been France, probably because of the state investment in archaeology. Archaeologists from independent countries beyond Europe who decided to publish in one of the imperial languages usually chose French. France was also the country where they went to study, the exception to this being Chinese and Japanese individuals who went to Britain mainly from the last two decades of the nineteenth century. It was taken for granted that the discourses about the past devised by the imperial powers were fully legitimated—although, as will be seen below, this did not prevent the existence of alternatives. It will be argued here that the belief in the validity of the accounts developed by the archaeologists of European imperial powers was related to their superiority in terms of numbers of archaeologists, funding, and the means to promote individuals and their ideas. Despite the relatively small magnitude of the professional body when compared with its size a century later, the number of academics from the Powers and the funding they had access to (in Europe and also, from the last decades of the nineteenth century, in the US and Japan) was much greater than those from elsewhere. It is also important to understand the internal functioning of these communities to grasp the extent of their academic might. The academic body of each of the powers behaved in some ways like communities of interest. In the centres of imperial power daily practices such as letters, conversations, encounters, conferences, committees, institutions, and so on acted as the media through which essential information was transmitted and key alliances were formed. These groups were able to define who was important in the field. They could have been fundamental in influencing the acceptance or rejection of new ideas in the field and the general strategy for future research. The publications produced in the imperial centres had a much wider distribution than those printed elsewhere. The academic production carried out in the centres, therefore, had a much higher potential for having an impact on other archaeologists elsewhere. Archaeologists living in the European powers acted as the transmitters and, on most occasions, as those who sanctioned as satisfactory hypotheses produced elsewhere. To be successfully accepted in the academic arena, original ideas need a large educated audience of a type only available in the prosperous societies of the imperial powers.

Consent did not mean complete compliance. The non-colonized world did not remain passive in the face of attempts by the Powers to appropriate and create particular discourses about its past. A similar situation occurred in

Europe in countries which did not participate—or only did so to a very limited extent—in the imperial venture. In nineteenth-century Europe scholarship flourished (or continued to flourish) in Italy and Greece as well as in Southern and Eastern Europe. There, academies, universities, and museums were created. Any further analysis of particular circumstances in each of these countries is beyond the reach of this volume, but a detailed study of the state of affairs of any one of them would reveal a pattern replicating the situation described in the previous paragraph. This could be called 'national imperialism', a state of affairs in the field of archaeology where scholars living in the state capital acted as a united community of interested members and dominated others in the provinces. This pattern has been well analysed in countries such as Spain, where archaeologists living in Madrid regulated legislation, worked in the best museums and dominated the most powerful institutions dealing with antiquities (see, for example, Díaz-Andreu 2004b). This situation also took place in the imperial powers, where archaeologists living in London and Paris dominated the rest of the academic community of their own countries. In Latin America, the long tradition of European scholarship and the close links to the Old World resulted in a pattern widely similar to that of Southern Europe. In other areas of the world the development of archaeology needs to be seen as a more pro-active resistance against European imperialism and as part and parcel of the formation of the modern state.

The acknowledgement of the tactical superiority of Western politics and science led to the mimicking of Western institutions which, in the non-colonized world—especially in the countries that had not been colonized by Europeans in the early modern period—became hybridized to a certain extent with previous traditions of knowledge and religion. In archaeology this happened mainly from the 1880s in countries such as Turkey and Japan, and around the First World War in others, such as China. Certain areas of study which had developed in the Western world such as the inquiry into material culture associated with the Islamic cult led, in Islamic countries, to the transformation of those objects which were formerly considered to be religious to be also seen as historical objects. Similarly, in countries such as China and Japan, earlier fields of study such as Buddhism, and practices of creating knowledge about the past by the compilation of rubbings of inscriptions, became gradually absorbed into a Western type of scholarship, although the traditional ways of understanding were, to a degree, maintained.

As will become clear in a comparison between Parts II and III of this volume, there were obvious similarities between the kind of archaeology undertaken by the imperial powers with respect to informal and formal colonies. In both, explorers described monuments and other types of material culture, they published and created hegemonic discourses about them and, when they

could, they amassed collections of objects that were displayed in the museums and private collections of the imperial cities. In addition, neither archaeologists of informal nor of formal colonies were able to reach celebrity at a world level for the reasons explained above. Yet, the similarities should not hide important differences. In independent countries, local academic communities had the potential to develop, and in most cases they managed to do so before the First World War, though to a variable extent depending on the country. For example, this occurred to a greater extent in Latin America than in Japan, and much more in Japan than in China. This development was very much curtailed in the colonies, where membership of scholarly communities was mainly, with a few exceptions, formed by individuals from the metropolis. If locals were accepted, they were always kept in inferior positions in the institutions. Independent countries were able to pass legislation to control their heritage and hinder the imperial powers' desire for their antiquities. Importantly, in non-colonized countries, archaeology had a potential to be used as a source of empowerment. In opposition to the often negative connotations provided by the imperial powers' account, some archaeologists proposed alternative narrations that allowed archaeological remains to be used as symbols of national pride. This, as will be seen in the following Part III, would not be the case in the archaeology of the colonized.

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Part III

Colonial Archaeology

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8

Colonialism and Monumental Archaeology in South and Southeast Asia

In the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, political and economic power was concentrated in just a few countries. Having eclipsed the most mighty early modern empires—those of Spain and Portugal, the Ottoman Empire, The Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries—Britain, France, the Russian, and the Austro-Hungarian Empires became the major European powers. Later, these were joined by the newly formed countries of Germany and Italy, together with the United States of America and Japan. In these countries elites drew their might not only from the industrial revolution but also from the economic exploitation of their ever-increasing colonies. Colonialism, a policy by which a state claims sovereignty over territory and people outside its own boundaries, often to facilitate economic domination over their resources, labour, and markets, was not new. In fact, colonialism was an old phenomenon, in existence for several millennia (Gosden 2004). However, in the nineteenth century capitalism changed the character of colonialism in its search for new markets and cheap labour, and the imperial expansion of the European powers prompted the control and subjugation of increasingly large areas of the world. From 1815 to 1914 the overseas territories held by the European powers expanded from 35 per cent to about 85 per cent of the earth's surface (Said 1978: 41; 1993: 6). To this enlarged region areas of informal imperialism (see Part II of this book) could be added. However, colonialism and informal colonialism were not only about economic exploitation. The appropriation of the 'Other' in the colonies went much further, and included the imposition of an ideological and cultural hegemony throughout each of the empires.

The zenith of this process of colonization was reached between the 1860s and the First World War, in the context of an increasingly exultant nationalism. In a process referred to as 'New Imperialism', European colonies were established in all the other four continents, mainly in areas not inhabited by populations with political forms cognate to the Western powers. In the case of Africa, its partition would be formally decided at an international

meeting—the Berlin Conference of 1884–5. Parallel to this process both Russia and the United States expanded beyond their former borders, enlarging them several-fold. Some of this growth was the result of warfare with adjacent states (half of the territory of Mexico—Texas, New Mexico, and California—was lost to the United States in 1848). In most of Africa, Australia, the Pacific, North Asia, and Western North America, antiquarians were not able to deal with ancient monuments for there were none (or they were a rarity and were considered foreign to local cultures). As a result, the study of the non-state[1] societies and their predecessors was mainly left in the hands of anthropologists (Chapter 10). The exceptions to this were South and Central Asia and North Africa, areas that will be explored in this and the following chapter. In them, colonialists found civilized peoples who had for centuries possessed state or quasi-state systems of government and legislative codes.

Science was not detached from contemporaneous political events. As the political theorist Frantz Fanon once said, 'science depoliticized, science in the service of man is often non-existent in the colonies' (Fanon 1989: 140). Like other human sciences such as geography, anthropology, and history, archaeology became a tool of imperialism.[2] By forming part of the control mechanisms exercised by the creation of the census, the map, and the museum (Anderson 1991: 164), archaeology fulfilled a part in the state's strategy of surveillance and observation that gave the imperial powers a perspective on the dominated. It helped to rationalize the 'Other', to confirm the superiority of these powers through demonstrating that the backwardness the Europeans encountered outside their native countries was rooted firmly in the past. In the colonies, the creation of a Western-shaped knowledge of the past of the subjugated populations assisted administrators in making them comprehensible, and therefore susceptible to regulation and assimilation into the colonial ethos. However, ancient monuments also helped to elevate the state as the keeper of local tradition. Archaeology thus acted as an instrument of power, legitimizing the hegemony of the imperial centres over subaltern countries. It is the purpose of the following pages to scrutinize how South and Southeast Asian antiquities were perceived and integrated into the colonial discourse. The main concern will be to understand the production of knowledge in the field of archaeology within the framework of the imperial project.

[1] In this volume the use of non-state societies has been preferred over other terms such as non-Western, traditional, native, non-industrialized societies.

[2] The link between science and political events is a growing field of research (MacLeod 2001). There are many studies on this, of which those mentioned here are just examples: for geography see Smith and Godlewska (1994), for anthropology see Asad (1973); Thomas (1994) and for history see Berger *et al.* (1999b); and Zimmer (2003b).

THE IMPERIAL MISSION: THE SUPERIOR RACES' CONTEST TO CIVILIZE THE WORLD

As a political practice, nineteenth-century colonialism became closely connected to nationalism. From the 1830s to the 1870s the criteria defining a successful nation were transformed. It increasingly became crucial not only to be a large, institutionalized state and to have a long-established cultural elite with a literary and administrative tradition in the vernacular language, but also, importantly for the discussion in this and the following chapter, to have capacity for conquest, that is, to be an imperial people (Hobsbawm 1990: 38). Imperialism was even seen by some as a substitute for nationalism, a view expressed by the historian William Flavelle Monypenny in 1905:

> Today the words 'Empire' and 'Imperialism' fill the place in everyday speech that was once filled by 'Nation' and 'Nationality'... power and dominion rather than freedom and independence are the ideas that appeal to the imagination of the masses; men's thoughts are turned outward rather than inward; the national ideal has given place to the Imperial.
>
> (in Betts 1971: 150).

Within this framework in Europe a hierarchy of successful and unsuccessful nations was created. The ebbing empires—mainly Portugal and Spain—were overshadowed by the main nineteenth-century European powers: Britain and France. Despite losing some of their early modern colonies, both nations embarked on an imperial mission that led to an expansion of their territories and reinforced their position as the most successful rulers of the Western world. Other minor empires already in existence during the early modern period, such as The Netherlands, managed to maintain their territories. In the last three decades of the century politics within Europe led to significant changes in colonialism. In the early 1870s the collapse of the traditional power structure in Europe following the unifications of Italy and Germany was perceived as a threat to the status of Britain and France; more than ever, they turned to colonization and imperialism as a means of national regeneration. This meant that colonies were no longer essential financial assets for the metropolis, but part of the empire, understood as an outgrowth of the nation. By the 1880s most of the overseas territories that had once been ruled by commercial enterprises had come under the authority of the state. The establishment of colonies was supplemented with the establishment of protectorates, in which, theoretically, the colonial powers only assisted the local government (Baumgart 1982).

The influence of colonization after 1870 was openly acknowledged by politicians. 1870, the year in which France lost the Franco-Prussian War, was subsequently perceived as 'the terrible year of 1870'. This qualification was still in use in 1912, when Joseph Chailley-Bert, the director of a society for the promotion of the colonies, the Union Coloniale française, used the expression (Baumgart 1982: 58). A few years previously, the French foreign minister in 1900, Théophile Delcassé (1852–1923), observed in the closing words of a speech before the Senate, 'France is, above all, a great European power... which has become, or rather has *recovered* its position as a great colonial power' (in Baumgart 1982: 58–9). Similarly, the French politician, George Leygues, argued at the Paris Colonial Congress in 1906:

> Just after 1870 it was colonial policy which gave us [the French] a fresh energy, courage and once more brought to our spirits a taste for action and life. It enabled us to prove that our trials had not deprived us of sufficient confidence in ourselves for us to embark on the greatest undertakings and to carry them to fruition
>
> (in Baumgart 1982: 57).

Imperialist nationalism was paramount in the politics of Benjamin Disraeli (r. 1870s and 1880s) and Joseph Chamberlain (r. 1895–1903) in Britain, and Jules-François-Camille Ferry (r. 1870s and 1880s) in France. From the early 1860s, Bismarck's Germany (r. 1862–90) would be another major player in the apportionment of the world by the European powers. As a result of a series of successful wars Bismarck became the first chancellor of unified Germany and the self-proclaimed German Empire of 1871, which joined the colonial race from 1884.

Ideologically, colonialism was justified on the basis of the racial differences between the Europeans (and the Japanese) and other peoples of the world. In Britain the politician Charles Dilke explicitly argued that the might of the British Empire was partly based on the superiority of the 'British race' (*ibid.* 50). This view was shared by his colleague Joseph Chamberlain, who considered 'the British race' to be 'the greatest of governing races that the world has ever seen' (in Baumgart 1982: 89). In France the politician Jules-François-Camille Ferry affirmed this belief in racial superiority in 1885:

> Gentlemen, we must speak louder and truer! We must say openly that, in fact, the superior races have rights with regard to the inferior races... I repeat, the superior races have a right, because they have a duty, the duty to civilise the inferior races... Can you deny that there is more justice, more moral and material order, more equality, more social virtues in North Africa since France conquered it?
>
> (Ferry in Colonna 1997: 351).

After the 1870s, therefore, the character of colonialism changed. As a result of the Congress of Berlin (the Berlin Congo Conference) in 1884–5, first France, and then Britain, left aside imperial consolidation in favour of expansionism, a policy that characterized the last two decades of the century (Baumgart 1982: 51, 180). Of all the imperial powers Britain was most successful, creating the largest empire based on a network of colonies in all continents, some of which had already been in place for a long time: Canada and Belize in America; India and neighbouring regions in Asia; Australia and New Zealand in the Pacific; and from South Africa to Egypt in Africa. In addition, it had protectorates such as Cyprus from 1878, and Egypt was occupied from 1882. The French Empire mainly expanded in Asia (Indochina), Africa (the Maghreb, western and Equatorial Africa), and regions in America and the Pacific. Germany, Italy and Belgium also added to the colonial feast with possessions mainly in Africa. Finally, countries such as Russia, the United States and, from the last years of the century, Japan also expanded into neighbouring territories.

COLONIALISM IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA: A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Before the arrival of the Europeans, Southeast Asia was an area politically divided into many kingdoms.[3] As explained in Chapter 7, it was the expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially its control of the trade routes used during medieval times to import Oriental goods into Europe, that fostered the colonization of Southeast Asia by Portugal and Spain. The Portuguese occupied the Moluccan Islands in Indonesia and were thus able to recommence trade by sailing round Africa. In their search for an alternative route, America was discovered by the Spaniards, who were finally (through Mexico) able to reach the Pacific and establish a colony in Manila (the Philippines) in 1565. Other European countries would join this lucrative trade: Britain, Holland, France, Denmark, and Sweden founded East India Companies in 1600, 1602, 1664, 1670, and 1731 respectively, leading to the establishment of areas of influence from which to control their businesses.

During the nineteenth century, the main players in South and Southeast Asian colonialism were Britain, Holland, and France. The British East India Company began to control parts of India, as well as, from 1786, Penang in Malaysia. Both Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) and Malacca (in Malaysia) were ceded to the British by the Dutch in 1796 and 1824 respectively. In the

[3] A good history of the colonization of the area is found in Kiernan (1995: chs. 2 and 3).

mid nineteenth century, after the Sepoy rebellion of 1857 (better known as the Indian mutiny), the British government gained political control over what had until then been a trading venture. From 1874 the British started a policy of expansion in Malaysia that would endure for the next three decades. Burma was annexed to the British Empire in 1886. Regarding The Netherlands, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) established its base in the Indonesian archipelago—mainly in Java—in the seventeenth century. Although no longer a significant colonial power from the eighteenth century, The Netherlands were given at least some pretensions to economic and political might in the world by their imperial possessions in Indonesia. Echoes of the havoc Napoleon was creating in Europe (Chapter 3) reached this area of the globe. The French invasion of The Netherlands threatened the balance of power in Southeast Asia. The seizure of the Dutch colonies by the French represented an obvious threat to British interests in India, and the British East India Company decided to invade Java. In 1815, after Napoleon's downfall, the Congress of Vienna returned Java to The Netherlands. Dutch colonies expanded in 1871 when the Treaty of Sumatra between The Netherlands and Great Britain made the northern part of the island Dutch. In 1901 Holland bought West New Guinea and incorporated it into The Netherlands Indies. Australia ruled part of New Guinea from 1906 (see map 3).

In contrast to Britain and The Netherlands, France's colonial presence in Southeast Asia did not materialize until well into the nineteenth century, and was based primarily on the mainland. The strategy followed by France was to profit from the weakness of the local chiefs and monarchs through establishing protectorates while reserving some areas for colonization proper. Initially, in 1863, the French established a protectorate over Cambodia (old Kampuchea), the main area where the ancient Khmer Empire had existed (although it also expanded over Siam, Laos, and Vietnam). The policy of colonial expansionism promoted by Jules Ferry resulted in the appropriation of Annam and Tonkin (both in present-day Vietnam) in 1884. This led to the proclamation of the French Indochina Union in 1887, a federation whose capital was at first Saigon and then, from 1902, Hanoi. In addition to Annam and Tonkin, Indochina comprised of Cochin China and the Khmer Republic (Cambodia), with Laos added in 1893 and the remaining independent parts of Cambodia in 1907 (map 3). Two later players in the colonialism of Southeast Asia were Germany and the United States. The former occupied Papua New Guinea at the end of the nineteenth century, and the transfer of the Philippines from Spain to the US in 1898 would mark the beginning of the American presence in this area (Offner 1999). The only country to remain independent throughout the history of modern European colonization in Southeast Asia was Siam, present-day Thailand, in mainland Southeast Asia.

This accomplishment was mainly due to the political skills of King Chulalongkorn (Rama V, gov. 1868–1910), who managed to impose his vision of Siam as a buffer state between the colonial possessions of the European powers. He modernized the country hiring Europeans when needed, visited Europe in 1897 and in 1907, and sent his sons to be educated in Britain, Denmark, Germany, and Russia.

Colonialism was, therefore, the framework within which archaeology first developed in Indonesia, Indochina, and India as well as, in fact, in independent Siam. The following sections of this chapter explore the extent to which monumental archaeology was affected by the political situation. Non-monumental archaeology will mainly be examined later on, in Chapter 10.

BUDDHISM AND HINDU ANTIQUITIES IN DUTCH INDONESIA

Indonesia was, together with Latin America, one of the earliest parts of the globe to be colonized by the Europeans. However, the decline of the previous major empires in the area impeded the employment of already existent bureaucracies to develop a firm administrative and cultural infrastructure from which to form a solid colonial knowledge (something that occurred to some extent in Mexico and Peru). During the early modern period Indonesia was only thinly populated by Europeans and Creoles, so it is no wonder that scientific exploration proved patchy. The earliest information about antiquities related to both prehistoric and monumental archaeology. Some information about prehistoric finds was published posthumously by George Rumphius (1627–1702), a naturalist who from 1653 had been employed in Ambon (East Indonesia) by the Dutch East India Company. In his *Herbarium Amboinense* of 1705 two chapters were dedicated to prehistoric material. Monumental ruins were found at a later stage, but attracted a higher degree of attention than prehistoric remains. The ninth-century Hindu temple of Prambanan in central Java was first mentioned in 1733 by a Dutch official, a certain C. A. Lons (Tanudirjo 1995: 62–3). In the neighbouring island of Sumatra, William Marsden (1754–1836), an English Orientalist who worked for the British East India Company in Benkulen (also spelled Bencoolen, now Bengkulu) in West Sumatra from 1771, developed an interest in the area's antiquities. Back in England he wrote, among other works, a *History of Sumatra* (1783) as well as *Numismata orientalia or The Eastern Coins ancient and modern described and historically illustrated* (London, 1823–5). Two years before his death his collection of Oriental coins was presented to the British Museum.

Beyond the work of these two isolated individuals, it seems that the major means by which Enlightenment and its interest in the past reached Indonesia was through the founding of learned societies. Through them the process of creating a hegemonic discourse on the European colonies of South and Southeast Asia started in earnest. The earliest association to be created, in 1778, was the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences) based in Batavia (present-day Jakarta). It was the first of two in the area, for only six years later, in 1784, the British would follow suit with the foundation in Calcutta of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. More than twenty years had to pass before the creation of more societies dealing with Asia, such as those created in Paris and London in 1822 and 1823 respectively. For most of their first century and a half, until the First World War, these societies were, with a few exceptions, exclusively formed by Europeans, who still made up the majority of the membership when the area was decolonized after the Second World War. A few natives became members during the second half of the nineteenth century, but the input of native scholars was rare until well into the twentieth century. In 1927, Nicolaas Johannes Krom (1883–1945), a Sanskrit philologist, would say that 'not until quite recently has the Javan learnt to raise his eyes to the memorial of his great past; fortunately among the few are some who are sensitive to the devotion which this sacred edifice arouses' (in Krom 1927: 2).[4] Concerning those dealing with monumental antiquities, the initial major weight of individuals working for the VOC was balanced later in the century with a more marked presence of philologists. Those interested in prehistoric archaeology came from a very different background, mainly from the clergy and the field of ethnology/anthropology.

The Batavian Society had its roots in the Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenshappen (HMW), the society of sciences formed in Haarlem, The Netherlands, in 1752. In 1771 the HMW organized a competition based on an essay related to Dutch trade in the East Indies and on how the arts and sciences could promote Christianity in the colonies. As a result of this interest, a decision was taken to establish a branch in the colony in 1777. However, the difficulties of operating a branch located so far away quickly became apparent and led, instead, to the creation of an independent society in 1778 (Djojonegoro 1998: 14–16). Against all odds, the new learned association formed in the colony was successful, mainly due to the initiative of a powerful individual:

[4] Natives were not the only ones excluded, for women also were: as regards female membership, there are no data on how many women were in the society, but from the names provided below, it is clear that the colonial knowledge formed during this period was very much the exclusive province of men.

Jacob Cornelis Mattheus Radermacher (1741–94). As a young man he had started to work for the VOC in 1757 and was promoted rapidly in the company's hierarchy, an achievement partly related to his marriage to the stepdaughter of a high company official, who would become its Director-General in 1777. Radermacher's aspirations for a richer social and intellectual life in the colony had led him to play a key role in the founding of the Masonic lodge in Batavia in 1762. In 1767, after a three-year trip to Holland, in which he gained a doctorate in law, he had tried to found a scientific society but was not allowed. He had to wait for a few years before he could fulfil his intellectual pursuits.

From its foundation in 1778 the Batavian Society aimed to carry out scientific research into every aspect of the colony. For more than a century it would have a key role in the formation of knowledge of Dutch Indonesia, although would suffer from the colony's political ups and downs. Its initial membership was made up of about 103 individuals in Batavia, and 77 from elsewhere (including Holland and the company's possessions in India, Ceylon, South Africa, and Japan) (Djojonegoro 1998: 18). From 1779 it fostered studies through the publication of the *Transactions* and the display of collections in the museum (organized in a mansion donated by Radermacher), containing coins and other items such as books, manuscripts, musical instruments and dried plants. All of these items were displayed in some of the cabinets (*ibid.* 23).

During the Napoleonic wars in Europe, Holland was occupied by France. The East India Company was disbanded in 1799, and Dutch Indonesia came under French government. This represented a potentially serious threat to British trade with China. This impelled the British to occupy Java between 1811 and 1815, and Sumatra between 1814 and 1825. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781–1826), who has been described as an enlightened liberal, was appointed Lieutenant Governor General of Java and its dependencies, being promoted to Governor of Bengkulu in Sumatra after leaving Java in 1815. In Java, Raffles suppressed slavery, introduced partial self-government and initiated other major administrative reforms. He promoted the scientific study of the colony, of zoology, botany, and history, becoming the president of the Batavian Society in 1813. He amassed a collection which included, in addition to ancient coins, musical instruments, puppets, and textiles. Having heard of Borobudur, the ruins of a large Buddhist temple we now know was built around 800 CE, he determined to locate and excavate it. For this purpose he commissioned the Dutch engineering officer H. C. Cornelius, who had an ample experience of antiquities. The excavation work was on a grand scale: some 200 villagers were employed to fell trees and unearth as much as possible, but when Raffles left Java in 1816 these works were soon

interrupted. He would publish some information in his *History of Java* of 1817, a book he wrote emulating Marsden's example of decades before. He never finished his planned *Account of the Antiquities of Java* (Barley 1999; Soekmono 1976: 5).

The Treaty of Vienna (1815) returned the Indies to the Dutch. The Dutch Commissary-General who replaced Raffles, Godert Alexander baron van der Capellen (1778–1848), also had some interest in antiquities as shown by his earlier involvement in various learned societies in Holland. During his period in Java he issued a decree in 1822 by which a committee was appointed to search for Java's antiquities, with the proviso that all those found would be sent to the society's museum. However, not much was done (Soekmono 1969: 94). He also assisted the society financially, but this only lasted until he left the post in 1826 (Djojonegoro 1998: 19). During the following years the Java War of 1825–30 strained Dutch resources and impeded any developments in the cultural life of the colony. After this, the new Governor-General (1833–6) instructed officials throughout the archipelago to look for antiquities and transfer them to the society's museum (*ibid.* 22). The formation of a narrative on the inhabitants of the land, both past and present, held such prestige that some rooms at the 'Harmonie' (the Government building) were given over to the display of part of the archaeological and ethnological collections, and the society received some official funding once more (*ibid.* 24). Initiatives did not only come from the government, but also from private individuals. At this time, in 1834–5 and again in 1842, a certain C. L. Hartmann, a resident of Kedu, undertook some further clearance (excavation) in Borobudur, but nothing was published.

The institutionalization of colonial knowledge was consolidated in the decades around the mid nineteenth century. The Batavian Society flourished again under Wolter Robert baron van Hoëvell (1812–79), a clergyman who became president of the society. Under his direction the society reached almost one hundred members from the colony and about thirty-eight from elsewhere (*ibid.* 23). He also founded the Journal of The Netherlands Indies (*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*). The institutionalization was further reinforced in 1851, when the ethnographer Pieter J. Veth became a founding member of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology), which published a journal, the *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal- land- en volkenkunde* (the Journal of Languages and Ethnography of the Indies), from 1853. In 1854 Veth then co-founded the Indisch Genootschap (Indies Society), a political debating club (van der Velde n.d.).

Hoëvell had arrived in Indonesia in 1836, at a time when many other Dutch intellectuals landed in Java. This diaspora of Dutch newcomers brought

changes to the organization of knowledge in the colony, for academic fields that had started to diverge in Europe (Chapter 13) were now also separated from each other in the society. Hoëvell successfully proposed that it became more focused in its aims. As he specified in an address to the society in 1843, the main focus of research should be the study of language and literature, complemented by ethnography and anthropology, and archaeology and antiquities (Djojonegoro 1998: 21). To support the government's efforts, he explained, a Kabinet van Oudheden (Cabinet of Antiquities) had been founded. It would concentrate on historical, ethnological, and numismatic collections (*ibid.* 25). A very different destiny awaited the society's collections in the fields of the natural sciences, which were no longer promoted by the institution: the zoological, mineralogical, and geological specimens were sent to other specialized institutions, both in Java and in Holland, or were sold at auction. This renewed interest in antiquities was instrumental for the proclamation of the Law of Treasure Trove in 1855, stipulating that all archaeological finds be reported to the government, which may then decide to give the society a chance to purchase them (*ibid.* 22).

In this period projects were undertaken with the aim of documenting all the inscriptions found in Java as well as the site of Borobudur (*ibid.* 22). An engineer officer, Frans Carel Wilsen (1813–99), was officially sent to make drawings of architectural details and reliefs at Borobudur in 1849, and in 1856 Jan Frederik Gerrit Brumund (1814–63), reverend of the Batavian Evangelic Community, was appointed to describe the monuments. He described Borobudur as 'a gloomy, depressing, rather squat building' (in Krom 1927: 1), yet despite his criticisms he tried to build his reputation on the ruins. He would not be alone in expressing disdain towards the ruins. Colonel Sir Henry Yule (*c.* 1819–89), writing in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, said in 1862 that at first sight Borobudur 'seems little better than a vast and shapeless cairn of stones', and Alfred A. Foucher (1865–1952), an expert on Buddhist iconography, would say in 1909 that Borobudur seemed 'a badly risen pie' (*ibid.* 1). Misunderstandings between Brumund and Wilsen led to the involvement in the project of Conrade Leemans (1809–93), a specialist in Egyptology and director of the Archaeological Museum in Leiden (Holland) between 1839 and 1891 (Leemans 1973), and the work was finally published in 1873 (Soekmono 1976: 6). In this study, as was the case in those that followed, migration became the main hypothesis to explain culture change, notably to account for how Hindu (as well as Islamic) culture had arrived in the country. This, it was postulated, had reached the area either with warriors or with Indian traders (Tanudirjo 1995: 68). An active participation of local communities in this cultural change was only proposed by some authors after the First World War (Tanudirjo 1995: 70).

The rise in the study of antiquities would reach a climax in 1862, when the construction of a museum was decided upon. Its opening took place in 1868 (Djojonegoro 1998: 25). Some of the objects were donated by Raden Saleh (1807–80), one of the five Indonesian members of the Batavian Society. Saleh was a noble Javanese artist, the first to paint in the Western style. He had been educated in The Netherlands, and had subsequently lived in Germany and travelled in Europe and North Africa (Algiers). It seems that during these years he had been fairly successful as an artist, and it has been suggested that his wealth meant that he did not face the rejection—at least not to the same extent—which was the usual plight of non-European artists. Back in Indonesia in 1851 he worked as a curator for the art collection of the colonial government. Saleh also promoted the study of antiquities as a private sponsor: he donated to the museum the Kebantenan inscriptions, old inscribed bronze tablets from the Sundas, and funded excavations in central Java. His figure should be considered as the first clear example of the success of the Western narrative in local scholarship in the area. He had accepted it as hegemonic but at the same time filtered it to reject the racist colonial overtones that would have left him in a second plane.

The National Museum building, which in its external appearance followed the European model (it had a neoclassical façade with Doric columns), was decorated with a white elephant statue donated by the King of Siam, Chulalongkorn (Rama V) on his visit to Java in 1870. The choice of an elephant motif may have been highly political: in the Thai tradition a white elephant was considered to be a noble beast of special importance, exemplifying a king's honour and glory. How it was perceived by the Europeans is, however, a moot point. In 1887 a catalogue of the museum collections was published by Willem Pieter Groeneveldt. This came only two years after Leemans had published his catalogue of the Indonesian collections held at the Leiden Museum in 1885. Furthermore, a description of Java's antiquities was published by the geologist Roger D. M. Verbeek in 1891 (Soekmono 1969: 94). Following the further geographical expansion of the Dutch East Indies, which began around 1870, the collections of the museum in Jakarta grew. Thus, material from the Kratons (palaces) of Lombok (Lesser Sunda Islands), Banten (Java) and Banjarmasin (Borneo), which arrived in the institution, resulted from military raids (Djojonegoro 1998: 25–6). A few objects were found by society members on their travels in the islands, and after the government's approval their transferral to the museum was decided. Finally, other museum collections were given as presents by society members and outsiders. From the 1860s and 1870s the Dutch photographer Isodore van Kinsbergen (1821–1905) was commissioned by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences to take

a series of photographs of Borobudur and Prambanan (Scheurleer 1991; Theuns de Boer 2002).

Following the opening of the National Museum, an archaeological society was set up in Jakarta in 1885. Its chairman, the railway engineer Jan Willem Ijzerman (1851–1932), would undertake new excavations in both Borobudur (where a deeper layer with more sculptured panels was found, a report of which was published in 1887) and Prambanan (Tanudirjo 1995: 62–3). Hindu inscriptions were copied and studied by philologists such as Hendrik Kern (1833–1917, the Professor of Sanskrit at Leiden) and the tea plantation owner Karel Frederik Holle (1829–96) (*ibid.* 64). They concluded that there were obvious links with India, a connection that seemed to corroborate the results obtained by the comparative analysis of monuments.

Competition between empires, a motor of imperial mobilization (some examples of which have been described earlier in the book), also had an impact on the archaeology of Southeast Asia. Indonesian antiquities received international acclaim in the International Colonial Exhibition held in Paris in 1900 (Sibeud 2001: 189–90). As happened in the case of French Indochina, and also as a consequence of the competition felt as a result of the opening of a French School in Hanoi (see below), this exhibition put pressure on the Dutch state to control the study and preservation of antiquities. Urged by scholars such as Groeneveldt, Hendrik Kern, as well as the anthropologist Lindor Serrurier (1846–1901) and Gerret Pieter Rouffaer (1860–1928), in 1901 a Commissie voor oudheidkundig onderzoek op Java en Madoera (Commission of The Netherlands Indies for Archaeological Research in Java and Madura) was created under the direction of Jan L. A. Brandes (1857–1905), a Hindu-Javanese specialist. As in the case of the French School in Hanoi, the commission was mainly formed by philologists and historians. It accordingly focused on epigraphy, as well as Hindu and Islamic archaeology. Prehistory was not included within its remit until the 1920s. The commission created its own means of communicating its main findings through annual reports (Miksic & Solheim 2001: 685), and a series of exchanges with French colleagues took place (Clémentin-Ojha & Manguin 2001: 54–6). Although Brandes' death in 1905 has been seen as marking the start of a period of decline, in fact the inventory of antiquities continued, and a restoration of Borobudur was undertaken between 1907 and 1911 by a Dutch second lieutenant and engineer, Theodoor van Erp (1874–1958) (Miksic & Solheim 2001: 685). Probably connected to the restoration's success, the commission was promoted, in 1913, to an Oudheidkundigen Dienst (Antiquities Service), with Krom as director (Tanudirjo 1995: 66).

Archaeology in Indonesia, as seen in this section, had all the ingredients of colonial archaeology. To start with, it was directed by scholars from the

colonizing country who became interested in antiquities as a socially accepted and prestigious way to understand the present, and who also looked to position themselves as the holders of the true knowledge. As in the West, in Indonesia the main institutions involved in the study of antiquities were the societies and the museum. They emulated in structure, and even in physical appearance (in the case of the museum façade), those of Europe and throughout the nineteenth century went through a similar period of specialization. Also, as in Europe, the attention focused on the monuments of the ancient Great Civilizations, which in Dutch Indonesia had been produced by Hindus (Prambanan) and Buddhists (Borobudur). Finally, The Netherlands were also touched by one of the great instigators of institutionalism: imperialist competition, which mainly affected the organization of antiquities in the early twentieth century. Local scholars such as Raden Saleh, or local politicians such as King Rama V, were able to challenge this imposition of knowledge, but the extent to which they did this is an area that will benefit from further study.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS AND RACE IN BRITISH INDIA

Britain's arrival in Southeast Asia can be traced back to 1600, when the English East India Company was formed. The transition from a mercantile power to a territorial one was propitiated in 1765 by the appointment of the company as revenue manager by the Mughal emperor. After the Indian mutiny in 1858, almost a century after the East India Company had established itself as a territorial power, the subcontinent became a formal colony of the British Empire. Britain would rule India for one more century until 1947. From the eighteenth century, therefore, knowledge of the subjects of British India was deemed essential, and it is in this context that Britain's sponsorship of the study of the culture, history and language of India should be understood. However, despite a certain degree of hybridization (Dalrymple 2002) and the use of pandits (Dodson 2002), historical knowledge did not include the indigenous traditions among its avenues for studying the past (Paddayya 1995: 112–19). The study of Hindustani and Bengali, the two most common languages spoken in British India during the eighteenth century, took scholars to their ancient source, Sanskrit (Trautmann 1997: 31). Mastering Sanskrit also became imperative in order for the colonizers to become proficient in the legal customs and laws of the country. In India British Sanskritists learned Sanskrit with the pandits, being in this way influenced by Indian scholarship (*ibid.* 32). They were also able to read the mytho-historical

compendia, the Puranas (Antiquities). In addition to Sanskrit, knowledge of the classics as a reference point was also judged essential by the colonizers, their study being compulsory and highly valued in the examinations for the India Civil Service from the 1850s (Majeed 1999).

From the first decades of the British presence in India Sanskrit was seen as the equivalent of Greek and Latin for Europeans, and therefore a language whose code the learned world should break and harness (Majeed 1999; Raj 2001: 122–3). This was the setting in which the earliest scholarly production on philology and on the origins of India took place. However, the key discovery made in the field by Sir William Jones (1746–94) also has to be contextualized in Mosaic ethnology—i.e. 'an ethnology whose frame is supplied by the story of the descent of Noah in the book of Genesis, attributed to Moses, in the Bible' (Trautmann 1997: 41), also called biblical anthropology (Stocking 1987: 41–5). He used his research on languages as a means to identify the descendants of Noah and their dispersal throughout the world (*ibid.* ch. 2). In the 1780s, Jones made a discovery that would open a linguistic—and soon a racial—understanding of the Asian subcontinent: the existence of an ancient language, Indo-European, from which many modern languages had emerged. This breakthrough would reshape the perception of the cultural distance between India and Europe. His comparative method made clear the common origin of languages like Sanskrit, Greek and Latin; a finding he employed to claim, after highlighting other more ancient possible links of Sanskrit with Chinese, a common origin for both language and humanity (Ballantyne 2002: 28). Antiquities formed a part—albeit small at this time—of this early search for origins. In 1784, Jones' interest in India led him to found the Asiatic Society for the purpose of 'inquiry into the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences and literature of Asia' (chapter 2).[5] This society, with its ups and downs, saw the development of different strands of scientific enquiry into ancient India: from Sanskrit to Hinduism, to (later in the century) Buddhism (Singh 2004: 8–15).

The study of Sanskrit would become more complex when two concepts were added to the scholars' interests: those of 'Aryan' and 'Indo-European'. The Aryan people was first described as Indo-European in 1813, and both concepts began to be understood mainly in racial terms in the following decade. The acceptance of this would be linked to European romanticism and its concern with Oriental philology. This resulted in the creation of societies such as the 1829 Orient Society of Prussia, and the emergence of specialists in Oriental studies (Marchand 1996b: 304). Scholars such as

[5] The Ceylon Branch of the Asiatic Society was formed in 1845. In 1874 an Archaeological Commissioner was appointed (Allchin 1986: 3).

Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) (van der Bosch 2002) created the notion of the Aryan race. He assumed a link between Indo-European (or Indo-Germanic, as he initially called it) and the Aryan race. He was a German-born philologist, expert in Sanskrit, for whom, after failing to obtain the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit in 1860, the University of Oxford would create a chair of Comparative Philology in 1868. He had arrived in London in 1846 to expand his research for his translation of the *Rig Veda* (a written source composed around 1500 BCE, in which the group who had brought Sanskrit into India was identified as the 'Arya'). For Müller the Arya were not just a group who had spread from North India to other areas to the South: he extended the meaning of Arya to include all those speaking Indo-European, for whom he identified a homeland in Central Asia. The Aryan character of both Indians and Europeans led Müller to believe that when a Briton confronted 'a Greek, a German, or an Indian, we recognize him as one of ourselves' (1854 in Ballantyne 2002: 42). Later on in his life, when Darwinism demonstrated that the timescale of racial and linguistic variation was different, Max Müller broke with the equation he had made between the Aryan races and the Indo-European linguistic groups (Trautmann 1997: 183).

Max Müller's retreat was not followed by others. By the mid nineteenth century the development of physical anthropology—then called race science (*ibid.* ch. 6) (Chapter 12)—made race a key element in the discussion of Indian antiquities, as well as in other spheres of Indian scholarship and in contemporary politics (Majeed 1999). Aryan ancestry was considered, for example, in the selection of men for the army. Those of northern regions (especially Nepal, Punjab, and Rajasthan) were favoured because of their 'Aryan' origin, strengthened by a century-long military—and very masculine—heritage (Ballantyne 2002: 49). Several scholars—including some interested in coins and monumental art—argued that the Aryans had degenerated in India. This was the case with James Tod, who in 1825 had published 'An Account of Greek, Parthian and Hindu Medals, Found in India' in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society* (Cribb *et al.* 2004: 260). It was also the case with James Fergusson (1808–86), one of the most influential scholars of the time, an indigo-planter who had undertaken extensive architectural studies between 1829 and 1847, and is regarded by many as the father of the study of Indian architecture. In his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876), Fergusson saw Indian monuments as reflecting miscegenation (not his word), that is, racial intermarriage between Aryans and people belonging to inferior races (Ballantyne 2002: 51). The heterogeneous racial history of regions such as the Punjab—believed to be the Indian home of the Aryans—was also put forward by Alexander Cunningham on the basis of the excavations conducted by the archaeological surveyor for the government of India

in 1863–4 (*ibid.* 53). However, some scholars proposed that, although the Indian Aryans had diverged from the path of progress, their decline was only momentary, as they shared the capacity for regeneration inherent within all Aryans. Among those expressing that opinion was, in 1862, Samuel Laing (1780–1868), a retired finance member of the viceroy's council, and someone who became interested in antiquities through his father, an expert in Scandinavian literature and antiquities (Leopold 1974: 590n).

For the study of monuments the classical model—that of Greece and Rome—was taken as a source of comparison. The contrast resulted in Indian ancient art being perceived as exotic. In some cases priority was given to Greek art as the yardstick of supreme excellence, against which everything else should be measured. A certain Captain Robert Melville Grindlay in 1830 argued, regarding the antiquities of Ellora, 'without presuming to ascribe to Hindu sculpture the classical purity and elegant proportions of the Grecian chisel, it may not be too much to assert that it displays considerable grandeur of design and intenseness of expression' (Chakrabarti 1988: 31). More positive comments were also made. In 1861, for instance, in the *Illustrated London News* a commentator said, regarding the Amaravati marbles and other sculptures at the India Museum in London, that: 'A more interesting collection of sculpture does not exist, and many of them (*sic*) will bear favourable comparison with the Elgin marbles in beauty of design, while they greatly exceed them in point of finish and careful execution' (in Skelton 1978: 298). Yet Alexander Cunningham, the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, did not share their enthusiasm, commenting in 1875 on the north-western sculptures:

> I do not of course attribute them to actual Greek sculptors, but I firmly believe that they owe all their beauty as well as all their truth of grouping to the teachings of Greek artists, whose precepts were still understood and conscientiously followed long after the Greek dominion in northwestern India had passed away.
>
> (Chakrabarti 1988: 74).

The ideal of simplicity, exemplified by the classical model, also led to a more positive consideration of the earliest, more simple Buddhist sculptures and monuments, and a less sympathetic view towards the later, more ornamented Hindu art, as expressed by scholars such as Fergusson (Mitter 2001: 2).

Throughout the nineteenth century there was a growing emphasis on the study of Buddhist archaeology, which came to complement the attention paid to Hindu traditions initiated in the previous century by William Jones and others (Mitter 1977: chs. II and III). The focus was on looking for the origins of Buddhism, and in this context the earliest periods were favoured; later periods were considered to show a degeneration from an initial, more pure form of

Buddhism (Leoshko 2004). The research on Buddhism was undertaken by scholars such as Alexander Cunningham (1814–93) and L. Austine Waddell (1854–1938), the latter a member of the Indian Medical Service. On the basis of the descriptions made by sixth to eighth-century Chinese pilgrims, Cunningham was concerned above all to locate sites associated with the historic Buddha. He undertook fundamental work at the Buddhist stupas of, among others, Sanchi (in 1851), Kushinagar (identified in 1861–2) and Bharhut (discovered by him in 1873). For his part, Waddell focused his interest on medieval India and the modern variety of Buddhism found in the Himalayas and Tibet. Their studies set the model for scholarly Buddhism, and India became the focal reference for studies on neighbouring countries (Leoshko 2004). The scholarly relevance of Buddhism, however, had the effect of undermining the Brahmins through their representation of foreigners to India.

Parallel to the transformation of emphasis from Hinduism to Buddhism there was a change in the institution receiving the antiquities in the metropolis. The British Museum only started to show a positive interest in these antiquities from the 1870s (Willis 1997; Wilson 2002: 171–5). Prior to that, a museum had been formed in India itself with the collections amassed by members of the Asiatic Society. As one of the means through which the colonizers could learn about the customs of their dominions, the initial collection formed in 1796 became official in 1814 (Kejariwal 1988; Skelton 1978: 297). An Indian Museum was also opened in Calcutta (Nair 2006), with an Archaeological Gallery created in 1878, and the excavated remains of the stupa of Bharhut were sent to the museum for display (Guha-Thakurta 2004: ch. 2). In London the creation of museums to display the Indian past also started at the end of the eighteenth century with the India Museum (Willis 1997: 255–8). Eventually dissolved in 1879, its collections were divided between the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum (Knox 1992: 18). The scarcity of non-classical antiquities in the British Museum before the 1870s was in stark contrast to the eagerness the museum had shown during the same period in acquiring works of art from Turkey, Egypt, and eventually also from Mesopotamia (Chapters 5 and 6).

Surveillance as a strategy for imperial dominance also had an influence on archaeology. In contrast to the previous belief in the European creation of the modern administrative machine and its ulterior use in overseas territories, some recent studies have highlighted the role of the colonies in the development of the modern state. This was indeed the case in archaeology. Even before offices for the administration of archaeology were organized in Britain, archaeological activities in India became controlled by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), created as early as 1861. From 1861 to 1866 Cunningham was appointed as archaeological surveyor. After four years in England he

came back to India to the newly formed Archaeological Survey of India (after ASI's revival in 1871, it had a further decline in 1885 and reinvigoration in 1900). The ASI was an 'institution of power', in Anderson's terms, an institution which shaped the way in which the colonial power managed its dominion (Anderson 1991: 164). It directed archaeological practice and helped to unify India as a visible and observable entity shaped by Britain. The need felt for this institution contrasts with the lack of anything similar in Britain itself until much later. The metropolis only enforced a first Ancient Monuments Act in 1882, and the Ancient Monument Boards for England, Scotland, and Wales were created as late as 1913 (Breeze 1996). In addition to the ASI, in 1902 a Department of Archaeology with headquarters in Mandalay responsible to the Archaeological Survey of Calcutta was organized. This new institution has to be seen within the framework of the competition created by the opening of the French School of the Far East in Indochina, and the Commission in The Netherlands Indies for Archaeological Research in Java and Madura in Indonesia. The Department of Archaeology of Burma produced a series of publications modelled on the Annual Circle Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. The first number of the Burma Research Society Bulletin appeared in 1912 (Stadner 1999).

Two of the 'C's' proposed by Livingstone for the colonization of the African continent (Chapter 10), Civilization and Christianity, were also used as a justification for the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). It was sanctioned as an institution that, through the example of the past, would promote the understanding of the benefits of unification of the country under foreign rule. Moreover, it would also help the spread of Christianity through showing that Brahmanism (Hinduism) was only one of many other religions in the history of India that, therefore, could now be substituted by the religion practised by the British (Chakrabarti 1988: 43–4). Cunningham was not the only person to see the importance of religion in the colonizers' project for India's redemption. As his contemporary Frederic W. Farrar argued, the adoption of Christianity had stimulated the European Aryans towards progress, and therefore it was their duty to convert Indians, especially the more Aryan upper castes, to the faith of Christ (Leopold 1974: 596–7). In 1861 the major inspiration behind the ASI, Alexander Cunningham (1814–93), insisted on the benefits of institutionalizing archaeology, stating that it would be good for the 'honour of British government to institute a careful and systematic investigation of all the existing monuments of ancient India' (Chakrabarti 1988: 56–7). Through the ASI British colonizers would become the interlocutors of India's past, those who objectified it, who investigated, understood and framed its identity. For example, in 1870 the Viceroy of India, Lord Mayo, affirmed that:

> The duty of investigating, describing and protecting the ancient monuments of a Country is recognised and acted on by every civilised nation in the world. India has done less in this direction than almost any other nation, and considering the vast materials for the illustration of history which lie unexplored in every part of Hindoostan, I am strongly of the opinion that immediate steps should be taken for the creation under the Government of India of a machinery for discharging a duty, at once so obvious and so interesting.
>
> (in Chakrabarti 1988: 71).

Cunningham maintained that there were other 'European governments which, if they had held our [British] rule in India, would not have allowed' antiquities to remain unexamined to such an extent (Chakrabarti 1988: 58). What he was thinking of is difficult to know. As seen in this chapter, nothing similar to the ASI was created either in Dutch Indonesia (although the Museum of Jakarta was opened in 1868) or in French Indochina (which was being colonized at this time). He may have referred to French North Africa (Chapter 9).

The hypotheses and practices delineated so far regarding Indian antiquities create an image of hegemonic knowledge very much formed as a noisy sum of overlapping voices and operations: a rhizomic network in the web of empire. Resistance also seems to have followed this pattern, although the lack of backing for administrative offices supporting opposing views at this time had an impact on dissenting speech. Hence, information about resistance to the use of the past by the colonizers is scant. Indeed, there were some examples in history (Chatterjee 1995) and philology (Ballantyne 2002: 174; Bryan 2001: ch. 3; Trautmann 1997: 218–22), fields closely connected with archaeology inasmuch as the equation between language, race, and culture and their links to religion were often used to trace the past of India. A note of caution is needed here. There is a danger of simplifying the situation by equating all native scholarship with resistance. Some native scholars contributed to the Western pursuit of knowledge by assisting with translations of ancient texts. Some of their names can be retrieved (Singh 2004: 305–7) but not their intentions and their feelings. At the start of the nineteenth century, in a world still more hybrid in its tastes and customs of what would become later on throughout the century (Dalrymple 2002: xl–xli), there were Indian rulers and well-off individuals who established European-style cabinets of curiosities. They used them as a sort of self-redefinition, to sell their social persona, perhaps mimicking what European collectors were doing at this time. One could mention the young Maharajah Serfoji II of Tanjore, and the Italian-style Marble Palace at Calcutta built to educate the public in Western art in 1835. Its construction was ordered by Rajendro Mullick, an Indian who had had a British instructor during his childhood. However, as Jasanoff (2005: 316–17) points out, Mullick combined his European tastes with his Hindu

roots, transmitted to him through the teachings of his mother, reading Homer alongside the Vedas. The opposite process, Europeans becoming immersed in Indian culture, also took place, and Jasanoff gives the example of Charles Stuart. However, the description of him as 'eccentric Irish-born' and his nickname as Charles 'Hindoo' Stuart clearly reflects the rejection his compatriots felt towards his sympathetic attitude towards Indian customs.

In archaeology, the work of Rajendra Lal Mitra (1822–91), the first of India's Sanskritists, has been noted as a discordant voice (Cohn 1996: 95). His name is placed alongside those of the architectural historian Ram Raz and the archaeologist Poorno Chunder Mukherji, among others (Singh 2004: 308–36). Mitra was a member of the Asiatic Society and started a photographic society in Bengal. He was appointed by the Bengal government to accompany the party sent to Bhuwaneshwar to obtain casts of some of the more important examples of Hindu architectural ornaments in 1868–9 (Chakrabarti 1988: 99–100). In his *The Antiquities of Orissa* of 1875 and 1878 he showed his opposition to the assumption that Indian ancient art was inferior, and lacked originality and inventiveness. This led to what Chakrabarti (1997: 231) has denounced as 'an explosive racial outburst against' him. He was severely criticized by, among others, the expert in ancient Indian architectural studies, James Fergusson (Chakrabarti 1997: 111–13; Guha-Thakurta 2004: 103–11). 'His patriotic soul', scorned Fergusson, 'was fired with uncontrolled indignation at the bare idea of his countrymen having taken a hint from foreigners, or borrowed a single idea from such people as the Greeks' (in Chakrabarti 1997: 114). Fergusson denounced Mitra as imprudent and ill-trained, for Indians, despite being able to learn the English language, had 'but only a superficial familiarity with the principal features of our arts and sciences' (in Cohn 1996: 95–6). Fergusson's comments were not the only ones, as shown by the hand-written notes in the copy of his book kept in the Archaeological Survey of India. 'This book is a violent attack on Cunningham, Growse, myself and Rajendralala' read one of them, apparently made by J. D. M. Beglar, Alexander Cunningham's assistant (Singh 2004). Years later, in 1911, Jean Philippe Vogel (1872–1958), a Dutch Sanskritist appointed to the Archaeological Survey of India who later became Professor of Sanskrit at Leiden, still maintained that the Indians were unable to produce good science. He argued that 'without doing injustice to their memory, I may say that they [the early Indian archaeologists] do not rank equal with most of the [Western] scholars' (in Chakrabarti 1997: 115).

Yet, from the start, there seems to have been a wish to employ 'intelligent natives' at the Archaeological Survey of India. A hierarchy was, however, tightly observed. Some locals were employed as photographers. Nevertheless, as Sudeshna Guha has noticed, in contrast to the acknowledgement that

British officers received for their photographs, the names of these low-paid Indians (at least 28 in the 1870s) were not revealed (Guha 2002: 97). For the highest ranks of the Survey no Indians seemed to fulfil the necessary criteria until the reorganization of this institution in 1901 (Stiebing 1993: 215). Among the earliest appointments was an assistant, Beglar, who is described as a Eurasian. Purna (Poorno) Chandra Mukherji and Bhagvanlal Indraji were two of the first Indians to work at the Survey (Chakrabarti 1988: 116). Another Indian scholar who excelled was the art historian Shyamacharan Srimani. In 1874 he published a book in which he argued that Indian art was earlier and superior to Egyptian and Greek styles, partly on the basis of its Aryan character. He saw the Muslim invasion as ending the glorious days of Indian art (Guha-Thakurta 2004: 146–8). Also, the Bengali scholar Rakhaldas Banerjee (1885–1930) initiated his career in archaeology in the years before the Second World War (Guha-Thakurta 2004: ch. 4).

UNDERSTANDING FRENCH INDOCHINA THROUGH KHMER AND CHAM ANTIQUITIES

In contrast to the early modern presence of the British and the Dutch in South and Southeast Asia, French colonialism in the area only took place much later. Contacts had existed earlier: from the sixteenth century there were French traders and missionary undertakings, and various kinds of political assistance had been provided (Boudet & Masson 1931: 11–31). The formation of French Indochina needs to be understood both within the context of the change in the character of nationalism and the frenzy for new colonial territories evident in the second half of the nineteenth century. Until the 1860s, nationalism in France had been based on a perception of the country as large and strong. The earliest colonies established in the north of Africa from 1830 had been described to start with as an enlargement of France (Chapter 9). The transformation of the character of nationalism and imperialism changed this understanding. Nations were no longer judged to be powerful based on size and rhetoric, but on economic power and political might. The colonies meant new markets, and the low cost of labour provided huge economic benefits to the metropolitan centres that, in the logic of capitalism, were used to continue enlarging the colonial territories. In the 1860s the process of formation of two new large states sharing frontiers with France, Italy and especially Germany threatened her position in Europe. France's weakness was blatantly demonstrated by her defeat by Germany in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. The articulation of a new discourse of national regeneration was founded in the

urge towards conquest and more assertive colonialism. It is within this framework that France appropriated Cambodia (making it a protectorate from 1863), Vietnam (then divided into Tonkin, Annam, and Cochin China; the first two protectorates from 1884, the third already a colony from 1862) and Laos (a protectorate from 1893) (map 3). For this diverse group of countries the name, Indochine, had been invented in 1810 by a French geographer, Conrad Malte-Brun (Malleret 1969: 43). It was thought to encompass the historical essence of the region formed by migrants from India but then dominated by the Chinese. The study of antiquities came as part and parcel of the colonial mission of understanding the colonial subject. It was part of France's effort to obtain a basic knowledge of her colony, based on mapping and the study of the native populations, their customs and languages. The concern with the ruins, inscriptions, and coins of the Khmer and the Cham ancient civilizations had an obvious place in the formation of this understanding of the subaltern.

In a nutshell, two main phases can be distinguished in French archaeology in Indochina before the First World War. In the earliest period French colonial activities centred on Cambodia and Cochin China. Expeditions with the purpose of creating a topographical and cultural knowledge of the territory started when the situation allowed, mainly from the early 1860s, and covered areas either colonized or soon to be colonized. In Cambodia the re-discovery of the Khmer monuments and inscriptions of Angkor (which had been first reported by the Portuguese in the 1580s) stirred admiration. In Vietnam those interested in antiquities centred their attention on Cham ruins and coins. There were no archaeologists as such to begin with. In the early days of the colony the bulk of the effort devoted to monumental archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics was undertaken by individuals linked to the army and the colonial administration. It would only be in the second phase, from the 1880s, that a timid institutionalization started in the metropolis with the creation of the Musée Indochinois in the Trocadero, Paris, in 1882. At the turn of the century the foundation of the École Française d'Extrême Orient (French School of the Far East, EFEO), and almost immediately thereafter of the Directorate of Museums and Historical Monuments of Indochina, would mean that the most important institutions dealing with the study of Indochina's antiquities were no longer in France, but in the colony. A clear distinction was made in this period between monumental archaeology—the archaeology of civilization—and prehistoric archaeology. None of the institutions so far mentioned in this paragraph dealt with prehistoric archaeology. Until the First World War, studies of prehistoric material were undertaken by a different set of scholars, and were connected to their geographical and ethnographic interests (Chapter 10).

The interest shown in ancient monuments centred on the Khmer site of Angkor in present-day Cambodia and, at a later date, on the Cham sites of Mi Son and Dong Duong in Vietnam. Angkor was the earliest site to attract scholarly attention, and throughout French rule it would become one of the reference points in the French imaginary of the Far East and the most prominent architectural and archaeological symbol of Cambodia (Norindr 1996: 4, 156). Angkor had been the capital city of the Khmers several times. A civilization that had flourished there in the sixth century CE declined in the fourteenth century. It had been described by the Chinese scholar Zhou Daguan in the thirteenth century, and three centuries later was still inhabited and received Portuguese and Spanish travellers, the first Europeans to visit the area. It was abandoned soon after the invasion of Cambodia by the Thais at the end of the fifteenth century. In the nineteenth century the first person to encounter the ruins was a French missionary, Charles-Émile Bouillevaux (1823–1913), in 1857. However, an appreciation of their value for the scholarly world only came four years later with the French naturalist, Henri Mouhot (1826–61). He measured the ruins and described them as 'so imposing, the fruit of an illustrious and prodigious work that produces profound admiration' (in Boudet & Masson 1931: 49). His account, published in a popular journal and in a book, *Le Tour du Monde* (1863), as well as his romanticized death from exhaustion at the end of the expedition, fired public imagination. Mouhot's work also drew the attention of learned scholars, such as the German ethnologist Adolf Bastian, then travelling as a ship's doctor around the world, who already in 1863 linked the ruins of Angkor with Indian architecture (Rooney 1998).

Mouhot's expedition had been undertaken just before the establishment of a French protectorate in 1863, and he had been unable to obtain funds (instead, interestingly, he got a subsidy from the Royal Geographical Society of London!). The first official French expedition to the site occurred as part of an expedition exploring the Mekong valley, led by the captain Ernest Doudart de Lagrée (1823–68) in 1866–8. However, his main objective was not archaeological, but to map and study the populations of the area in the search for a river route believed to reach south China—the expedition later concluded that the Mekong River was unsuitable as a commercial artery. Despite archaeology not being part of its objectives, the expedition found Angkor on their way, and its value was appreciated to the extent that attention was diverted for a while in June 1866 in order to undertake the graphic documentation of its remains. The work was carried out by Louis Delaporte (1842–1925), a young man trained in the Naval School, who, as a member of the expedition, was in charge of the topography and making drawings. His work was published in

1873 as part of the mission report. Inscriptions showed the presence of two different languages.

The Angkor ruins impressed Delaporte to such an extent that he decided to dedicate his life to the archaeology of the area. Importantly, he was able to take his wish to fruition, something that would have been impossible decades before without the framework provided by imperialism. Having obtained official permission for an expedition in Cambodia in 1873, he pursued his studies, making further drawings and also shipping back to France originals and moulds of the ruins and other antiquities, mainly of the Khmer period, of both Cambodia and Siam (Thailand). He also sent rubbings of inscriptions written in Sanskrit and Khmer for their study. The antiquities were installed in Paris in the Trocadero in 1878, where the Musée Indochinois was officially founded in 1882 with Delaporte as its keeper (Boudet & Masson 1931: 51). Some of the antiquities brought to France by Delaporte were also bought by the Musée Guimet (mentioned in Chapter 7 for its focus on Oriental antiquities). Delaporte published his studies in a volume, *Voyage au Cambodge*, in 1880 (Malleret 1969: 44–5).

The documentation gathered by Delaporte allowed other scholars to look into the epigraphy of the Khmer. Yet, the first person to deal with them was not French, but Dutch: the Professor of Sanskrit at Leiden, Hendrik Kern (1833–1917). He deciphered the Sanskrit-based characters of the ancient Cambodian texts and stone inscriptions and linked them to those of southern India. The second language identified in Angkor was Khmer. These identifications linked the ruins to the question of the dispersion of languages and peoples from India and the spread of Buddhism. The publication in French of Kern's results in 1879 led to a nationalistic reaction. A team of French Sanskritists led by Auguste Barth (1834–1916) and Abel Bergaigne (1838–88) was immediately put to work. They were helped with the Khmer inscriptions by Étienne Aymonier (1844–1929), a French administrator with an excellent knowledge of the language. In his work, *Le Cambodge* (1900–4), Aymonier published an inventory of all known monumental sites in Cambodia along with several sites in Siam, such as the Khmer temple of Phimai. He also studied the evolution of Cambodian texts, translating the Khmer inscriptions so far found. Aymonier undertook the first survey of the other great civilization of the area, the Champa, located mainly in present Vietnam. His studies had been preceded by those of linguists and scholars of comparative religions. As in the Khmer area, the Cham inscriptions indicated the presence of two distinct languages, one of them Sanskrit (Malleret 1969: 45). These were published by Aymonier, both on his own and in collaboration with Barth and Bergaigne, from 1885 until the end of the century (Lafont n.d.).

In Vietnam, some individuals focused their interest on the study of coins. Some studies were published in the bulletin of the Société des Études Indochinoises, formed in Saigon in 1865 to coordinate the study of all the recently acquired territories. In 1882, Jules Silvestre, the inspector for native affairs in Cochin China, published a 'Note to help research and classification of coins of Annam and French Cochinchine' in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, a colonial journal which had begun to be published just three years earlier. In an updated version produced in 1900, Désiré Lacroix, a sea artillery captain with an interest in antiquities, justified both colonialism and the study of antiquities with these words:

> Like my master [M. Silvestre], I would advise my compatriots who circumstances have brought to Indochina, to collect as many coins as possible of this disappearing two thousand year-old empire. We have given the natives a taste for work, showing them the benefits to be obtained from the vast lands of Annam. These, for a long time abandoned, have been transformed into rice fields and each day, under the ploughshare, surfaced the ancient links, the hidden and lost treasure forgotten by their forefathers.
>
> (Lacroix 1900: 3).

He then explained about the native custom of keeping antiquities as fetishes and amulets, as well as cult objects. His mention of thieves as additional competition for the coins seems to imply the existence of an antiquities market (Lacroix 1900: 3–4). In 1905, Albert Schroeder published the results of his twenty-year study in Vietnam with the title of *Annam. Études Numismatiques*.

The institutionalization of antiquities in Indochina would occur at the turn of the century with the creation of the École Française d'Extrême Orient (EFEO, French School of the Far East). Its origins have to be sought in the Universal Exhibition held in Paris in 1889 (Halgand n.d.). Here antiquities were given a place in the colonial discourse: sculptures and moulds of ancient monuments and works of art were included in the display. French Indochina was an obvious success for visitors identified themselves with the official policy of colonial expansionism defended by politicians such as Jules Ferry. The recent incorporation of Tonkin and Annam into the colonial territories from the mid 1880s had made France a real player in the colonial politics of Southeast Asia. The need was felt, accordingly, to organize officially an institution to coordinate scientific study. A few years were needed to accomplish this, as the Mission archéologique d'Indochine was created only in 1898. Its name was to be changed two years later to the École Française d'Extrême Orient to make the school comparable to those opened in Greece, Italy, and Egypt in 1848, 1873, and

1880 respectively (Chapter 5). The school was the initiative of three philologists and members of the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres: the Orientalists Auguste Barth and Émile Senart (1847–1928); and the Professor of Comparative Grammar at the Collège de France and Sanskrit specialist, Michel Bréal (1832–1915). They received the support of the governor-general of French Indochina, Paul Doumer (1857–1932), who was then engaged in a process of modernizing the administration of the colony (Cherry 2004a). For Doumer 'research in a purely scientific vein' and 'public service, such that the members [of the École] are integrated into the governmental system of the colony' were two faces of the same coin (in Wright 1996: 130). The founding decree indicated that the institution would 'work at the archaeological and philological exploration of Indochina, assure the conservation of historic monuments, and contribute to the erudite study of neighbouring countries' (in Wright 1991: 194). The need for this inquiry into archaeology and philology was justified by Barth by explaining that 'Indochina is not understandable by itself: it is a confluence of races and civilizations which one cannot conceive without going back to their sources' (in Clémentin-Ojha & Manguin 2001: 22).

The school created a specialized archaeological service only in 1905, but archaeology had been present in it from the start. One of its aims was to organize an inventory of archaeological sites (which meant monumental sites until the First World War) and to ensure the protection of the most important ones. The first director of the school was Louis Finot (1864–1935), an archivist and Sanskrit specialist, who later, between 1907 and 1914, would hold the chair of History and Philology of Indochina at the Collège de France. He translated many of the Sanskrit inscriptions being found at this time. For a short while the school had as a pensioner (a fellow) the Sinologist Paul Pelliot, whose analysis of the historical geography of the area on the basis of information obtained in Chinese texts would be seminal for later studies. The school's headquarters were established in Hanoi after the capital shifted there from Saigon, and soon a museum was set up (although it was destroyed by a typhoon only a year later, in 1902, and did not re-open until 1910). In 1901 the publication of a specialized bulletin was started, and in 1902 a First International Congress of Far Eastern Studies was also held in Hanoi. Participants came from Europe and its colonies, and some Asian countries sent delegations. Interested parties arrived from Austrio-Hungary, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Norway, and the United States, as well as from British India, The Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia), French Indochina and Madagascar. Independent countries in Asia, such as China, Japan, and Siam, also sent delegations (Cherry 2004a). The latter discussed topics other than

archaeology. For the period under study (with a few exceptions such as those commented on for India, Indonesia, and the later development of archaeology in Japan just before the First World War) the study of antiquties in Asia would remain the almost exclusive province of Western scholarship.

Within the school, archaeology was entrusted to the architect Henri Parmentier (1871–1949), the sculptor Charles Carpeaux (1870–1904) and the architect Henri Dufour. The first would be the head of the Archaeological Service of the EFEO from 1904, whereas from 1903 Carpeaux would be the head of Practical Works. The director, Louis Finot, had already published an inventory of Cham monuments in 1901, using them as the basis to discuss ancient religions. His study would be followed by many others (Lafont n.d.). Excavations were undertaken in this period at the Cham sites of Mi Son, Dong Duong, and Chanh-lo. In 1903–4 Parmentier and Carpeaux jointly excavated Mi Son, which they considered to be the centre of a Champa kingdom from the late fifth to the mid thirteenth centuries, and the Dong Duong monastery, a ninth-century religious centre. Later, the restorations of the temples of Po Nagar and of Po Klaung Garai were undertaken in 1905 and 1908 respectively. The links with India already highlighted for the Khmer were also seen in Cham sites. These were revealed by the borrowing of Hinduism and the Sanskrit alphabet, as well as by the influence of Indian architecture and artistic styles. The first results of the studies of Cham architecture would be published in 1909 by Parmentier in his *Inventaire descriptif des monuments cams de l'Annam* (a second volume would appear in 1918 and would be the basis for a Colonial Archaeology prize).

In Cambodia, the school organized further expeditions to Angkor in 1901–2 and in 1904 with the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Restoration was undertaken in 1908. Aymonier's study was continued by the seconded army officer and engineer Edouard Lunet de La Jonquière, who published a first inventory of about 910 ancient monuments in Cambodia and part of Thailand in 1907 (Malleret 1969: 45–6). George Coedès (1886–1969), one of the great scholars in the field, also began a few of the earlier studies undertaken on Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions and texts in the decade before the First World War.

It has been pointed out that no local archaeologists—Vietnamese, Khmer or Laotians—existed in French Indochina and no training was organized (Higham 1989: 26). However, this viewpoint has been opposed by Haydon Cherry. He acknowledges that education had not been one of the priorities of the French authorities. In Vietnam, for example, from a pre-colonial situation in which at least 25 per cent of the population had been literate to some degree, after the First World War this figure had dropped to less than 10 per cent

(Wright 1991: 193); yet, this high level of illiteracy was not shared by the native intelligentsia. Cherry points out that three of the speakers at a conference held in Hanoi by the EFEO in 1901 were native scholars: Nguyen Van To, Tran Van Giap, and Do Xuan Hop. The first wrote about motifs in traditional Vietnamese art; Tran Van Giap's presentations included a discussion on Vietnamese Buddhism, another on the stelae at the Temple of Literature in Hanoi, and a third on a sixteenth-century funerary stela of a mandarin; finally, Do Xuan Hop dealt with paleontology (Cherry 2004a). They were all members of the EFEO. The participation of native scholars increased after the First World War. However, these three names are not usually included in histories of archaeology, and on the whole it seems that there was a lesser degree of native contribution in archaeology compared with their European colleagues. This contrasts with the involvement, albeit limited, of natives in British India, a difference that became more apparent after the First World War. This disparity could be interpreted as an outcome of the different models of imperialism followed by France as opposed to Britain and Holland. The French emphasized direct rule and attempted to enforce cultural assimilation. In contrast, the British and Dutch imposed a more 'indirect' management, and this, or perhaps the length of time each colonial power had stayed in the area, may well be related to the involvement of natives in the study of the past.

CREATING THE THAI NATION

The only country successful in maintaining political independence in Southeast Asia was Siam, present-day Thailand. Historiography was not unknown in Siam. In the fifteenth century it took the form of the Tamnan—stories, legends, and myths concerning the history of Buddhism. This historiographical tradition was substituted by the Phongsawadan, consisting of chronological records of major events in each reign, centred on the ruling elites or members of a dynasty or kingdom (Shoocongdej forthcoming). In the early nineteenth century the reigning monarchy under King Mongkut (Rama IV, gov. 1851–68) attempted some early modernization of the Buddhist institutions. This included the slow appearance of an understanding of linear time as an alternative to the cyclical timeframe of Buddhist cosmology, maintaining, but also changing, the Phongsawadan historical ideology. This allowed the development of an interest in history and ancient objects which could illuminate the antiquity of the Thai presence in Siam. One of these objects was the Ramkhamhaeng inscription—also called the Sukhothai

inscription no. 1—on a stone stelae, supposedly dating to the thirteenth century CE.[6] This pushed the historical chronology of the Thai nation back in time, and led to the consideration of Sukhothai as the first national capital, predating Ayudhya (the capital from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century) and Bangkok. Together with historical documents and ancient ruins, this stelae was used to promote Thai nationalism and resistance against French imperialism (*ibid.*). Rama IV's interest in antiquity and the Western style of narrating the past led him to become a member of one of the antiquarian societies in Europe—the Scandinavian Royal Society of Antiquaries of the North (Briggs 2005: 6). His knowledge of the Western narration of the past, and of its power, becomes evident in Mongkut's use of historical argumentations in territorial disputes. This was the case in the disagreement between Siam and France over the control of Cambodian territory, when he claimed Cambodia's long territorial links with Siam on the basis of a chronicle of Cambodian history (Shoocongdej forthcoming).

This interest in history continued with Mongkut's successors: Kings Rama V (Chulalongkorn) (1868–1910) and Vajiravuth (1910–25). They continued the process of modernization, adopting European administrative organization which curtailed the autonomy of the provinces, encouraging centralization. Siam was surveyed and mapped for the first time (*ibid.*), and several institutions buttressed modernization, including mainly the National Library created in 1874. Under Rama V a museum based on the royal collections was created, establishing the basis for what would, in the long term, become the National Museum of today. Research on the ancient cities of the Thai kingdoms had as one of its main protagonists the younger brother of Rama V, Prince Damrong.

As in Japan and China, the modernization of the state was undertaken partly through the hiring of Westerners, and it may not come as a surprise that the earliest interest in the antiquities of the area is to be found among them. In 1904 the Siam Society was set up in Siam by thirty-nine individuals. Its membership had increased four-fold by the end of the first year. Archaeology was among its fields of research from the start. In the first annual general meeting, Colonel Emilio Gerini's (1860–1912) intervention would be key to the role of archaeology in the society. Gerini was an Italian officer who had been appointed by King Rama V to teach the Royal Guard and organize the Siamese Military School. Once in Siam, in addition to his duties, he

[6] The authenticity of the Ramkhamhaeng inscription has recently been disputed. It has been suggested that it could be a forgery whose fabrication can be explained in the political context of the time (Glover 2005: 28).

undertook research on the natural sciences, anthropology and antiquities.[7] At the meeting of the Siam Society, Gerini alluded to the importance of both ancient inscriptions and archaeological remains, and invited the audience to look for them. His plea would meet with success. Three meetings later a paper was presented on the antiquities of the Mun valley. In 1905 a paper given by W. W. Bourke focused on the archaeology of peninsular Siam, identifying the beads found at Krabi as having been made in India, and arguing that the same origin had to be inferred for the tin mine shafts of Phuket Island (Davis 1989). In addition to the Siam Society, the Antiquarian Society (or Boran Kadi Samosorn) founded by King Chulalongkorn in 1907 should also be mentioned. In its first meeting the king stated that the origin of Siam should date back a thousand years (Shoocongdej forthcoming). Despite the significance of these two societies, however, in administrative terms they cannot be compared to the Archaeological Survey of India of 1861–1902, the École Française d'Extrême Orient of 1900 and the Dutch Indies Commission for Archaeological Research of 1901. Only in 1924, after the First World War, would the state organize the Fine Arts Department to control everything related to ancient monuments and works of art (Peleggi 2001: 13–18) and, in 1926, the National Museum of Siam (Higham 1989: 25; Snellgrove 2004: 4). The lack of official state funding for archaeology in Thailand during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may denote the lack of the need for an archaeological justification for the historical underpinning of Siam as an entity, for other symbols such as the monarchy were considered powerful enough.

CONCLUSION: COLONIAL DISCOURSES, RACISM, COMPETITION, AND RESISTANCE

The acquisition of knowledge concerning the colonies, their topography, weather systems, geology, and human inhabitants would become key in the colonial appropriation of territories located so far away from the nineteenth-century European imperial powers. This endeavour was not easy. To begin with, it was left in the hands of a few committed individuals who were genuinely moved by a rational quest for the Good, the Rational, and the Truth. Their resolution in attaining these conferred them with social prestige. As Raffles would say:

> Insatiable ambition, boundless curiosity, are to be reckoned among the more prominent of the attributes with which man is endowed. To what mighty ends have they not

[7] http:sedi.esteri.it/bangkok/Thailandia/relazioni_storiche_italo_thailan.htm.

led? . . . The *curiosity* that is gratified with inquiring into the laws implanted in organised beings, or into the general phenomena which characterise the material world at large, admits of, and is usually attended by, gratification as permanent as it is unmixed; every step is attended with unalloyed pleasure, every new acquisition leads and stimulates to further discovery.

(Raffles in Finlayson 1826: xxiv–xxv).

Using rhetoric inherited from the Enlightenment, this pursuit was vindicated as a civic duty for the community. This obligation, however, could only be accomplished through sacrifice. 'To form a general and tolerably accurate account of this country and its inhabitants', commented William Marsden in 1811, 'is a work attended with great and peculiar difficulties. The necessary information is not to be procured from the people themselves, whose knowledge and inquiries are to the last degree confined' (Marsden 1811: iv). As the last sentence makes clear, for Marsden, as well as for the others, the only valid discourse was that formed in the Western world. The information gathered by the explorers, philologists and other early writers would be the basis for the imposition of a cultural hegemony based on Western ideals of authenticity.

Throughout the nineteenth century the understanding of the nature of the colonial territory changed, a transformation that left behind a world 'far more hybrid, and with far less clearly defined ethnic, national and religious borders' (Dalrymple 2002: xl). This transformation entailed a definite emphasis on history and antiquities. From being considered a conglomerate of nations, each of the colonies came to be imagined, from the mid nineteenth century onwards, as a single entity, each with its own make-up and character. As single entities the colonies were conferred with names that Europeans thought appropriate for them, as late as 1810 in the case of Indochina, and the documentation of their cartography made them recognizable on maps, visible and coherent. Importantly for the understanding of the development of archaeology, the very idea of the colony as an entity made inevitable the elaboration of a past for it. In the process of identity-production the construction of historical narratives for each of the colonies was deemed essential. There was no single approach for this. Discourses on the past were formed on the basis of philology, religion, and documents as well as antiquities. Only well into the twentieth century would each of these fields establish clearer demarcations. Before that scholars usually participated in debates ranging across all of these areas of scholarly knowledge. In the study of the most remote past, as will be seen in Chapter 10, anthropologists and natural scientists would also have a say. Most of the archaeological research that became professionalized prior to the First World War was linked to the study of monuments, coins and inscriptions.

In the case of South and Southeast Asia, the discovery of forgotten civilizations gave dignity to the colonies, a dignity that other parts of the world inhabited by non-state societies lacked. The differences were not clear-cut, however, especially in the study of prehistoric remains. As will be seen in Chapter 10, for the archaeology of the pre-literary periods similarities can be traced between the Asian colonies and those of Africa, Australia, and parts of America. Literacy—and therefore civilization—had reached the area with the migration of a new people, the superior Aryans, who came from the north, introducing Sanskrit, an old Indo-European language, first to India and then to Indochina and Indonesia. After some debate, Western scholars identified a homeland in Europe itself (Mallory 1989). Local populations, therefore, were seen as takers, and the ancestors of the colonizers as the civilization-bearers. Aryan presence signalled the appearance of superior forms of architecture and art that represented a golden age. From this beginning, decadence had ensued. In the case of Indochina and Indonesia, the disappearance of Sanskrit inscriptions was coupled with the civilizations' subsequent decline on the ladder of progress. In India, more modern Hindu and Buddhist artistic traditions were also seen as a relapse from earlier, more pure forms. Degeneration was understood in racial/language terms. The evidence from inscriptions, for example, revealed that in addition to those in Sanskrit there were others written in other languages, showing that local populations had kept their racial identity and continued to speak their own tongues. These had evolved into the nineteenth-century native vernaculars which, with the exception of those of northern India, did not belong to the Indo-European language family. Given the equation accepted by most between language and race, the failure of the Asian civilizations to continue in the line of progress marked by the Western world was explained as a result of racial inferiority. The cultural and racial distance of the colonies from the metropolis was metaphorically displayed by the location chosen for the storage and exhibition of collected antiquities, particularly visible in relation to museums. Because they did not completely conform to the classical model, nor to ideals of Aryanness as represented in Greek art, the antiquities of South and Southeast Asia were usually sent to institutions such as the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin, the Musée Indochinois in Paris, and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. It was only from the 1870s that the British Museum developed a positive interest in Indian antiquities, and in the early twentieth century that Indochinois ancient works of art went to the Louvre after a typhoon destroyed the museum in Hanoi (Willis 1997; Wright 1996: 128).

The importance conferred on the historical narrative for the legitimization of colonial rule meant that antiquities were not put to one side in the development of the administrative machine in the colonies. From being the

province of private individuals and learned societies in the early decades of the nineteenth century, in later years the study of the past and the preservation of the most important remains became increasingly the responsibility of the state. The state fulfilled its obligation through institutions where professionals were paid to undertake their research. Interestingly, the tardiness observed for the involvement of the British state in the informal colonies was not apparent in the case of the formal colonies. Investing in the archaeology of a country where the export of antiquities was forbidden did not seem to hold much sense for fund administrators; however, funding archaeology in a colony such as India did. The development of the institutions dealing with archaeology was one of the methods used by the administrative machine to organize the surveillance of the colonial subject. In India, Viceroy Curzon (r. 1899–1905) would say that it was the colonizers' duty 'to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve' (in Anderson 1991: 179). The state's increasing acceptance of the prestige of ancient monuments, and the growing subsidies that their study received from the 1860s, has been linked to the rise of true modern colonialism. Thus, Benedict Anderson argues, perhaps not wholly convincingly, that funding for archaeology was part of a conservative programme in which money was diverted from investment in school education for natives, which was considered as potentially dangerous. The racial separation of the builders of the monuments, seen as being of Indian extraction, from the natives, also helped to justify the European presence, for it demonstrated that civilization had only been possible under the rule of foreign invaders. Finally, programmes of restoration and conservation of monuments vindicated the benefits of having the state as the guardian of the historical heritage. They were no longer religious monuments, stupas, and monasteries, but symbols of a secular colonial state (*ibid.* 181–2).

For the creation of institutions in South and Southeast Asia two key periods can be distinguished. The first saw the revival of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1871 (it had been previously created as a one-man office with Cunningham as archaeological surveyor in 1861, but then abolished in 1866), and the Museum of Jakarta (conceived in 1862, opened in 1868). The second wave of institutionalization occurred in the late 1890s and early 1900s. At this time the foreign school was exported to the Far East; a type of institution that had been developed a few decades earlier exclusively for countries where the Western ancient Great Civilizations had evolved—Italy, Greece and Egypt. The initiative came from France, the last major colonial power to arrive in the area, with the establishment of what would initially be called the Mission Archéologique in 1898 and soon after the École Française d'Extrême-Orient in 1898. This would be emulated in following years by the

British Archaeological Department of Burma (then part of British India) and the re-flotation in 1902 of the Archaeological Survey of India, which had stagnated after James Burgess's retirement from tenure in 1885 (Paddayya 1995: 133). The Dutch would follow suit, reacting to the other colonial powers' initiatives by creating the Indonesian Antiquities Commission (Oudheidkundige Commissie) in 1901 (Anderson 1991: 179–80, n. 30). This flurry of institution-creation shows the impact of international competition on the dynamics of colonial development. Importantly, it also demonstrates that by the turn of the century the significance of antiquities had been overwhelmingly accepted, and the funding of their study was justifiable. Interestingly, when compared with the date at which similar institutions in the metropolis were created in most cases it becomes clear that the colonies took the lead. This shows dynamism among the diaspora as well as the possibilities created in the colonies through the lack of existing long-established institutions with vested interests, which in parts of Europe—Britain being the best example of this—prevented the formation of the heritage office—institutions dealing with antiquities—as a novel and more efficient administrative machine until much later (but see Chapter 11, page 336).

Research undertaken by colonial archaeologists in South and Southeast Asia did not fall into a vacuum. On the one hand, it was used by the wider scholarly community, and so processes occurring in the colonies had an actual influence on the development of science back in Europe (Ballantyne 2002: 32–41; Cherry 2004a). The debate about the links between race and language cannot, for example, be understood without making any reference to India. On the other hand, research was also used by the locals, and in particular by an emergent opposition against colonial rule. An example of this was the appropriation of the discourse concerning the past and the role of the Aryans by the newly emergent nationalism, which crystallized in the creation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, a party formed by the Indian upper class (Bryan 2001: ch. 2; Chakrabarti 2000: 669; Leopold 1974).

The Western discourse of the past became hegemonic, not only among colonialists, but also among local scholars. In this chapter the scarcity or sheer absence of native archaeologists working on their countries' antiquities has been noted several times. 'Indian archaeology', said the Dutch archaeologist Vogel while working in British India, 'is decidedly a European science started by European scholars'. He thought that 'the prospects of Indian scholars taking a larger share in archaeological research would be very encouraging' but expressed pessimism regarding the chances of training young Indians for archaeological work. This was because of the absence of historical awareness among the Indians; the underdeveloped state of their artistic and aesthetic senses and their consequent inability to appreciate beautiful specimens of

sculpture, painting and architecture; and, finally, the cramming for examinations, which prevented 'that love of knowledge and research which makes the true scholar' (in Chakrabarti 1997: 115). Yet time would prove him wrong. Increasingly in the last decades of the nineteenth century and especially through the first half of the twentieth century, local intellectuals became involved in the study of antiquities, showing the degree of acceptance of the discourse of the past. Native engagement in the study of antiquities would prove empowering. Just by being there, local archaeologists undermined colonial authority. The European colonial mission of bringing civilization, the mission civilisatrice, was no longer needed. The versatility of archaeological evidence made it possible for local archaeologists to generate alternative interpretations of history that challenged those produced by the colonizers, as seen in the example of Mitra in the 1870s. Beyond India, the first native archaeologists to work in the official heritage bodies in Southeast Asia were appointed in the 1910s and 1920s (Cherry 2004b; Tanudirjo 1995: 67). By the 1930s about 90 per cent of the administrative personnel in most Southeast Asian colonial states were native (Anderson 1991: 183). In 1945 decolonization started, and soon the whole area had attained political independence. Importantly, throughout these periods the discourse of the past maintained its prestige. The new nation-states created from the old colonies still needed a past to legitimize them as political entities. This was communicated through education and museums. The past—and therefore the nation—was made visible through objects in museums and by the physical presence of ruins. The transferral from colonial to national archaeology, therefore, was undertaken without major difficulties. This should come as no surprise, given that, as is insisted so many times in this volume, nineteenth-century colonialism can only be understood as but one of the manifestations of nationalism. The colonies inherited, and made political use of, the forms of thinking about the past developed in the European nations during the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries.

9

Classical versus Islamic Antiquities in Colonial Archaeology: The Russian Empire and French North Africa

This chapter revisits the connection between nationalism and religion in a very different setting to that seen in the biblical lands (Chapter 6) and, to a certain extent, in Central, South, and Southeast Asia (Chapters 7 and 8). It analyses how religion is able to induce the creation of alternative historical discourses to those formed on the basis of the remains of the classical civilizations. On the one hand, the historical account about the Greeks, the Romans and other contemporary peoples influenced by them such as the Scythes still maintained their powerful allure as symbols of civilization and of one's own empire. On the other, however, the weight religion had in the nineteenth century allowed for the search of the national origin in other periods with special significance for particular churches. Thus, the Byzantine period became appropriated as a Golden Age in the Russian Empire. In contrast, the Islamic past never acquired a similar status in the French colonies of North Africa. The religious undertones of particular archaeological periods were also used to undertake a racial reading of modern populations, and therefore had a direct impact on the colonization of the area. Yet, during the nineteenth century the effect of all this in archaeology was only limited, for the search for ancient remains stubbornly maintained a focus on the classical past.

A comparison between the archaeology of the Russian colonies and of French North Africa reveals several similarities and differences which shed light on the processes guiding the development of archaeology in each of these areas. In both of them the historical narrative produced by the colonizers was one in which the classical periods were better regarded and valued more positively than others, following a hierarchy from classical to Byzantine, and then to the prehistoric and Islamic periods. Also, in both colonial areas archaeology was practised by many different actors: individuals from a breadth of occupations, and professionals belonging to many institutions, colonizers settled in the colonies as well as others coming from the metropolis.

Nevertheless, this diversity was much more marked in North Africa than in the Russian colonies. In the latter, excavations were overwhelmingly undertaken by Russian individuals either working in the army or belonging to the aristocracy (two overlapping categories for some cases). This duality seems to echo the differences in the nature of nationalism in France and Russia. Whereas in the first case the popular base was emphasized and its origins in a revolution led by the middle classes was integrated into its rhetoric, in Russia nationalism was created from above without much stress being put on the middle classes and with an almost absolute disregard towards the poor. Accordingly, the degree of participation of the middle classes in the institutionalization and professionalization of the discipline of archaeology was not as important in Russia as it was in France or, to a varied degree, in the other main political players in Western Europe.

The analysis of the protagonists of the archaeology of these countries' colonial areas also reveals further differences. The presence of scholars from every other European power in the Russian colonies clearly contrasts with the practical non-existence of scholars other than Frenchmen in North Africa. This disparity seems to mirror the weakness of Russian imperialism in comparison to Western Europe. The influence of Russia as an imperial power extended over its neighbours in Eastern Europe and over much of Asia (map 4), but she had practically no influence beyond these territories. It was almost a domestic business run close to home over an incredibly large area. The delay in Russian industrialization led—most probably to the advantage of the colonized—to a lesser utilization of the economic potential of the colonies. These deficiencies in Russian imperialism were exploited by the other powers to dispute its authority. Whereas it seems that the dominion of France over North Africa was beyond dispute, the same could not be said about the Russian colonies, which French, British and German explorers and archaeologists also endeavoured culturally to colonize. Cultural interest was, at least in some cases, not the only purpose; assisting their fellows and protectors back home to plan the economic and political dominance of the area may also have been on their agenda. The weakness in Russian in contrast to French imperialism again becomes clear when a comparison between the degree of institutionalization in each colonial area is undertaken. In contrast to the high number of institutions created by France, these are fewer in number in the Russian colonies, with the exception of the area now belonging to the Ukraine.

The examples of the Russian colonies and French North Africa show that colonial archaeology cannot be isolated from the processes occurring in the metropolis. Both Russia and France not only influenced their colonies but were also influenced by them. Both poles of the colonial world fed off each

other thanks not only to the diffusion of ideas by the printed word but also through those who kept moving from the metropolis to the colony and vice versa. In archaeology this mutual impact becomes clear when we observe that the trends in the development of archaeology throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries observed in Europe itself can also be seen in the colonies. Thus, as well as in the metropolis, in the colonies classical culture was considered as the origin of civilization. Racial studies grew in importance. There was a search for golden ages, a growth of institutionalization throughout the period, an increasing acceptance of prehistoric and post-classical remains as periods worth studying, and greater links were established between archaeology as a scientific discipline with other apparently very different fields such as religion. Some of these trends had been fostered by interaction with the colonial world. Experiments in archaeological heritage first established in the colonies—as seen in North Africa with the state Inspection Générale des Monuments Historiques et des Musées Archéologiques (the Service for Monuments and Archaeological Museums) of 1847 and in British India in 1861 with the Archaeological Survey of India—would then find an equivalent in the metropolis. Many French intellectuals spent several years in the colonies and this would shape their understanding of the archaeological remains found back in their own countries. This mutual interaction between the metropolis and the colony becomes especially obvious in the case of prehistoric archaeology, an area towards which we will turn our attention in the following chapter.

ANTIQUITY AND RELIGION IN COLONIAL RUSSIA

In the following pages the history of nineteenth and early twentieth-century archaeology in the Russian colonies is analysed. This has not been an easy section to write. Despite the existence of a few synopses on the relationship between Slavic archaeology and nationalism during the period with which this book deals (Curta 2001; Shnirelman 1996), nothing similar exists, at least in a language other than Russian, regarding any of the other types of archaeology with which Russian archaeologists engaged, with the exception, perhaps, of the archaeology of the Silk Road covered in Chapter 7. The survey undertaken in the course of our investigation on the major works written on the history of archaeology has revealed that this is by no means a novel situation. In 1908 Adolf Michaelis in his *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries* did not include information about Russia. More than fifty years later, in his famous *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology*, Glyn Daniel

devoted a mere six lines to the archaeology of the Scythes (Daniel 1975: 111). With respect to pre-revolutionary archaeology this has remained the case through to the present day (Bianchi Bandinelli 1982 (1976); Gran-Aymerich 1998; Schnapp & Kristiansen 1999; Trigger 1989). The value of overviews such as those provided by Bulkin and others (1982) and Klejn (1993) are restricted by their focus on the Soviet era and are therefore of limited use for the purposes of this book. Given its volume and importance, one cannot but consider the archaeology developed in Russia and her colonies during the nineteenth and early twentieth century as the Cinderella of world histories of archaeology.

The Russian Empire

From the early modern period the eastern-most European country, Russia, established herself as an imperial contender. In contrast to the Western European empires, however, its territorial expansion took place in areas adjacent to her borders and not in distant lands. Thus, although the use of the term 'Russian Empire' is well extended, that of 'Russian colonies' is less so, especially in areas such as Siberia that had mainly been occupied previously by non-state societies. Russia's conquests started in the sixteenth century, with Ivan the Terrible (1530–84), who for the first time used the title of Tsar (from the Roman Caesar or Czar). He invaded the territories that had previously been occupied by the Golden Horde: Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1556) were conquered, and part of what is nowadays Siberia was brought under Russian rule from 1581. The advance towards the east continued until the mid seventeenth century, when Russian-controlled areas reached the Pacific.

With the Romanov dynasty (1613–1917) the enlargement of Russia would convert her into the largest country in the world. The Golden Age of Russian imperialism was the eighteenth century, during the reigns of Peter I and Catherine II, otherwise conveniently known as Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725) and Catherine the Great (r. 1762–96). Under their rule Russia established itself as the European power in the East. The Russian state was officially named the Russian Empire from the time of Peter the Great in 1721. The expansion under his rule was mainly directed towards the north. To ensure sea-faring contact with the rest of Europe, access to the eastern shores of the Baltic was obtained from the Swedes. In this area St Petersburg, the Tsar's new capital, was built. Peter the Great also captained Russia's first occupation of Finland between 1714 and 1721 (from 1808 Russia would turn it into an autonomous Grand Duchy in personal union with the Russian Empire).

Under Catherine the Great, Russia's expansion gained pace again. Access to the Baltic had not resolved the problem that Russia had with maritime transport, and this was limiting economic expansion. Low temperatures left the northern ports unusable for many months of the year. To a great extent this drawback would direct Russia's foreign policy throughout the nineteenth century. The only solution was to conquer ports of warm sea waters either to the west, through Poland, to the south, towards the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, or finally to the east, towards the Sea of Japan. Regarding the West, Russia agreed with Prussia and Austria to divide up Poland among them in the treaties of 1772, 1793 and 1795. Ukraine suffered a similar fate: at the end of the eighteenth century western Ukraine (Galicia) was taken over by Austria, while eastern Ukraine was increasingly assimilated into the Russian Empire. With respect to the south, the Russians first invaded the Crimea in 1736 and in 1783 Catherine the Great annexed it (receiving international approval in 1792). In 1795 Russian troops took Shemakha and vast territories in northern Azerbaijan. Finally, in 1828 the Russians split Azerbaijan's territory with Persia and incorporated Eastern Armenia into the Russian Empire. The occupation of the several regions of western Georgia took from 1810 to 1864. Despite its dominance of the area, the lack of success in the Crimean War (1853–6) against the Ottoman Empire meant that access to the Mediterranean remained restricted.

During the nineteenth century Russia also attempted to control Central Asia, an effort that the British endeavoured to ruin. The duel between Britain and Russia became known as the 'Great Game', which, as we saw in Chapter 7, also strongly influenced the archaeology of China and neighbouring territories in the eastern part of Central Asia. The Great Game led Britain to involvement in the politics of Afghanistan in the Anglo-Afghan Wars (1839–42, 1878–80, 1919), resulting in the establishment of the Durand Line which separated Afghanistan from British India. British territories in Asia thus became protected from Russian expansionism. Yet, by the end of the nineteenth century Russia had managed to impose her rule over most of Central Asia: major parts of the northeast and central Kazakh territories had been incorporated into the Russian Empire by 1840 and in 1855 Kazakhstan became fully Russian. In 1865, Russia occupied Tashkent in Uzbekistan. Turkmenistan became annexed by Russia between 1865 and 1885. By 1895 the southern Russian frontier became stable. In addition to the southern push, Russia strove to secure Eastern Asian ports, but this led to defeat in the Russo-Japanese war over Korea and Manchuria in 1905. Rivalry between Russia and the United States also emerged over the development of Manchuria.

'Classical' antiquities in Siberia and the Black Sea in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century

As seen in Chapter 2, from the early eighteenth century Russia's desire to emulate its neighbours to the far west of Europe led to an interest in classical antiquities. As a result, under Peter the Great a new capital was built following the Italian model. In the Gulf of Finland he built Peterhof, a palace inspired by Versailles. Also, in St Petersburg a first museum was opened in the Kikin mansion in 1719. Classical antiquities had not been the only archaeological items to arrive in St Petersburg. Despite their being given priority, from 1715 other ancient objects of high artistic quality and with evident Greek influence originating from Siberia were added to the royal collections. This had started thanks to the gift brought by a rich businessman, Nikita Akinfievich Demidov (1724–89), to the empress. Soon after, the Russian occupation of the Northern Pontic area and the Crimea would also make available the archaeology of other nomad groups which were connected with those that were being studied in Siberia, among them the ancient Scythians. The Scythians were only one of several groups named in the fifth century BCE by Herodotus. The Greek author referred to horse-riding nomads who had interacted with classical Greece and Achaemenid Iran, the others being the Sauromatians, the Sarmatians and the Saka. Related to the earlier Scythians there were what archaeologists denominate the Altai culture group, living in southern Siberia and having closely related arts dated from the sixth to the fourth century BCE. The arrival of the Scythians in the Black Sea area is today dated by archaeologists to the eight century BCE and it is thought that they originated from Central Asia. They dominated the area politically for four centuries. Regarding the Sauromatians, Herodotus described them as mobile herders living on the northern shore of the Black Sea. The Sarmatians were a group of tribes of cattle-breeding and farming people from the Don who from the fourth century BCE invaded the areas inhabited by the Scythians. They would have contacts with the Greeks and then with the Romans and were used by the latter as paid soldiers. The third group mentioned by Herodotus, the Saka, lived in northern Iran around the middle of the fourth millennium BCE. Finally, the Sassanians lived in Central Asia between the third and the seventh century CE. Exceptional silversmiths, they traded fine metalworking along the fur road into northeast Asia (Aruz *et al.* 2000).

Fortunately for archaeologists, the identification of sites with great potential in terms of ancient jewels was relatively easy in the case of most of the groups mentioned in the previous paragraph. The Scythians and the other groups connected with them buried their dead in visible kurgans or mounds.

The size of these mounds usually related to the status of the individual interred and so to the wealth and number of the offerings. These peoples had been able to accumulate great wealth from trade with the Mediterranean world of corn harvested from the fertile plain located north of the Black Sea. The Scythians had imported Greek jewellery from the Greek colonies located in the Crimea along the north coast of the Black Sea from the seventh century BCE. They had also commissioned Greek artists, some of them settled locally, to make crafts for them. The objects found, therefore, largely fitted within the classical canon. This obviously mainly referred to jewellery, on which archaeological attention was focused (Norman 1997: 76). Still, in 1928 Gregory Borovka, the keeper of Scythian antiquities in the Hermitage museum, expressed his concern at the narrow focus of studies. As he put it:

> Scythian antiquities have hitherto received but little attention. 'Til recent years interest centred in the products of Greek art, and set beside these exquisite and readily appreciated jewels, bronzes, painted vases and terracottas the native products often found in conjunction with them on Scythian soil appear crude and clumsy, strange and insignificant, in a word barbaric; and they were dismissed. As a consequence the majority of the Scythian antiquities are either not published at all or only (and often very imperfectly) in Russian works.
>
> (Borovka 1928: 5).

The connection of the ancient peoples living in the colonized lands with the classical Greeks became a source of prestige for Russia. This was not only due to the Scythians' classical appeal, but also because eighteenth-century Russian scholars strove to connect them with the Slavs, the ancient people from whom the Russians themselves originated (more information about archaeology of the Slavs can be found in Part IV of this book). In 1725 Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer (1694–1734), a German scholar who had been invited to give a talk in the newly founded St Petersburg Academy of Science, maintained that Scythians and Slavs were not linked. A couple of decades later, however, the association between Scythians and Slavs was argued by a whole generation of Russian historians of the early part of the second half of the century. One was the Russian statesman and historian Vasily Nikitich Tatishchev (1686–1750), and, more importantly, the same opinion was put forward by Mikhail V. Lomonosov (1711–65) in his highly patriotic book of 1760, the *Abridged Russian Annalist*. This volume would serve as a textbook of Russian history for the following decades. The first part focused on Russian antiquity, by which he meant the Slavs and the Chud, the latter an ancient Finnish tribe. He established that the Russian ruling class descended from the Scandinavians, and that the Slavic people came from the Carpathians. But he also connected both the Slavs with the Scythians when he stated that 'the Slavs and the Chud,

according to our writers, and the Sarmatians and Scythians, according to foreign authors, were ancient inhabitants of Russia' and he claimed that 'the common origin of the Slavs with the Sarmatians, the Chud with the Scythians is indisputable for many clear proofs' (in Volodina 2001: 67).

Mikhail Lomonosov's book filled a gap that had been felt by students, including a certain F. Lubyanovsky, who had studied in the institution Lomonosov had co-founded, the University of Moscow, in 1755. In the second half of the eighteenth century Lubyanovsky complained at the lack of teaching on Russian history at the historical and philological department. As he explained, he had been able to study the past of 'the Greeks, Romans, other peoples, their laws, religion, morals, internal institutions, intestine disagreements, discord, wars . . . , how and why these colossi were shaken and falling down'. An admiration of 'Virgil, Horace, Tacitus' was learned, but the study of Russian history was 'so little, so superfluous that if we had been given a task to describe the battle of the Russians with the Tatars on the Kulikovo field I would have better agreed to describe Punic wars' (in Volodina 2001: 64). Lomonosov's work was translated into the major European languages within a decade of being published and this facilitated its influence on scholars beyond Russia's frontiers.[1]

During the eighteenth century, archaeological findings came to provide an image of the ancient peoples historians were arguing about. The earliest objects were those brought to the Tsars from Siberia. These may have been included in the two-volume catalogue of the Kunstkammer collections, the *Musei Imperialis Petropolitani*, published in the early 1740s. An illustrated guide-book of the museum was also published in German and Russian. To the existing collections new items were continuously added. Important in this respect were the expeditions organized by the Academy of Sciences founded in St Petersburg in 1725. The academy assumed as its role the coordination of the scientific discovery of Siberia. There was a first naval expedition to explore the Russian Far East in 1725–30. There followed the Great Northern Expedition, also known as the second expedition to Kamchatka (1733–43), which would have an important impact. Some information about antiquities was published in the books produced by two of the expeditionaries, the German-born naturalist Johann Georg Gmelin (1709–55) and his countryman Gerhard

[1] The Scottish linguist John Pinkerton, for example, went further than Lomonosov in his *Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths* of 1787, arguing that Scythians and Goths were a single people who had conquered the aboriginals of Europe, the Celts. According to Pinkerton, the Celts 'were to the other races what savages of America are to the European settlers there' (in Sebastiani 2003). Colin Kidd contextualizes Pinkerton's ideas in the discussion by Scottish antiquarians about the origins and identity of the Picts (Kidd 1999: 204) (see also Sweet 2004: 139).

Friedrich Miller (also spelled Muller and Müller) (1705–83). Despite the fact that their publications focused on other subjects—flora and history respectively—they also included data about ancient inscriptions and buildings (Yemelyanova 2002). Finds were also made by private individuals. For example, Baron Alexander Stroganov (1733–1811), a member of the richest noble family in Russia, having acquired a taste for antiquity in Italy and France, was able to appreciate the significance of silver and other rich finds of Sassanian art found on his family lands in the 1770s and thereafter, and saved the hoards from being melted down (Hunter-Stiebel 2000). The discoveries in Siberia were also publicized in the journal that the academy brought out in Latin from 1728, *Commentarii Peterburgskoi akademii nauk* (*Commentaries of St Petersburg Academy of Sciences*), an annual collection of scientific papers which enjoyed wide popularity with the public.

Russia's expansion south, and notably the occupation of Crimea, broadened the area from which archaeological objects arrived at the centres of Russian power. The earliest discoveries were made by members of the army. Thus, in 1763 a certain General Melgunov opened a burial at Lithoy, which was described in the academy papers, as were many of the other ensuing finds. Another general by the name of Vandervelde dug a burial at Taman, and several more were excavated by General Gageblov near Kerch. General Suchtelen dug in the ancient city of Olbia (Norman 1997: 77). Some of these excavations were undertaken by French émigrés who had been forced to abandon France after the revolution and had become members of the Russian army.[2] Among them was Paul Dubrux, who worked in the Russian army from 1797 to 1800, later becoming the Commissioner of Health in the Crimea. From 1816 he began to excavate on his own account, receiving a small subsidy from Count Nikolay Petrovich Rumyantsev (1754–1826).[3] He also sent some finds to Empress Maria Fedorovna (Norman 1997: 77). Despite the opening of local museums (all now in the territory of present-day Ukraine) in Odessa (1825), Kerch (1826), and, in 1835, of an archaeological museum in the university of what was the ancient Kievan Rus, Kyyiv, it was ordered that the finest finds should be sent to the Hermitage. Once in St Petersburg the antiquities seem to have been located in the Tsarist collections, for only in the 1850s would antiquities be put on public display (Norman 1997: 77). It may be worth indicating here that the distinction between the

[2] Other examples of émigrés elsewhere are provided by Singh (2004: 19–21).

[3] This was not Rumyantsev's only service to science. His interest in history led him to finance a collection of books on the history of Russia and Slav nations. In 1813 he granted 25,000 roubles to the Academy of Sciences for publishing the Russian chronicles. Also, in the last years of his life (1812–26) he dedicated himself to funding archaeographic and archaeological exploration specifically of Slav-related materials.

collections belonging to the Tsar and to the state was non-existent at this time. Everything was considered royal property.

During the reign of Tsar Nicholas I (r. 1825–55) the most spectacular discovery was that of the fourth century BCE royal Scythian burial mound at Kul Oba (Kul'Oba Kurgan), near Kerch. It was excavated in September 1830 by Colonel Ivan Stempkovsky, himself a keen amateur archaeologist, who invited Dubrux to see the work (Norman 1997: 77). The excavation fired the imagination of the learned strata in Russian society and started a 'gold-rush' among Russian collectors (Stolba 2003). The objects from Kerch would also become one of the most popular exhibits of the New Hermitage after its opening in 1852. There were about 1500 items arranged by type: gold objects, bronzes, vases, terracottas, stone sculptures, and jewellery, the latter upstairs in Alexandra's rest room where about eighteen crowns, four diadems and the gold death mask of a queen had been placed (Norman 1997: 79).

The European powers also became interested in the areas just colonized by the Russians, or in which the Russians were about to colonize. Afghanistan, a land disputed over by the British and Russians, was first explored in the eighteenth century. In a *History of the Greek kings of Bactria* in 1738, Bayer informed his audience regarding the Greek coins of Eukratides and Theodotus in Afghanistan. This led to a trade of Bactrian (and Sogdian?) coins that reached collectors in France, Britain and Italy (Hammond & Allchin 1978: 4) as well as, presumably, Russia, if we are to believe the comments made by the British artist and adventurer, James Fraser (1783–1856) in 1821. Fraser affirmed that the Bukharan oasis in Uzbekistan would

> afford a rich field to the antiquarian, for there are several sites of ancient cities scattered over it, among the ruins of which, gems, coins, medals, and various antique utensils and arms are to be found. One person who was himself a dealer in such articles, mentioned to me a city called Khojahwooban, which he described as having been overwhelmed by sand, under which extensive ruins lie buried; in this place after rain, people go to dig for such articles, and find a great many; particularly plate, and utensils of gold and silver, for all of which they find a ready market with Russian merchants, who, he assured me, would give five times their weight for such articles of metal, and a very high price for all carved gems. I should indeed have doubted greatly the rates he quoted for such things, and would have believed that it was a trick to induce me to make purchases, had it not been for the prices actually demanded by others in Mushed, and those which he himself offered for individual articles, which convinced me that the merchants of Bockhara had found ready, and probably ignorant purchasers for things of which they could hardly be judges.
>
> (Fraser in Naymark 2004).

About thirty thousand coins, many of them Greek, were subsequently collected between 1834 and 1837 by Charles Masson (1800–53), another

explorer of Central Asia and of Afghanistan in particular. Masson also described the Kushan city of Begram and, no doubt influenced by the archaeology of British India (Chapter 8), discovered many stupas, some of which he excavated (Hammond & Allchin 1978: 5; Singh 2004: 18–19).

It is at the end of the period this section deals with that the interest of Germany and France in the area around the Black Sea became noticeable. Germany limited itself exclusively to philology, with scholars such as Franz Bopp (1791–1867), a professor at the University of Berlin, who published an influential *Vergleichende Grammatik* (*Comparative Grammar*) (1833–52), in which he demonstrated the links between the Indo-European languages. In a study he published in 1846 he (wrongly) linked Georgian to them. France's role was more directly related to archaeology, although the first expedition was in fact financed by a wealthy Russian aristocrat who had spent most of his life in Paris. In 1837, Anatoly Nikolayevich Demidov (1813–70), Nikita Akinfievich Demidov's grandson, financed a scientific expedition to Southern Russia and the Crimea. Anatoly Demidov had largely been brought up and educated in France and it seems that it is principally in the context of French scholarship that his expedition can be framed. His adventure followed the model of French expeditions (Napoleon's Egyptian expedition of 1798–1801, the expedition of Morea in 1829–30 and, especially, Texier's expedition to Turkey in 1833–7). He put together a group of twenty-two French artists, journalists, scientists and archaeologists. An impressive scientific output followed, with six volumes describing the flora, fauna, geology, history, archaeology, and racial peculiarities of the native population. Yet, it is important to bear in mind the political context within which this expedition should be understood. From the start of the century France had been trying to gain advantages in an area relatively close to Crimea, Georgia, in an attempt to control the old silk route connecting the Black and the Caspian seas. In the early 1820s a French envoy, Jacques-François Gamba (1763–1833), had been able to obtain conditions advantageous to French business in Tbilisi. Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux (1798–1850), a Frenchman of Swiss origin, visited the Caucasus in 1833. He published *Le voyage autour du Caucase, chez les tchérkèsses et abkhazes, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée* in several volumes, in which he identified several archaeological sites. It is worth noting that, given the French interest in the area, the Tsar Nicholas I was less than impressed by its exclusive French character, and this despite Demidov's dedication of the expedition results to him. He most probably saw it as a French attempt at cultural colonization at the time Russia was trying to impose her rule over the whole of the area.

The archaeology of the Imperial Archaeological Commission

The paucity of the sources regarding Russian archaeology becomes acute, at least in the non-Russian literature, for the second half of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century, until the Soviet Revolution of 1917. It is difficult for the non-Russian historian of archaeology to determine the main events taking place in the discipline, let alone the ideologies that informed archaeologists and the extent to which these influenced their interpretations. There was an Archeographical Commission set up in 1834 whose remit seems to have been the collections amassed in expeditions. The commission was created by the very powerful Count Sergei S. Uvarov (1786–1855), who was Minister of Education between 1833 and 1849 (Whittaker 1984: 187). A descendant of this seems to be the Imperial Archaeological Commission in 1859, set up during the reign of Tsar Alexander II (r. 1855–81). Also at this time antiquities were, seemingly for the first time, put on display in the New Hermitage, also called the Imperial Museum, opened in 1852 (Norman 1997: 77). Both institutions worked together closely. The members of the commission—a small group of specialists—had their office at the Hermitage. Part of its remit was to determine whether or not newly found ancient objects should be housed in the Imperial Museum. This meant that many, if not most, of the holdings of today's Oriental, Archaeological and Antiquities Departments entered the institution at this time. The commission also became involved in licensing digs, and in archaeological publications (Norman 1997: 89).

These were years in which an interest in Slavic archaeology was on the increase (Shnirelman 1996: 224–5), but this did not prevent the continuing arrival of valuable ancient objects from the Russian colonized lands. Most notably, as explained in the previous section, the archaeology of the Slavs and that of the other ancient peoples was not completely separate in the narrative being constructed on ancient peoples and the origins of the Russian nation. Nineteenth-century Russian scholars followed the outline established a century before by Lomonosov and the other historians. They, thus, regarded the ancient Scythians and the other neighbouring tribes to the north of the Caspian Sea towards Siberia as the glorious ancestors of the Slavs and, therefore, of themselves. Yet, the acceptance of a nomad past for the Russian people became separated from dealings with contemporary nomadic groups. The civilized Russian was opposed to the savage nomad. A certain V. Vasiliev wondered in 1878: 'Will we ever understand that the nomad is an enemy of both nature and civilization, that he is a destroyer of the wealth created only [exclusively] by labours of the settled and agriculture?' (in Batunsky 1987: 114, n. 37). Nomads encountered in the Caucasus, in Siberia and elsewhere

were 'wild, unruly and disloyal peoples' (Khodarkosky 1997: 10). Still, some enlightened echoes still resonated in the view of some nomads as 'good savages' (*ibid.* 99).

Regarding the objects that arrived in the museum at this time, among these were those originating from one of the founders of the commission, Count Sergei Grigorievich Stroganov (1794–1882), who followed the family tradition in purchasing archaeological objects of the Sassanian period. These, however, did not go to his own family collection, but, significantly, to the Hermitage. Other discoveries came from excavations proper made in the colonized lands to the east and south of Russia. In 1862–3, in the wide area surrounding the Black Sea, Ivan Egorovich Zabelin (1820–1908) excavated Chertomlyk, one of the largest Scythian barrows, dated to the fourth century BCE (Shapiro 1976: 146), and he also undertook some digging in the ancient Greek colonies on the Black Sea shore, Phanagohria, and Olbia. In 1864 the laying of water pipes in the city of Novocherkassk led to the accidental discovery of a Sarmatian barrow with the name of Khokhlach, a rich burial dated from the first century BCE. It included the head of a Greek goddess made by a Greek craftsman. In 1869 a large group of objects were found in Koban, in Ossetia, in the north Caucasus, on the east shore of the Black Sea. The objects belonged to burials of the Koban-Colchis culture and included bronze axes with engraved geometrical patterns with representations of animals. In 1903 the archaeologist Nikolai Ivanovich Veselovsky (1848–1918) excavated two Scythian barrows dated to the sixth century BCE in the Kuban areas near Kelermes.[4] In 1912–13 he also excavated the Soloha or Solokha kurgan, a royal burial located to the south of Nikopol (now in Ukraine) (Shapiro 1976: 143–6).

In parallel to official archaeology, antiquarian collecting continued among the well-off classes of Russian society, with a particular emphasis on Greek coins coming from the Black Sea area. One of the better studied collections in terms of its formation is that of the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich (Stolba 2003). Among the largest collections mentioned by Stolba were also those of Count Stroganov and Stempkovsky mentioned earlier in the chapter. Some of the antiquarians also undertook excavations. One early example is that of Prince Alexander Alexandrovich Sibirsky (1824–79), who dug in today's Ukraine in the Greek necropolis of Feodosia of the third to fifth centuries CE (Gavrilov 2003).[5] In 1880 P. O. Burachkov excavated in the Greek city of Kerkinitida (Kutaisov 1992).

[4] Around this time, at the turn of the century, a new term was invented, that of Scythianism, used by the literature historian Ivanov-Razumnik (1878–1946). Scythianism came to mean the belief that a person is caught between the cultures of the East and the West, the old and the new. Whether or not Scythianism was ever used in an archaeological context is unknown.

[5] The excavation was continued in 1894 by A. L. Bertier-Delagard, who was probably a Frenchman, but about whom I have found no information.

In Europe, the discoveries made in the Russian colonies were partly followed by publications in French and German. The geographer and historian, Karl Neumann (1823–80), published *Die Hellenen im Skythenlande* in Berlin in 1855. In French we have the *Recherches sur les antiquités de la Russie méridionale et des cotes de la Mer Noire*, which was published in 1855 by Alexis Uvarov. In 1873 W. Stassov published *Études sur les monuments géorgiens photographiés par M. Jermakof et sur leurs inscriptions par M. Brosset*, in Mélanges Asiatiques VI in St Petersburg. These publications, however, generally were little known, and this lack of knowledge became more acute from 1889 when the policy of publishing in Russian became dominant, leaving Western scholars in the dark about developments there. Two books would assist in bridging this gap of knowledge. In 1889–90 the Russian archaeologists Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov (1844–1925) and Count Ivan Ivanovich Tolstoy published a book on Scythian antiquities (as seen below, this book aimed to be an introduction for the art of later periods). The book was reissued in French by the archaeologist Salomon Reinach (1858–1932) in the *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale* of 1891. The bulky *Scythians and Greeks* written by the Cambridge scholar Ellis Hovell Minns (1874–1953) and published in 1913 would have a similar impact. The closure of Russia to foreigners after the revolution would enhance the value of the book, which came to be partly complemented in 1922 by the Russian émigré in the US, Michael Rostovtsev's (1870–1952) *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia.*

The study of the Scythians was not only the province of archaeologists. Throughout the nineteenth century, scholarly work on the Scythians dovetailed with philological and, increasingly, in racial debates in which archaeologists also participated (Mallory 1989). Sir William Jones (1746–94) had identified their homeland in today's Iran (Persia) but there were others who proposed India, Turkey and Lithuania. The German professor Karl Zeiss identified Scythians with Iranian-lingual tribes in 1837 and the German linguist August Schleicher (1821–68) proposed the area of the Caspian Sea as their homeland. From the 1850s the possible number of homelands became even greater in geographical scope, ranging from Anatolia to the Balkans, from the southern Russian steppes to northern Europe, central Europe, and, eventually, Germany. The Czech-Austrian researcher of Central Asian historical geography, Wilhelm Tomaschek (1841–1901), contributed to the philological discussion with his *Centralasiatishe Studien* of 1877–80. As Koerner has suggested, however, it often appears that scholars chose first a location and then looked for evidence to support it based on geography, history, myth, religion, language, and archaeology (Koerner n.y.).

Prehistoric, Byzantine, and Islamic archaeology

Beyond the archaeology of the proto-historic nomad peoples, the territories colonized by Russia had other types of archaeology—mainly those of the prehistoric,[6] Byzantine and Islamic periods. Although they received some attention, the interest in them never reached the level attained by the archaeology of the Scythians and cognate groups. Regarding prehistoric archaeology,[7] there is some evidence of Russian geologists mapping Central Asia becoming interested in archaeology. This was the case of the governor-general, A. V. Komarov, who excavated two mounds near the village of Anau, near Ashkhabad, today's capital of Turkmenistan (Masson & Sarianidi 1972: 11). The description of the type of site, however, sounds remarkably similar to the most characteristic type of monument among the Scythians, and it is possible that Komarov was expecting a different result from his work. The first to have undertaken what would today be called proper archaeological investigation into prehistoric sites in the area was, in fact, an American geologist, Raphael Pumpelly (1837–1923), in the first years of the twentieth century. Pumpelly, who much later in his life would become the president of the Geological Society of America from 1905, had first worked in Japan and China,[8] later returning to the US. He advised entrepreneurs to invest in steel and those who followed his advice amassed fortunes. This may explain the funding received from the Carnegie Institution—created by the steel businessman Andrew Carnegie in 1902. The institution sponsored him to conduct explorations in the area in 1903–4, seeking traces of past civilizations. He employed the German protohistorian, Hubert Schmidt (1864–1933), then working in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin. Pumpelly's goal was to map the desiccation of the area on the basis of the chronology of sites located in a detailed archaeological survey. This very modern objective was, however, still understood within the framework of the Aryan question. Pumpelly explained that:

[6] The archaeology found in regions newly colonized by Russia and still inhabited by non-state societies like the Amur region will be explored in Chapter 10.

[7] Some of the geologists working in the area mentioned by Pumpelly were Tschernyschev—the Director of the Russian Geological Survey—, Karpinsky, Muchketov, Bogdanovitch, Andrusov and Nikitin (Pumpelly 1908: xxvi).

[8] Rafael Pumpelly had been contracted by the imperial Japanese government to make official surveys in Japan (1861–3) of Yezo (later Hokkaido), exploring for minerals. He was also commissioned to survey the coal fields west of Beijing in China (1864) and made the first extensive survey (1865) of the Gobi. He later journeyed across Siberia by sleigh. He related these adventures in his book *Across America and Asia.*

> The reader who knows even the elements of the Aryan problem of fifty years ago will understand how quickly it became a controlling factor in my dream. To the idea that the progressive shrinkage of an inland sea indicated a progressive desiccation that forced destructive radial migrations was added the thought that migrations similarly forced might have brought to Europe the Aryan peoples, the Aryan culture, and Aryan languages.
>
> (Pumpelly 1908: xxv).

The expedition worked in Anau and then moved on to Merv, in the latter site hoping to find the oldest prehistoric strata.

As in the case of biblical archaeology (Chapter 6), Byzantine and Islamic archaeology became engaged with religious debates. The civilizing mission of Russia among the non-Christians had become one of the main tenets of Russian imperialism from the sixteenth century. Ivan IV had banned the building of new mosques after the conquest of Kazan in 1552 and started a policy of religious conversion, which, however, produced very poor results. In the eighteenth century Catherine the Great's reputed 'Greek project' aimed at the renewal of a Byzantine Empire under Russian control by the expulsion of the Ottomans from Europe. It was considered that the predominant faith of Russia was rooted in the Byzantine experience. In terms of contemporary politics, only through conversion into the Orthodox Christian religion could the colonized be considered as Russians. In the nineteenth century the southward expansion resulted in the inclusion of numerous non-Christian societies, many of Muslim faith, within the Russian Empire. Islam became the second major religion, predominant in areas such as Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and Tajikistan. There was a renewed attempt of conversion, a policy that had among its stronger supporters the prominent Orientalist Vasilii Grigoriev (1816–81) (Pugachenkova & Rtveladze 1987: 322). In the Caucasus conversion was justified as the 'restoration' of the Orthodoxy of the Byzantine Empire. Yet, in the midst of growing nationalism, from the 1860s the increasing importance of racial and ethnic classifications in the Russian Empire broke the link between Orthodoxy and Russianness. The model of Russian identity became constructed in opposition to the 'Other', the 'alien' population. Even if converted, a new Orthodox could not be considered a Russian. Russia was changing from a religion-based state to a nation defined on the basis of ethnic identity. This transformation was matched by the increasing presence of imperial ethnographers in the Caucasus and elsewhere, who aimed to map the ethnic composition of the Russian Empire (Brower 1997; Jersild 1997; 2002; Werth 2002).

The importance conferred on religion in nineteenth-century Russian nationalism and colonialism was reflected in a relative greater attention

paid to Byzantine antiquities, especially when we consider Russian scholars' disregard for the prehistory in the area of the Russian Empire. Since Catherine the Great, Orthodox Russia had been viewed as a 'Third Rome', the natural heir of Byzantium. Byzantine antiquities were increasingly valued as symbols of Russia's past glories with their resulting inclusion in collections from the eighteenth century. Yet, in contrast to the archaeology of the other periods, where some real archaeological research took place, Byzantine studies remained largely based on the study of a selection of decontextualized items increasingly encompassed by a new field of study, that of history of art. The major scholars in this field were Ivan Tolstoy, whose work focused on Byzantine coins (*Vizantikskije Monety*, *Monnaies Byzantines*, 1912–14), and Nikodim Kondakov. The latter has been considered the founder of modern Byzantine art history in Russia. Kondakov's method was primarily based on iconography. As a lecturer at the University of Odessa between 1870 and 1888 he spent his summers travelling and researching Byzantine art. Then, as professor in St Petersburg from 1888, he expanded his scope to compile earlier material, resulting in the book with Tolstoy and Reinach mentioned in the previous section of this chapter. He would influence many scholars, among them Michael Rostovtsev, also referred to earlier (Klejn & Tikhonov 2006: 198–9).

Regarding museums, in the Hermitage Byzantine antiquities came from the purchase of private collections. A key acquisition was the medieval works of art, including a large quantity of Byzantine pieces made in 1884 from the Russian diplomat Alexander Basilewsky (Norman 1997: 94). The collection had been assembled over the course of forty years by Basilewski while in Paris, where it had created a furore when displayed at the Universal Exhibition of 1878. Like similar confessional museums funded in Western Europe under what was at the time called in the Catholic world 'Sacred Archaeology' (Chapter 5), the Church Archaeological Society organized a museum at the Kyyiv Theological Academy in 1872. It was directed by Mykola I. Petrov (1840–1921) and, among the collections, there were Byzantine icons of the fourth to fifteenth centuries. Apparently similar collections had been gathered by cognate societies in Chernihiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Poltava, and Zhytomyr.

The growing taste for Oriental antiquities, already noted for the case of Turkey and Egypt in the last decades of the nineteenth century (Chapter 6), was also apparent in Russia. Since the eighteenth century, the collection of Byzantine antiquities had created a market for those of the Islamic period. As in the case of Byzantine antiquities, a comparison with the collectors of Scythian antiquities shows a clear imbalance in numbers to the detriment of those of Islamic antiquities. In the eighteenth century Peter the Great had inaugurated

the collection of Oriental antiquities and manuscripts.[9] A century later, in 1818, the Oriental Cabinet of the Kunstkamera was founded. Also known as the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, the formation of this collection was the idea of the president of the Academy, Count Sergei S. Uvarov (1786–1855). The first museum director (1818–42) was the academician Christian Fraehn (1782–1851), considered an authority in the field of Asian antiquities. Antiquarian collecting also included Islamic antiquities. Islamic coins, for example, were collected by Mikhail Ivanovitch Doguel. He was a professor of international law and an expert in the field of Oriental numismatics, who in 1912 was elected a member of the Russian Archaeological Society. Count Alexey Aleksandrovich Bobrinsky (1852–1927), the president of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society and, between 1886 and 1917, the head of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, was also a well-known collector of Islamic antiquities from Central Asia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt (Ivanov 2004).

Beyond antiquarian collecting, more actual archaeological research was undertaken on Islamic monuments in Central Asia, a work that focused on the western section of the ancient Silk Road cities of Merv and Samarkand (see map 2, for the archaeology of the central and eastern sections of the Silk Road see Chapter 7). Merv was one of the oasis cities along the Silk Road in Central Asia with a long history stretching back to the fifth century BCE, and which had converted to Islam in the seventh century CE. The first sketches of Merv had been published by the Irish correspondent Edmund O'Donovan (1844–83) in 1882, two years before the Russian invasion. After this, the construction of the trans-Caspian railway brought the ruins to scholars' attention. It was excavated for the Imperial Archaeological Commission by V. A. Zhukhosky, a leading Russian Orientalist and medievalist, in 1890. He undertook a topographic survey and photographed the monuments, publishing *The Ruins of Old Merv* in Russian in 1894. A few years after Zhukhosky, Pumpelly looked for the prehistoric remains of the site, as mentioned earlier. The second Islamic site to be excavated before the Russian Revolution was Samarkand in today's Uzbekistan. The description made in ancient manuscripts of the fifteenth-century astronomical observatory built in Timurid style by Ulugh Beg led an amateur archaeologist, Vladimir Vyatkin, to its location. Vyatkin also unearthed the sextant on Kukhak Hill, northeast of Afrasiab, the city, originally known as Maracanda, that had been destroyed by Genghis Khan.

[9] On the web page for the Archive of Orientalists of the St Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (www nd-a) and on that for the Asiatic Museum (www nd-b) several other collectors—all of them belonging to the aristocracy—are mentioned.

FRENCH COLONIALISM IN NORTH AFRICA

In contrast to the Russian Empire, the area of North Africa colonized by France was much smaller in size. The historical background of the area was also of a very different nature. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries most of North Africa formed part of the Ottoman Empire. As discussed earlier in the book, however, the territory under Ottoman rule became increasingly eroded by the European imperial powers. In the early nineteenth century the Ottoman provinces in Tunisia and Algeria (see map 5) would not—unlike Greece—gain independence from Turkey. Neither would they obtain the degree of autonomy obtained by Iraq and Egypt (the latter only until it was 'temporarily' placed under British military occupation) (Chapters 5 and 6), although, given the geographical distance to Turkey, they enjoyed a certain degree of self-government. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the whole of North Africa fell under European expansionism, to begin with directed by France, and then also by Italy and Spain. In 1830 France occupied the coastal region of Algeria, naming it as such in 1837 (Oulebsir 2004: 9n). A policy of total assimilation was pursued for a time, leading in 1848[10] to the declaration of Algeria as an integral part of France (Ivanov 1989: 507). This policy would come to a halt soon after, during the earliest period of Napoleon III's second Empire (1851–70).[11] France's defeat by Germany in 1870 plunged the country into a deep crisis. It created an urge for self-assertion and assertion in the world by strengthening their power on the international scene (Baumgart 1982: 56–8). France expanded her colonies to include areas in Asia, Africa—in addition to North Africa, western and equatorial Africa—and parts of America and the Pacific. This growth of empire was accompanied by a transformation in the imperial policy with an enlargement of the privileges of the colonists. In Algeria this move came after the unsuccessful uprisings of the 1860s and early 1870s, when colonists' rights were given priority as against those of the 'subjects'. The 'subjects', as the colonized would be termed from that time, were governed by a separate rule, the so-called 'native code', a situation that lasted until 1936 (Ivanov 1989: 512–13). Expansion in North Africa would not stop in Algeria. After the treaty of Bardo, Tunisia became a French protectorate in 1881 whereas

[10] Despite this declaration being made in 1848, up until 1857 France continued to expand her dominion to the whole of the north of Algeria. Oulebsir (2004: 10) points out that one of the ways in which the French colonizers pursued their attempt to assimilate local populations was the installation of visible clocks in the main towns.

[11] However, Nadia Oulebsir (2004: ch. 3) seems to provide a different picture about the effect of Napoleon III in Algeria.

Morocco was put under international control in the same year. Libya was invaded by Italy in 1911 and Morocco finally succumbed to France and Spain in 1912 (Cherif 1989; Ivanov 1989: 513).

In the newly acquired territories in North Africa, French scholars put science into the service of the state. Archaeology was perceived as an important component in the new hegemonic knowledge which was being created, a type of knowledge perceived as superior. At the start of the nineteenth century the oldest remains admitted as such in the Maghreb were those of the Phoenician, Punic, and Roman periods. The Berber populations still living in the area were seen as the descendants of the original inhabitants living in the area at the time of the Roman conquest. The Arabs had arrived in the seventh century CE and had been accepted relatively peacefully because of local communities' dissatisfaction with Byzantine taxation. In the long term, however, the Arab invasion had destroyed, or greatly altered, the remaining signs of the classical culture. This Berber and the Arab past, however, would be highly disregarded in the historical discourse created by archaeologists, who instead centred their interest on the classical and pre-Arab Christian period. This selection became the hegemony for a hundred years, although, as will be discussed next, it also experienced changes. Three main phases can be distinguished in how archaeological remains were dealt with: archaeology before the start of European colonialism of the area, the colonial period until the 1870s and, finally, the period after 1870.

Classical antiquities in French Algeria and Tunisia before the 1870s

Before the French occupation, the archaeology of the classical Great Civilizations that so fascinated European archaeologists (Chapters 1 to 5) would also become the focus of attention for antiquarians working in North Africa. To begin with, archaeological enquiries were linked to the discovery of the past civilizations perceived as the earliest echelons in the Western advance towards supremacy. For this research to be seen as successful it had to be materialized in physical objects, considered as metaphors of the past itself. The appropriation of archaeological pieces that represented the development towards Western civilization had as its purpose to display them in the large European museums for the benefit of public education. Early attention concentrated on Carthage located in today's Tunisia. The ruins of the old Punic capital faced a situation that was to a certain extent similar to that experienced in Egypt (Chapter 6), where the consuls conducted excavations both as an intellectual enterprise and as an economic pursuit. In the 1830s the Bey of Tunis granted permission to excavate Carthage first to the British consul-general Sir Thomas

Reade and then to Sir Grenville Temple together with Christian Falbe, who had been the Danish consul-general in Tunisia a few years earlier (Lund 1986). Both Temple and Falbe were members of the so-called Society for the Exploitation of Carthage, whose aim was 'to conduct excavations in the soil of Carthage and to import to France all objects of artistic and scientific value, which were unearthed during the course of the excavations' (statutes of the society, in Lund 1986: 11). Objects from this expedition can be found today in the National Museum of Copenhagen, the Louvre, and the British Museum (Lund 1986). Temple and Falbe were followed by other explorers, who continued to excavate Punic remains throughout the nineteenth century. One of them was the Briton Nathan Davis (1812–82), a friend of the novelist Gustave Flaubert (1821–80), author of *Salammbô* (1862), a story of the siege of Carthage in 240–237 BCE, in which the town is described as sensual, luxurious, fascinating, and mysterious, the stereotype for the Oriental world (Said 1978). The web of relationships that formed the basis of imperial ideology is hinted at in the friendship between Davis and Flaubert: ideas, ideologies, and identities were transmitted across space and time, creating a cultural traffic and forming a mesh of networks.

The main impetus behind archaeological practice changed once North Africa, starting with Algeria, came under the grip of European imperialism. Attention then moved from the search for the origins of Western civilization to a study of the benefits of imperialism during the Roman Empire in the territory of the new French colony. The gains to be obtained from analysing the classical period were considered to go beyond the increase in pure intellectual knowledge and the acquisition of objects for museums in the homeland. The task of archaeologists was now to bring to prominence one of the layers of the historical palimpsest, that of the Roman Empire, to help to build up a teleological narrative of civilization and settlement. Thus, immediately after the onset of France's involvement in North Africa, Marshal Nicolas Soult (1769–1851), the minister of war, wrote to the permanent secretary of the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Academy of Inscriptions and Fine Arts), proposing that the academics engage in 'a work that will interest both science and state'. This work was to establish 'a good geography of Mauritania under ancient civilization and a history of Roman colonization in this area, of the institutions they created and the relationships they established with the natives' (in Frémaux 1984: 32). Encouraged by the academy, a commission would be formed in 1833 (Dondin-Payre 1994a: 21ff), and its work resulted in several reports, the earliest ones produced in 1833 and 1837. The research undertaken by the commission would provide information about the geography and ethnography of the territory as well as about abandoned areas exploited in the past that may have potential for

future projects. Others would follow further requests of a similar nature made by successive ministers of war (Frémaux 1984: 33; Gran-Aymerich 1998: 125). This helped to form the intellectual basis for a take-over of the new conquered land, resulting in many natives being dispossessed of their properties in and around Algiers (Prochaska 1990: 65–77).

The model of Rome was used to legitimize the new military and civil topography, and even to conceptualize it. The president of the commission, Baron Charles A. Walckenaer (1771–1852), a scientist and naturalist, insisted that 'Muslim fanaticism' had created, in the nineteenth century, a situation far worse than in classical times. The Berber and Arab opposition to French colonialism was also understood as a continuation of their resistance during the ancient Roman period (Frémaux 1984: 41). In contrast to the *Pax Romana*, violence and destruction were the norm in Berber and Arab populations and no traces of more positive behaviour could be found in the remains of cities such as Constantine, where authors such as Auguste Cherbonneau (1813–82) highlighted Roman/French civilization in contrast to Turkish/Arab barbarity (Haoui 1993; Malarkey 1984: 149; Pouillon 1993). This linkage between Roman and French facilitated the removal of many classical antiquities from North Africa, some destined for the Musée algérien (Algerian Museum) in the Louvre in 1845 (Oulebsir 2004: 76). Not everything was moved to France. Algiers had, from 1838, its own institution, the Museum-Library of Algiers. In fact, the competition between the French and Algerian institutions led to the closure of the Parisian museum during the Second Empire (*ibid.* 109). Despite the interest in Roman archaeology, not all monuments and sites were protected. In a similar process to what was happening in Europe itself, whereas some sites were studied and preserved, others were not. Among the latter was the Roman amphitheatre of Rusicade, used as a quarry for the construction of the defences of the French colony town (*ibid.* 79–106).

A reorganization of the commission took place in 1837, after the conquest of the inland city of Constantine. Its remit was to study 'objects of art and antiquity', centring its attention on documenting buildings, statues and inscriptions. Soon after, however, it expanded to include other sciences, such as botany, ornithology, ethnography and the like, in this way making its composition more like that of other major French expeditions of the first half of the nineteenth century which were seen as the models: those to Egypt (1798–1801) and Morea (1829–30) (Chapters 3 and 4) (Dondin-Payre 1994a: 27). One of the architects involved in the commission, as well as in an architectural survey of Roman North Africa, was Amable Ravoisié (b. 1801) in 1840–2 (*ibid.* 48–74). Captain Adolphe Delamare and the epigraphist Léon Renier (1809–85) were also involved (Dondin-Payre 1994b; Oulebsir 2004: 163). Between 1844 and 1867 several volumes came out as a result of the

commission's work. Not all written work, however, would see the light. Manuscripts whose position was not in accordance with the official line followed by the French state encountered difficulties with publication or were never printed. This was the case of the volume produced by one of the members of the commission, Lacroix, whose markedly positive attitude towards the local population has been seen as a possible cause for its non-appearance in printed form (Frémaux 1984: 35).

In 1853[12] the Inspection Générale des Monuments Historiques et des Musées Archéologiques (the state Service for Monuments and Archaeological Museums) was created. This was an official institution intended to deal mainly with classical archaeology in the colony (Oulebsir 2004: 19). It could perhaps be seen as the result of the policy of assimilation as it followed the prototype created in France in the 1830s (in Paris, Prosper Mérimée (1803–70) had been given the post of General Inspector of Antiquities in 1834 and in 1837 a Commission of Historical Monuments had been created, see Chapter 12). In North Africa the Inspection's work would depend heavily on the efforts of the learned societies (Erzini 2000; Frémaux 1984; Gran-Aymerich 1998; Nordman 1998: 73; Oulebsir 1998; 2004: 17–19).

Settlers were in an ambivalent position, for although they felt superior in the colony, within colonial discourse they were seen as subaltern, as inferior, in relation to the metropolis experts. An analysis of the composition of the learned societies clearly shows that the production of knowledge was undertaken by a group of experts that were far from being a well-defined, monolithic community. Besides the members of the commissions, who came from the academies in France, most archaeological investigation was undertaken by people living in the colony. These were non-professional archaeologists connected with associations such as the Archaeological, Historical, and Geographical Society of Constantine, and the Algerian Historical Society, both of which published journals. The extent to which colonial ideology operated within the profession is an issue pending examination. Most notably, a study of the contributors to the *Journal of the Archaeological Society of Constantine* between 1853 and 1876, whose main interest was archaeology—especially Roman archaeology—sheds light on the diverse professional base of those interested in antiquities. In addition to army officials, the five other groups mentioned are doctors, teachers, colonizers, clergy, and explorers, all members of a diaspora of mainly French citizens who settled in the colonies (Malarkey 1984: 141). From them all the major engagement in the archaeology of the area was undertaken by individuals working for the army, especially the officers, some of whom had received education by experts in

[12] Nadia Erzini (2000: 73–4) provides a date of 1847 for the creation of this institution.

the sciences of antiquity, such as epigraphy (Bayle 1984–5; Gran-Aymerich 1998: 130, 154). They took it upon themselves to undertake excavations, epigraphic surveys and even reconstruct monuments (Mattingly 1996: 54). They would also help the members of the commission in their fieldwork (Lepetit 1998: 97). In contrast to themselves, the colonizers considered that the locals were unable to appreciate archaeology. As a Frenchman said in 1862, Muslims 'whose ignorance is often mislabelled as imagination' misunderstood the importance of the ruins. Thus, as he explained, a Roman triumphal arch was called 'the chateau of the evil fairy' (Malarkey 1984: 147) (forgetting that, in fact, this was also common in Europe). Arabs were thought to have no respect for ancestors and no sense of history, partly because Islam as a religion was considered to stigmatize science (Malarkey 1984: 153, 156).

Classical archaeology and the expansion of the institutionalization of the past in French Algeria from the 1870s

The interest in the classical era continued to be predominant after the 1870s.[13] The emphasis on the Roman past of North Africa seeped into the general imagination connecting patriotism and archaeology and becoming one of the main arguments for legitimizing European colonization. Many examples would serve to illustrate this. One refers to the French archaeologist, Gaston Boissier (1823–1908). In 1883 Boissier claimed that 'impressed and even persuaded by the similarity of our civilizing task with that of Rome . . . whose traces one can find everywhere, these men [the indigenes] resigned themselves to endure . . . the inheritance of Rome' (in Mattingly 1996: 50). René Cagnat (1852–1937), one of the other French archaeologists with ample experience in North Africa, stated in 1913 that

> we can, therefore, . . . compare our occupation of Algeria and Tunisia of the same African provinces by the Romans. As they did, we have gloriously conquered the country. As they did, we have assured the occupation. As they did, we have tried to transform it to our image and impose civilization . . . The only difference is that we have done in fifty years what they did in three centuries.
>
> (Mattingly 1996: 54).

The comparison between how the relationship between the Romans and the natives was imagined in Europe and in North Africa is highly revealing. As Mattingly points out, in continental France archaeologists assumed that the

[13] The emphasis on the classical period could also be seen in Libya in the three decades of Italian governance of the country (1911–47). In the twentieth century the stress on everything Roman became connected with the rise of fascism (Altekamp 2004), an issue whose discussion lies beyond the chronological scope of this volume.

native Celts and/or Gauls had intermarried with the Romans and also learned from them the benefits of civilization. In contrast, archaeologists working in North Africa agreed that even under Roman rule the rural native population—the Berbers—were passive and had opposed all possibilities of gaining advantages from the higher culture brought to them. This had impeded racial mixture (Mattingly 1996: 56).

In the 1870s the character of archaeology in North Africa changed. In accordance with the transformations in the character of imperialism, archaeology became more professional, reinforcing the colonial institutional base, and backing them up with specific legislation for antiquities. There were even thoughts of opening a French Archaeological Institute in Tunisia, but, eventually, the plans came to nothing. Instead, Algeria and Tunisia remained under the remit of the French School in Rome of 1873, the epigraphy of North Africa becoming one of the most prestigious fields of study in it. Institutionalization came a decade later, when offices for the administration of archaeology were created in both Algeria and Tunisia. The first was the Service de monuments historiques de l'Algérie (Service of Historical Monuments) organized in Algiers in 1880, which had as one of its main tasks the control of all archaeological excavations. The Service was headed by one of Viollet-le-Duc's disciples, Edmond Duthoit (1840–80), substituted in 1889 by another architect, Albert Ballu (1849–1939). When Tunisia was transformed into a French protectorate in 1881 a Commission of North Africa (Commission de l'Afrique du Nord) was created. A committee within the commission, the Committee for Historical Studies, dealt with archaeology, publishing the *Bulletin archéologique*. In 1885, a Service of Antiquities (Service des antiquités tunisiennes) was set up in Tunisia. From 1908, it had a periodical publication, *Notes et Documents*. Later, in the twentieth century, immediately after the conversion of most of Morocco into a French protectorate in 1912, a Service of Antiquities, Fine Arts, and Historical Monuments was established (Wright 1997: 328), the Junta Central de Monumentos (Central Service of Monuments) serving as its Spanish counterpart (Gozalbes Cravioto forthcoming).

Legislation also reflected the importance attached to archaeology in the North African colonies. In Tunisia, legislation protecting antiquities was promulgated in the decrees of 26 September 1890 and 2 August 1896 (Prados Martínez 2000: 305n). After the First World War, there would be new antiquities legislation in Tunisia and Algeria in 1920 and 1925 respectively. It is worth pointing out that, as was the case with certain aspects of the institutionalization of archaeology in India (Chapter 8), these measures were implemented before similar ones in the metropolis. Similar legislation would not be introduced in France until 1941–2 (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 388). A possible explanation for this phenomenon—the introduction of measures of heritage

protection in the colonies and not in the metropolis—is the relative ease in implementing them in areas where opposition towards them was not taken into account, mainly because of the lack of political power of the colonized. In both France and Britain landowners successfully lobbied for years against antiquities legislation regulating archaeological practice that undermined their rights. Most notably, as discussed in the previous chapter regarding the Archaeological Survey of India, the creation of novel structures in the colonies demonstrates that far from reacting passively, they also contributed to changes back in the metropolis.

Regarding education, the changes in French universities undertaken after the defeat of the Franco–Prussian war also reached Algeria. As an acknowledgement of the high standards that epigraphic research had attained in the area, Albert Dumont, the Director of Higher Education from 1879 and an old member of the French School in Athens, founded the École Supérieure des lettres d'Alger in 1880, putting it under the direction of Émile Masqueray. The main objective of the school was the study of Algeria, and in 1882 it started to publish the *Bulletin de correspondance africaine*. One of its members would become the Director of Antiquities of Tunisia in 1885, only four years after the conversion of the country into a French protectorate (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 244).

There was a large increase in the number of museums as well as archaeological excavations in Algeria and Tunisia. In Algeria, which had seen the museums of Algiers, Cherchell, and Constantine opened in the previous period at the early dates of 1838, 1840, and 1852 respectively (Oulebsir 2004: 111), many other museums were created after 1870 (Museum Alaoui 1888, Museum Lambese). In Tunisia a museum was opened at the Palace Bardo just after the conquest, although its Islamic section had to wait until 1899. Another museum, the Museum Lavigerie, was also organized by Delattre. Despite their growing numbers, however, museums were generally poorly provided and catalogues of their collections were the exception (*ibid.* 185–91). Archaeological practice increased in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In Tunisia and Algeria a large number of excavations were undertaken in this period. One of the main campaigns organized at this time took place in the ancient city of Timgad, considered the Algerian Pompeii (*ibid.* 205–12). From 1890 news about it, as well as about many of the Roman sites excavated (Tebéssa and Lambèse) and monuments restored in this period, were published in the *Chronique archéologique africaine* published first by the Société historique algérienne and then by the French School in Rome. Regarding Morocco, France's interest in its antiquities led to scientific missions being organized from the 1890s, mainly directed from Tangier, the Moroccan town where most Europeans resided (Erzini 2000; Gran-Aymerich 1998; Oulebsir 2004).

Yet, despite the significant increase in professionalization, the role of amateurs remained important. The army continued to play a relevant role. This can be seen, for example, by the publication of the Archaeological Atlas of Algeria, which was based on the data gathered by the Topographical Brigades, who undertook systematic area-by-area surveys in Tunisia and Algeria (Pringle 1981: 4). The reasons for non-professionals getting involved in archaeology varied. For some of them it was a question of patriotism, something, as will be stressed below, that they shared with the professional archaeologists themselves. Others saw archaeology as a means to Christianize. This is because archaeology became enmeshed in other areas bolstered by imperialism, mainly the use of religion in cultural assimilation, a practice already seen in India (Chapter 8) and in Russia. For example, the interest in archaeology of the Archbishop of Algiers, Father Charles-Martial-Allemand Lavigerie (1825–92), was aroused by his endeavour to demonstrate 'the primacy of the Christian over the Muslim religion' and 'to prove through the facts of the civilised of . . . Europe that the Church has not stopped being the friend of science' (in Gran-Aymerich 1998: 244). The archbishop's wishes inspired the involvement in archaeology of one of the missionary orders, that of the White Fathers. Among the members of the order the work of Father Alfred Louis Delattre (1850–1932) should be highlighted. He excavated in many Punic sites as well as, connected with his religious mission, four early Christian basilicas (*ibid.* 68, 156; 2001: 211).

Megaliths, skulls, Berbers, and Aryans: making sense of the prehistory of North Africa and the Canary Islands

Although most research centred on the classical period, attention was also paid to both the prehistoric and the post-Roman past. Although prehistoric remains were largely ignored, an exception was made with types of monuments familiar to the European eye, such as the megalithic structures found in east Algeria and central Tunisia. These were first identified as Druidic, Celtic, and Gaulish, categories approximately cognate between the 1800s and the 1860s with that of the Berbers. Despite this, the European origin of the archaeological remains was never doubted. The impact of the development of physical anthropology in France (Blanckaert 2001) (Chapter 12) became clear in the early analysis of skeletal evidence: in 1868 the archaeologist Jules-René Bourguignat (1829–92) classified the human bone remains from the megalithic complex of Roknia into several racial groups: Blacks, mixture of Blacks and Berbers, Egyptians and Aryans. On the basis of the number of individuals of each race in each grave he maintained a social structure had

operated in which 'the Aryans, it seems, on the basis of their tombs, are the richest, the most powerful, and those who must have been the leaders of the Berber tribes of Roknia' (Bourguignat 1868 in Coye 1993: 112). It was thought that the Aryans—the same Aryans that in the web of imperial discourse scientists had 'discovered' in India only a few decades earlier (Chapter 8)—had arrived in Algeria from Europe through Italy, Sicily and the Iberian Peninsula, and had brought megalithic ritual to the Berbers. Some authors have seen this racial link between Europeans and North Africans at the base of the practice of borrowing typological schemes developed in Europe to describe North African archaeological objects, such as lithic industries (Coye 1993: 115–21). Yet, it should be pointed out that this practice occurred elsewhere even where no racial connection was assumed (Chapter 10). Still, in North Africa the practice was rationalized in a different way than in other parts of the world. In Noël Coye's opinion, this allowed that prehistoric remains served to reinforce further the message that the Europeans—especially in this case the French and to a certain extent the Spaniards (Fernández Martínez 2001: 177)—were only re-gaining what had once been theirs.

After the 1870s, interest in the classical past remained predominant, with less consideration given to other periods. In contrast with research on the classical period, that on the prehistoric past remained secondary. Physical anthropology became one of the main areas of research in tune with developments in Europe. This would also be the case in the Canary Islands, whose archaeology also attracted some of the main players in North African prehistory at this time. Although the islands had belonged to the kingdoms of Spain since 1342, the Spanish right to them was questioned by France at the Congress of Berlin. Around the same time French archaeologists emphasized the connections between the archaeology of the islands and that of North Africa. Thus, in 1874 Louis Leon César Faidherbe (1818–89), a French army officer with much experience in North Africa, claimed the discoveries of remains associated with Berber populations in North Africa, such as the supposed inscriptions of El Jular from the island of El Hierro, were the result of immigration from North Africa (Farrujia 2005: 54). For his part René Verneau (1852–1938), a leading French physical anthropologist, rejecting his own earlier hypothesis of the multiple racial origin of the natives of each of the Canary islands, argued in 1886 that their earliest colonization had been undertaken by a Cro-Magnon race that had originated in the Perigord region in France and had arrived through North Africa (*ibid.* 70). In contrast with this view, German scholars had proposed other hypotheses that pointed, perhaps not surprisingly, to an early colonization connected with Germany. Thus, Franz von Löher (1818–92), the director of the Imperial Archive in Bavaria, published a series of articles in 1876 in which he attributed the

earliest migration to a group of Vandals in the fifth century CE on flimsily based racial and linguistic grounds (*ibid.* 75–87).

Back in North Africa, research in prehistoric archaeology hints at one of the practices that would become the norm several decades later. At the start of the twentieth century the increasing difficulties in synchronizing the North African and French sequences led to a final rupture by which a completely new periodic terminology was created. If until then it has been assumed that the migrations had had a direction from north (France) to south (North Africa), now the opposite was argued. Thus, the Aurignatians had come from the Caspian and the Ibero-Mauritanian people had moved from North Africa to Spain (Coye 1993). Coye interprets this rupture as the result of the sense that the predominance of France in the colonies was assured. It was no longer necessary to show that everything had come from France and Western Europe. Suggesting a certain independence and even a reversal in cultural influences was not deemed to be dangerous in a consolidated colonial state. In addition, a new process was starting to emerge that would become crucial in the development of archaeological thought in the twentieth century. Once archaeologists were unencumbered by the need to see their position acknowledged as a valid contribution to science, they could turn their attention to other matters. Novel hypotheses could now be used to bolster academic careers. Academics who were successful in suggesting novel ideas created a name for themselves in the professional world. This was the first step towards a phenomenon that would become generalized in the middle of the twentieth century. At that time nationalism was relegated to the background of archaeologists' discourse. Yet, despite the warnings, the situation at the end of the nineteenth century was certainly far from that just described for several decades later. In fact, at the end of the nineteenth century Punic archaeology—the archaeology of the North African Phoenicians, a people whom scholars had connected to the Jews—would decline sharply due to anti-Semitism (Chapter 6) (see also note 13 above).

Tangent pasts: Byzantine and Islamic archaeology in North Africa

Little effort was made to investigate post-Roman archaeology before 1860. In fact, destruction of mosques—seventeen of the 122 in existence in Algiers at the start of French occupation—and the reorganization of streets with new wide avenues cutting through the ancient street network were considered acceptable. Some of the architectural pieces derived from the destruction were reused and some may even have ended up in the small museum opened in 1838 at the Algiers Library and permanently exhibited from 1854. The first

publications containing information about Arabic inscriptions and numismatics appeared at this time, and architectural studies and some restorations were carried out, but Islamic antiquities were definitively not the priority among scholars (Erzini 2000: 73–4; Oulebsir 2004: 82–91).

From the 1860s the interest in Roman archaeology contrasted with the lesser concern not only for prehistoric archaeology, as seen in the previous section, but also to a certain extent for post-Roman archaeology. In the case of Byzantine archaeology, this was not only because its remains were not spectacular. As Pringle points out, the Byzantine 'failure to restore Christian Roman Africa and to prevent its collapse raised the uneasy question of the durability of France's own colonial activity in North Africa' (Pringle 1981: 6). However, despite the predominance of the interest towards Roman antiquities, and even the exaltation of Roman remains (Oulebsir 2004: 21–2), a distinctive novel interest in Islamic art and archaeology started to become apparent. This appeal can be traced in a new appreciation of the Islamic past in town planning and the protection of some outstanding Islamic buildings such as the Lotophagues street in Algiers thanks to the efforts of the Société historique algérienne (*ibid.* 138), also in the appearance of experts on Islamic art such as Edmond Duthoit (*ibid.* 140–57), the influence of Islamic art in new buildings, and, in the second half of the century, of Islamic antiquities from North Africa in the great international exhibitions organized in Paris in 1867, 1878, 1889, and 1900 (Erzini 2000: 74; Palermo 2003). Archaeologists such as Louis-Adrien Berbrugger and Albert Devoulx were among the most prominent writers on Islamic archaeology at the time (Erzini 2000). From 1898 excavation of archaeological sites started. Six museums of Islamic art were opened, some purpose built such as the National Museum of Algerian Antiquities and of Muslim Art in Algiers, inaugurated in 1897. In Morocco, among the colonial administrators there were specialists in native customs and culture—ethnographers, linguists, and archaeologists (Erzini 2000: 77).

The changes in attitude towards Islamic art and archaeology can be connected to the appearance of a novel sociological interest in the Muslim world, which had started to emerge in France at the turn of the century in what Burke has called the 'first crisis of Orientalism' (Burke 1984: 226). In Algeria this transformation was reflected in the intellectual and artistic impetus during what has been called in Algeria the Belle Époque des Français d'Algérie. Its origin has been dated to 1900, the year in which Algeria obtained financial autonomy from France. Tourism has also been mentioned as part of the context in which these processes took place. This new spirit encouraged a cultural policy favourable to local tradition and a belief that the two cultures in the area, the French and the Arab (and Berber) cultures, could be reconciled

(Oulebsir 2004: 21). In Morocco, the new attitude towards the Muslim world can be traced in new journals, such as *Archives marocaines* and the *Revue du monde musulman*, which had imitators in Russia, Germany, the USA, and Italy. The aim of the *Revue du monde musulman*, which started in 1906, was 'to develop in France more positive and extensive views of contemporary Muslim societies, and to develop among the liberal Muslims a moral influence from which our foreign policy can only profit, whatever its objectives' (in Burke 1984: 221). The *Revue* published articles on most of the Islamic world and included articles written by Muslims. Although its scope was contemporary Islamic societies, the interest raised by this journal marks a striking change in colonial attitudes discussed so far in the chapter.

This intellectual trend leading to a greater acceptance of Islamic studies had repercussions beyond the chronological timeframe of this volume. In 1921, the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines was created in France, and in Spain the Escuelas de Estudios Arabes (Schools of Arab Studies) were set up in Madrid in 1925 and in Granada in 1932 (Burke 1984: 223; Díaz-Andreu 1996: 77) (about earlier chairs see page 361). In these institutions archaeology was one of the fields of study. The years between 1900 and 1950 have indeed been seen as the most fertile period of French art historical scholarship in North Africa (Erzini 2000: 71).

CONCLUSION: RELIGION AND NATIONALISM IN NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY COLONIAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Among scholars of nationalism it is relatively common to find comments on the religious character of nationalism. From its inception it has been argued that nationalism emulates external religious forms. Nationalists create civic ceremonies and patriotic symbols for which reverence should be shown. Nationalism makes use of quasi-religious language, and has a similar need for a wide community of followers. Nationalism is even described by some as a secular religion (Anderson 1991: 12; Eriksen 1993: 107–8; Gellner 1983: 56; Kapferer 1988; Llobera 1994: 221). Yet, despite their similarities, nationalism and religion still remain two distinct ideologies which, however, are not incompatible. Some nationalists select religion as one of the inherent features of the nation (Hobsbawm 1990: 67–73, 124, 168–9). Several examples of this have been discussed so far in this book. As seen in Chapter 4, the fight for independence in Greece was supported in the West in part because of the issue of the religion practised—it seemed inadmissible to Western Europeans that a Christian nation which, furthermore, had been the cradle of civilization was

under Islamic rule. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the link between religion and nation would constantly be reworked, mainly because of the differing views towards religion between conservatives and radical liberals. Whereas the first linked their own nation with one particular faith, radicals disentangled both ideologies and backed secularism. Although this debate between the two poles of the political spectrum took place in every Western country, it was in those such as Russia, a bulwark of conservative politics, that religion became a central political issue. In the colonies the effect was a stress on the conversion of the new colonial subjects to the Orthodox religion, an emphasis that was not found in France. Despite the existence of missionaries, no similar attempts at mass conversion of Muslims to the Catholic religion occurred in North Africa. In the French Empire, the politics of the state was less conservative and nationalism stubbornly maintained much of the rhetoric created during the French Revolution, including the allegiance to secularism.

It is interesting to note, however, that, in spite of the differences highlighted above regarding the way in which religion was dealt with, a comparison of the archaeological practice in the Russian and French colonies does not result in a clear duality. On the contrary, the picture developed in this chapter seems to indicate that in both the issue of politics and religion affected only to a limited extent the practice of archaeology. This led to the interest in prehistoric archaeology being secondary and that of the Islamic period almost non-existent until the end of the period (numismatics being the exception). Even the development of Byzantine archaeology, in spite of its link with the Christian religion, was subordinate to the archaeology of the Great Civilizations. This seems to show the weight that discourses about the past created during the early modern era still maintained through to the First World War watershed.

Archaeologists' relative lack of interest in pasts other than those of the Great Civilizations was not mirrored by the clergy. Archaeology and religion were closely linked in the attempt by the authorities of each Christian faith to engage in archaeological research. This was mentioned in Chapters 5 (especially note 1) and especially 6, as well as in this chapter in relation to the Orthodox Church in Russia and its interest in Byzantine archaeology. An analysis of the religious authorities' involvement in archaeology leads to an interesting conclusion: it was not a direct consequence of nationalism, but of the power the discourse of the past had been granted as an explanatory device to ascertain the right of particular identity groups to exist. Thus, in a context in which the power of the Churches faced threats as diverse as progressive nationalism, atheism, agnosticism, and the development of the positivist thought in science (Chapter 6), they took on archaeology in order to justify

their position, emphasizing their own uniqueness as religious groups and, in this way, their right to act if needed as partners at a negotiating table. Other groups based on other types of identities, such as gender and race, would only engage in archaeology much later in time, mainly in the last third of the twentieth century, well beyond the chronological limits of this book, with groups such as the Goddess movement and Afro-Americans among others. During the nineteenth century, therefore, nationalism remained the great mover behind the development of professional archaeology, although other types of identities like religion also served as a catalyst for an interest in the archaeological past.

10

Colonialism and the Archaeology of the Primitive

Westerners encountered a wide variety of societies in their colonial expansion. Politically these were categorized from the most complex—the state societies in regions of Asia and North Africa—to those perceived as formed by savages and primitives, with the simplest types of political organization. Their entrenched belief in a philosophy of progression took Western scholars to assume an uneventful and unchanged past for these societies. It was commonly argued that savages did not have a history. Hence, they were considered as living fossils, as 'survivals' from earlier stages of culture long passed in Europe. In stark contrast to the awe that the ancient Great Civilizations had inspired in imperial Europe, the antiquities of primitive societies evoked a distinctly lesser regard. Instead of appropriating them as part of their own past, Western scholars remained unreceptive: no genetic links were created with the archaeology of the 'uncivilized', rather, they were considered to be a distorted image of the remote European—and, from the end of the century, also Japanese—past. This position was not completely new, for primitives had been regarded as a source of information with which to understand the prehistoric past in Europe since the eighteenth century, although at that time this was made within the biblical framework (Sweet 2004: 149–51). This chapter will aim, first, to explore how, during the nineteenth century, the archaeology of the primitive was used in the formation of the colonial discourse. Secondly, the following pages will also assess the interpretations Westerners provided to explain the presence of monumental antiquities in areas considered primitive and, therefore, without a distinguished past.

It is important to note that the encounter with primitive societies not only took place within newly established colonies, but also within the frontiers of century-long political formations. This chapter, therefore, regards colonization as operating at two different levels. First, colonialism in the classical sense—based on territories appropriated by a foreign power in a different part of the world. Secondly, internal colonialism, a concept which in this book is employed to define the physical occupation by white settlers of territories usually inhabited by non-state societies, both within already defined boundaries of

the state or in adjacent lands. Consequently, the geographical scope dealt with here is very ambitious and covers every continent. Even more than in the case of the archaeology of the Great Civilizations, much of what is defined as archaeology in the following pages was not necessarily understood as such by nineteenth-century scholarship. More important, studies in this field conferred much less prestige than those on any of the many ancient civilizations around the world. This partly explains why archaeology did not become a professional discipline in many of the areas discussed until after the First World War or even, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa and Australia, after the Second World War. Before that, as happened in Europe (Chapter 13), the study of prehistoric implements, when it took place at all, was very much tied to anthropology/ethnology and the natural sciences.

THE COLONIAL ENCOUNTER WITH THE PRIMITIVE—A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The European confrontation with non-state societies had taken place mainly from the end of the fifteenth century when the Portuguese had established a few trade outposts in Africa. The scale of these encounters became dramatically enhanced with the Europeans' conquest of whole areas located elsewhere in the world which were subsequently incorporated into the territories controlled by their monarchies. This happened in the American continent from the sixteenth century and in Australia, Africa, and the Pacific from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The independence of America from its old masters—Britain, France, Portugal, and Spain—from the 1770s highlights the rupture between early and late modern imperialism. The new emphasis on colonialism had many interrelated causes: the independence of some of the early modern colonies; a connection of national pride and empire; population increase and migration of great numbers of Europeans; technological advance; development of transport systems; and capitalism and industrialization. During this period Britain created the largest colonial empire, dominating a fifth of the Earth's landmass (Porter 1999). Although the extension of the French Empire was comparatively much smaller, about one-third the size of the British Empire, it still comprised over fifty-six million people. Most of the French colonies lay in Africa and Southeast Asia (Osborne 1994: xiii). In addition to the late arrival into the colonial adventure of Germany and Italy, countries outside Europe also became involved, Japan being one of the most determined. New Imperialism included, as explained above, colonialism in the classical sense of the word as well as what I have

defined as internal colonialism. Importantly, classical colonialism and internal colonialism are not completely exclusive concepts, as the cases of Australia and South Africa indicate. Both colonies went through a process of colonial expansion beyond and within their own frontiers. In the case of Japan, as it was an island, her expansion over Taiwan, the south of Sakhalin, Korea and her interest in Micronesia could be seen in terms of either type of colonization.

Colonialism in the classical sense of the term focused on Asia, the Pacific, and Africa. These areas, especially the latter two, were highly populated by non-state societies. In these three continents colonialism had existed from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Chapters 8 and 9). Local populations, therefore, had some experience of European expansionism before the advent of nineteenth-century New Imperialism. Events in Africa constituted the foremost example of the colonial appropriation of territories inhabited by primitive societies. The century started with the British Crown's conversion into colonies of the settlements created by philanthropic societies in West Africa. These had been established at the end of the eighteenth century in order to re-allocate blacks repatriated from the New World. Other British colonies in Africa were also set up as bases being used by the Navy in its fight against slavery and at missionary posts to re-socialize slaves. Sierra Leone became the first British colony in that part of the world in 1807. On the basis of their long-established trade links, Portugal claimed Angola and Mozambique. From 1850 France invaded eastward from the coast of Senegal in West Africa, reaching western Sudan at the end of the century. The appetite for the control of new territories was stimulated by the reports distributed by an increasing number of geographical societies, written by adventurers and later by properly trained geographers, extolling the riches of the countries they had visited. This coincided with a technological revolution. New engineering works, such as the construction of the Suez Canal opened in 1869 and transcontinental railways, made the domination over foreign territories by the European powers much easier (Baumgart 1982; Cherif 1989; Porter 1999).

The words of the explorer David Livingstone (1813–1873), carved in his brass-plated tomb in Westminster Abbey at his death, summarized the imperial ethos. He argued that in order to heal the open wound created by the slave trade, organized by Swahili and Arabs in East Africa, Africa needed the three 'C's: Commerce, Christianity, and Civilization (Pakenham 1991: xvi). Livingstone's ideas would be promoted by some romantic nationalists, who advocated the partition of Africa. The European governments were first reluctant to undertake this step, but greed, the fear of being left behind in a race that promised to deliver great economic gains and be a potential source for national prestige, changed matters. The distribution of

the African continent by the imperial powers was largely decided at the Berlin Conference of 1884–5, where Africa—with the exception of Ethiopia—was divided up by the European powers, mainly Britain, France, and Germany (*ibid.*). Despite the flood of data provided from explorers in the first half of the nineteenth century (Curtin 1973), many parts of the continent were still inadequately known when this partition took place, and as a result it was divided up along largely artificial lines.

Internal colonialism became a form of colonial appropriation as effective as classical colonialism. Examples of occupation by white Europeans and Euro-Americans (as well as Japanese) settlers of territories within state borders inhabited by non-state societies took place in locations as far apart as Argentina, Sweden, and Japan. In many cases contact with 'primitive' societies took place after the expansion of state borders by the conquest of adjacent lands. This occurred both in independent countries such as Russia (a process that had started long before the nineteenth century, see Chapter 9) and the US, and in colonies such as South Africa and Australia. In Argentina, settler expansion occurred in areas classified as empty but de facto occupied by native communities, which resulted in the extermination of the Indians by the thousand. This happened both in the south of Argentina (the 'Conquest of the Desert' in the late 1860s) and in the northeast of the country (Podgorny & Politis 1990–2; Politis 1995: 199). In Japan the occupation of the island of Hokkaido (map 4), the home of the Ainu, led to discussions of them as the possible original inhabitants of the archipelago (Mizoguchi 2006: 66–7).

In Europe (map 5), internal colonialism occurred in the form of segregation and attempts to forcefully change the lifestyle of distinct ethnic groups such as the Saami (Lapps), their region now in Norwegian territory but then under Swedish rule (as was the whole of Norway until 1905). Although the segregation of the Saami had already started in the early modern period, it intensified in the second half of the nineteenth century with the expansion of Swedish and Norwegian colonists northwards (Olsen 1986). Some authors have integrated British-governed Ireland in discussions of colonialism. A note of caution has been expressed by some, however. Joep Leersen, for example, remarks that:

> It would not be appropriate to consider even Ireland as a colony *tout court*. Certain aspects in Irish history recall a colonial pattern, others do not; and it is a tenuous assumption that such colonial aspects as we can trace in Irish history coincide with that country's 'Celtic' reputation. On the contrary, perhaps: (*sic*) to the (limited) extent that Ireland fits the pattern of colonial experience, it may be less suitable as a paradigmatic simple-case for European 'Celticism' in general.
>
> (Leersen 1996: 10).

Indeed, the difficulties of applying post-colonial theory to its case has been recently highlighted by Horning (2006) and some of the scholars who discussed her paper, in particular O'Keeffe (2006). For the discussion in this section it is argued here that the concept of internal colonialism should not be used for the Irish case. The political situation in Ireland was of a very different nature to the European treatment to hunter-gatherer societies living in their own frontiers. The case of Ireland seems to be closer to that of other parts of Europe with the emergence of an increasingly powerful nationalism contrary to that promoted by the central government. Similar cases, although later in date, are those of Catalonia and the Basque country in Spain, where the manifestation of nationalist feelings started to be stronger in the last three decades of the century. In Europe both internal colonialism and opposition against non-state nationalisms could be seen as part of a trend to culturally homogenize all the subjects within the state. This ideology was partly behind the standardization proposed by political nationalism. Within its framework, the collective sovereignty of the people—a key concept of the nation as defined in the French Revolution (Chapter 3)—assumed that the individuals forming the nation were part of a uniform group with consistent symbols and traditions. As Hobsbawm and Ranger clearly demonstrated in 1983, an examination of daily practice showed how wrong this idea was. As a result it led to the intellectuals' attempts—in many cases successfully—to invent (or recreate) traditions through the establishment of a whole set of festivals, civil rituals, and customs in the nineteenth century both in Europe and elsewhere (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). Yet, an important difference is that colonizers did not attempt fully to integrate the colonized into their nation.

The expansion of frontiers and occupation of neighbouring territories also led to internal colonialism in independent countries such as Russia and the United States. Russia had started to expand in the sixteenth century and continued doing so throughout the nineteenth century (map 4). As one of the members of the recently created Russian Geographical Society, Alexander Balasoglo, said:

> The East belongs to Russia unchangeably, naturally, historically, voluntarily... It was bought with the blood of Russia already in the prehistoric quarrels of the Slavs with the Finns and the Turks, it has been suffered for in Asia through the Mongol yoke, it was welded to Russia by the Cossacks and has been earned from Europe by protecting it from the Mongols.
>
> (Balasoglo in Bassin 1994: 121).

The European character of Russia gave it a role in the civilizing mission that Balasoglo saw being fulfilled in East Asia. The abolition of serfdom after the Crimean War in 1861 meant the disruption of the social, political, and

economic system. In the midst of a rapid development of capitalism during the second half of the nineteenth century, Russia's imperialistic aspirations were fulfilled. On the one hand, Russia increased its political ascendancy in Eastern Europe. On the other, it expanded four-fold towards the east, colonizing the remaining areas of Siberia, and towards the south, menacing Persia, Afghanistan, and China. As a result, the northern third of the Asian continent, an area mainly populated by non-state societies, came under Tsarist rule (Geyer 1987).

The area conquered for Russia was then invaded by scholars, who already by the mid 1850s were sending multiple reports and scientific articles to be published in European Russia (Bassin 1994: 125). The explorer Mikhail Veniukov, then a topographical surveyor in the Far East, believed that native populations were on the brink of extinction. In an article published in 1859 on the Amur region he stated that:

> Here is manifested in all its force that unalterable law which determines that the successes of humanity even in the propagation of race are in direct correspondence with the mass of blessings that are supplied by civilisation. The hunters and gatherers who inhabit all East Asia are limited in their demands by their ignorance, wander in the vast forests among the wild mountains, exposed to all the destructive influences of Nature. Finally, unable to withstand the cruel contact with organised tribes, these peoples will forever be unable to grow and multiply... Entire Goldi families die out under the influences of the more powerful Manchurians.
>
> (Veniukov in Bassin 1994: 126).

In the case of North America, the territories of the US and Canada grew considerably throughout the nineteenth century (map 1). As regards the US, the expansion southwards, by appropriating almost half of Mexican territory in 1848, and westwards, by reaching the Pacific coast, made it the largest country in America after Brazil. The belief in the inferiority of the natives justified the dispossession of their lands by white settlers which led to the destruction of their way of life. The occupation of Indian territories was encapsulated under the formula of Manifest Destiny. Composed in the 1850s, this was a political ideology which portrayed expansion as the realization of a divine mission by a racially superior, chosen people—white, Anglo-Saxon Christians who had been selected to conquer nature and bring civilization to the Indian tribes (Patterson 1995b: 37; 1997: 45). The frontier moved from the east coast towards the west and the south driving Indians into reservations. This resulted in famine through the depletion of some of their main sources of livelihood such as buffaloes, also to war and, ultimately, to defeat. The earlier policy of dealing with tribes as nations was abandoned in the 1870s. The congress decreed that no Indian tribe 'shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe or power, with whom the United

States may contract by treaty' (in Billington 1974: 580). Natives should be treated instead as individuals and trained to assume the responsibilities of citizenship. Measures taken to ensure this were the opening of schools in reservations and the introduction of the principle of private ownership of land in reservations. In Canada, no similar decision to stop treating natives as nations was taken, although many treaties negotiated throughout the nineteenth century were systematically breached by the whites, and the extermination of the bison on which the First Nations depended led them to poverty, alienation and, in some cases, extinction. If in 1815 they constituted a fifth of the total population, by 1911 their total number had halved to just over 100,000 (Porter 1999: 533).

Internal colonialism also occurred in colonies such as South Africa and Australia. Despite the peculiarities of each historical process, both indicate a trend towards frontier expansion and appropriation by the whites of native lands. Processes of expulsion, segregation, and extermination took place and entire native populations were compelled to change their lifestyles and become part of the underclass of the capitalist state. It was believed to be a moral and even biological imperative for the superior races to emancipate other races by encouraging change and civilizing them, and it was considered that the assistance they needed for this could only be received through imperial rule. South Africa, a seventeenth-century Dutch colony occupied by Britain in 1805, slowly saw the Zulu kingdoms fall, powerless in the face of the Voortrekkers'—the white explorers'—and the white settlers' firearms. The abolition of slavery in 1828 led many Boers—South Africans of Dutch descent, also known as Afrikaners—to move northwards, displacing the native inhabitants of the country in their way. In contrast to the relatively amicable terms that Zulu agriculturalists and Bushmen had enjoyed until then, the Boers' inflexible attitude caused trouble between both native groups (Vinnicombe 1976: ch. 2). From the 1860s the discovery first of diamonds and then of gold encouraged the British to impose direct rule on coastal areas from Namibia round to Mozambique. After the Anglo-Boer War, the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910. The need for unskilled labour led the government to impose taxes and to compel Africans to work in order to have cash to pay them. The defeat of the Bambatha Rebellion in 1906 resulted in an increase of African men working in the mines. Blacks—especially Zulus—joined the ranks of the lower-status class in South African society. The unwillingness of Bushmen to integrate in the capitalist system meant either their retreat towards areas to the north, their imprisonment or extermination by the white settlers.

Similar processes occurred in other settler colonies or ex-colonies such as Australia (Evans *et al.* 1975). The independence of the United States in 1776

led the losing colonial power, Britain, to search for new places to deport its convicts and from 1788 Australia was used to that effect until the 1830s. It was effectively appropriated from 1828. The population experienced a twenty-fold increase between 1825 and 1861, by which date more than a million whites were living in the continent. By 1901 the figure had risen to over three million Euro-Australians. This increase contrasted with the reduction of Aborigines, whose population halved in number from 1861 to 1901, with less than 95,000 at the end of this period. The rapid growth in the white population encouraged expansion over areas previously untouched. The whites' use of land for pasture directly clashed with Aboriginal needs and tension and warfare rose. Those Aboriginals who became immersed into the Euro-Australian market as labourers were reduced to poverty (Porter 1999: 533; Russell 2005: ch. 4).

NON-MONUMENTAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN AMERICA

Towards the institutionalization of non-monumental antiquities

So far, America has been mentioned in connection with the monumental antiquities found in Mexico, Peru and adjacent countries in Chapters 2, 4, and 7. Yet, in most of the continent the remains of past inhabitants were of a different nature and directly linked to contemporary native populations, considered as inferior in culture and talent. This, in practice, led to the institutionalization of archaeology within the natural sciences and anthropology. The processes by which this institutionalization took place in America allow us to divide the countries in the New World into those in which industrialization was full blown, and those in which it was only incipient. Among the first group the United States took the lead, being followed, at the end of the nineteenth century, by countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and Chile.

In the nineteenth century the United States experienced rapid economic development. The eastern part of the country expanded rapidly. The building of the railway created large fortunes which were to be the motor behind the development of a cultural milieu similar to that of the European powers. The interest in the classical world, which in previous generations had already led some young members of elite society to participate in the Grand Tour (Chapter 2), was now boosted by those who had amassed fortunes. Societies were set up, museums opened and universities funded. In archaeology, the earlier interest lay in the classical world and the Archaeological Institute of

America was created for the study of this in 1879 (Dyson 1998: chs. 2–4). An interest in the Latin American civilizations grew in the US parallel to the strengthening of its economy, its greater weight in international politics, and its growing imperial aspirations. In unequal competition with the classics, the Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas were increasingly seen by scholars and public alike, especially from the last third of the nineteenth century (Chapter 7), as their own glorious past. This did not happen for the archaeology of non-state societies found anywhere in the US.

The US passed from being prey of colonizers to being a colonial empire. In the eighteenth century the European imperial powers had attempted to colonize parts of what would become the US and Canada. Following the eighteenth-century French expeditions to California and the west coast mentioned in Chapter 7, and those organized by the British on the northwest coast of America (King 2004: 235–7), others ensued (Cole 1985: ch. 3). In the nineteenth century the expeditions were mainly carried out by Americans themselves. In the expeditions to the North American continent archaeology became part of the natural sciences and anthropology, something that resulted in their joined institutionalization. Thus, information about Indians was included in the first museum of natural history set up in Philadelphia in 1794, and in 1799 native Indians, flora and fauna were put together in an appeal for information made by the American Philosophical Society. In a similar vein, American antiquities, along with rare specimens of art and nature, were among the interests of the American Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts founded in 1812 (McGuire 1992: 820). The link between natural sciences and anthropology and archaeology would be eroded, although it did not disappear, through institutionalization. Around the mid nineteenth century one of the evidences of the weakening of the connection became marked by the creation by the federal government of the Smithsonian Institution in 1846. In this institution the combination of anthropology and archaeology became further strengthened in 1879 with the establishment of two offices that developed from the Smithsonian, the Bureau of Ethnology, and the National Museum (Willey & Sabloff 1980: 41). The Bureau of Ethnology began social research based on evolutionary ideas. Its scope was to document the dwindling native cultures as well as to advise the government on Indian issues (McGuire 1992: 822). Anthropology and archaeology also became entwined in the first chair in anthropology, funded by a donation of George Peabody to Harvard in 1866 with a requirement that it purchased books and collections about American archaeology and ethnology and built a museum to house them (Patterson 1995b: 47). Years later, in 1899, the endowment of Phoebe Apperson Hearst to the University of California resulted in the creation of the Department of Anthropology and a Museum

of Archaeology, together with several monograph series (Patterson 1995b: 47). The link between archaeology, anthropology, and natural sciences was not completely erased, however, as shown by the promulgation of a single law to protect Indian sites and defend places of natural beauty in 1906 (McGuire 1992: 823).

In the rest of America—Mexico and Peru, excluded for their special cases, have been discussed in Chapter 7[1]—most of the institutions dealing with archaeology were created from the 1870s in a period coined 'the Rise of National Archaeologies' (Politis 1995: 198–201). One of the key institutions was the museum, usually connected with the local university. Museums were institutions with educational and research purposes and became so popular that it has been calculated that around 5 to 10 per cent of the local (urban?) population visited them (Pyenson & Sheets-Pyenson 1999: 143–4). In Latin American countries such as Colombia it seems that the early impetus towards the institutionalization of archaeology came to a halt later on. There, despite legislation introduced in the 1860s to prevent the export of antiquities and to ensure their protection, this measure was not immediately followed by further institutionalization. It was only in 1902 that the Academia Colombiana de Historia (Colombian Academy of History) was set up. It published a *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, which contributed significantly to the diffusion and awareness of the pre-Columbian past (Jaramillo & Oyuela-Caycedo 1994: 52–3). Yet, systematic archaeological research only started in 1913 with the German Konrad Theodor Preuss (1869–1938), who worked for the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin and excavated in San Agustín (Politis 1995: 200). Colombia's case seems to be similar to Venezuela's, where institutions dealing with archaeology would only be organized at the turn of the century. Then, the Museum of Natural Sciences in Caracas became the principal institution dealing with archaeology (Gassón & Wagner 1994: 130).

In other Latin American countries such as Chile, Argentina, and Brazil, however, the developments of the 1870s would have a longer lasting effect. In the development of archaeology at this time it is possible to see the effect of mass immigration from Europe, for many active archaeologists in these countries in the last third of the nineteenth century were scholars born and sometimes even trained in Europe. They established themselves in this part of the New World, sometimes forming closed communities. In Chile the Archaeological Society of Santiago was formed in 1878 by a group of naturalists, historians, writers, and politicians. This was followed by the German Scientific Society in 1885 and the French Society of Chile in 1891. It was within this

[1] The archaeology of Mexico and Peru also includes remains of non-state societies, but the literature about the history of institutionalization in these countries does not analyse how the interest in monuments may have affected the development of research of other types of archaeology.

framework that the archivist and historian, José Toribio Medina (1852–1930), published a monumental synthesis of Chilean archaeology, *Los Aborígenes de Chile* (*Chile's Aborigines*) in 1882 (Rivera & Orellana 1994).

In Argentina the key figure at the outset would be Florentino Ameghino (1854–1911), a palaeontologist whose interests ranged from anthropology, zoology, geology to archaeology. Among his publications was *Antigüedades indias de la Banda Oriental* (*Indian antiquities of the East*), written while he was exiled in Uruguay and published in 1877. It served as the basis for Uruguayan archaeology thereafter (Schávelzon 2004). Ameghino published copiously on Argentinian archaeology, including syntheses such as *L'Homme préhistorique dans le bassin de la Plata* (*The Antiquity of Man in the Plata Basin*), written in French for the International Congress of Anthropological Sciences held in Paris in 1878. Many of his hypotheses would become key for the development of archaeology in Argentina, though several were subsequently proved wrong, including his proposal that human evolution had originated in Argentina, a suggestion he made following an evolutionary logic based on the fossils collected in Patagonia. This thesis was opposed by Karl Hermann Burmeister (1807–92), a German living in Buenos Aires and the director of the National Museum from 1863, who refused to accept evolutionism. From 1886 Ameghino worked in the Museo de la Plata. Shortly afterwards, in 1888, he obtained the chair of Zoology at the University of Córdoba (Politis 1999: 4), but moved again when he became the director of the National Museum of Natural History of Buenos Aires (Lopes & Podgorny 2001). Not far from Buenos Aires, the Museum of La Plata was opened in 1877, partly thanks to the collections obtained in the 'Conquest of the Desert' by Francisco Moreno, a prosperous expert in the natural sciences, who seemed to have a fascination with human skulls (Cornell 1999: 193; Podgorny 1997: 749). In 1890 two scientific journals appeared, the *Revista del Museo de La Plata* and *Anales*. In the early twentieth century government supported research in the Paraná delta by Torres, and in the Pampas and Patagonia by Felix Faustino Outes (1878–1939, an archaeologist who worked in the archaeology section of the National Museum of Natural History) and Salvador Debenedetti (1884–1930), employed by the Ethnographical Museum (Politis 1995: 198–200).

Brazil had a very early institution, the Instituto Histórico, Geográfico e Etnográfico Brasileiro (IHGE, Historic, Geographic, and Ethnographic Institute of Brazil), created in 1838, which, as explained in Chapter 4, became the focus of nineteenth-century cultural life in Brazil. Between the 1860s and the 1880s the initiative in research was located in the museums, the Museu Paraense of Belém and the Museu Paulista in São Paulo and, above all, the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro. The latter had a budget more than half the size of that common in Europe (Pyenson & Sheets-Pyenson 1999: 139).

This institution pioneered studies of lithics, due to the influence of both foreigners (the Frenchman Charles Wiener (1851–1919) and the Canadian Charles Friedrich Hartt (1840–78)) and to Brazilian scholars (Herculano Ferreira Penna (1810–67) and João Barbosa Rodrigues (1842–1909)). Other studies were undertaken by Hartt, Karl Rath, Ricardo Krone (1861–1918) and the German naturalist Fritz Mueller (1821–97), who analysed shell mounds and human anthropology, the latter while being employed by the National Museum (Funari 1999: 20). A Swiss scholar, Emil Goeldi (1859–1917), worked for the Pará Museum (Museu Paraense), which he used as the basis from which to explore the Amazon Basin. The number of foreign scholars working on Brazilian archaeology was not dissimilar to those employed in other spheres of Brazilian life during the nineteenth century, a time when the country experienced a large migrating influx from Europe. The diaspora of European archaeologists working in Brazil contributed to the arrival of the hegemonic knowledge. Such information, however, came through other routes as well, as shown by the correspondence maintained between members of the IHGB and partners in other parts of the Western world. An analysis of its content has highlighted the existence of a fluid communication between Brazilian and other researchers in the world, including colleagues from institutions such as the Ethnological Society of Paris, the Society of American Archaeology, the Society of American Ethnology, the Society of Antiquaries of France, and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians of Denmark (Ferreira 1999: 25). This high level of interaction also took place with other neighbouring countries such as Argentina, as illustrated by the frequent communications between Brazilian and Argentinian curators of natural history museums with archaeological collections during the second half of the nineteenth century (Lopes & Podgorny 2001).

As in Brazil, in Canada contacts with Europe together with the immigration of European scholars and the founding of societies and opening of museums became an important factor for the development of archaeology. Societies were created from the 1820s but only in the 1850s did some interest in archaeology develop in the Natural History Society of Montreal (1827), the Canadian Institute (1851), the Natural History Society of New Brunswick (St John), and the Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science (Halifax), the latter two founded in 1862. Anthropological collections were housed in museums that were being created at the time, such as the Ottawa National Museum, Montreal's Natural History Society museum, the McGill University's Peter Redpath Museum, the museum of Laval University and the Ryerson's Museum of Natural History and Fine Arts. These were small museums in comparison to some in Latin America but not unlike many provincial museums in Europe (Pyenson & Sheets-Pyenson 1999: 143–4).

Following the creation of an Anthropological Division in 1910 the Geological Survey of Canada played a major role in the development of professional archaeology in the country (Richling 2004). Archaeology's appeal was very limited, mainly because of the non-existence of spectacular remains like the large mounds in parts of the United States that had fired public imagination and encouraged funding for archaeological work. Despite this, in Canada there were some amateurs as well as the first semi-professional archaeologists, such as Daniel Wilson (1816–92), and the geologist John William Dawson (1820–99). Wilson arrived in Toronto from his native Scotland in 1853 to occupy the chair of History and English Literature at University College. He remained in Canada for the rest of his life. The first professional archaeologist—properly speaking—in the country was the archaeological curator at the Canadian Institute Museum, Toronto, David Boyle (1842–1911), who was employed from 1884. Wilson and Boyle were both from Scotland, although the latter arrived in Canada when he was only fourteen years old. Wilson, as well as Dawson, studied at the University of Edinburgh. There was no official archaeology teaching in Canadian universities until the late 1930s, although from 1857 Daniel Wilson had offered a course on ancient and modern ethnology (Killan 2004; Trigger 1981).

Hegemonic discourses and alternatives

In America—as elsewhere, as will also be seen later in the chapter—the inferiority of non-state societies both present and past became the accepted hegemonic discourse. Because of their assumed backwardness the natives and their historical ancestors were not credited with the creation of any archaeological remains which resembled those of the Great Civilizations. These small-scale societies were thought to be on the brink of extinction and some went so far as to claim that their disappearance would be beneficial to the nation. By their racial and cultural nature they could not possibly be considered as citizens of a modern nation. These beliefs became explicitly developed in the museums opened at this time and in publications, and many archaeologists contributed to the vision of the native as retarded and in need of change.

In the US the Smithsonian Institution dedicated its first volume in the series of *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge* to a study of the intriguing monuments, in the form of massive mounds, found in the Mississippi Valley, ascribed to the mound builders (Barnhart 2005: ch. 4). Many hypotheses had been proposed concerning their origins but in all cases it seemed clear to most

that the native populations in the area could not have built them. In 1848 skull measurements were used by Ephraim George Squier (1821–88) and Edwin Hamilton Davis (1811–88) to demonstrate the differences between modern native populations and the people who had erected the mounds (*ibid.* 92–3). The estrangement of American Indians from these archaeological remains bore obvious implications related to the rights to the land on which they were built. By the time this thesis had been proved wrong in 1894 by the entomologist Cyrus Thomas (1825–1910), many natives had been slaughtered and State legislation had divided reservations into small parcels making it possible for whites to appropriate part of them (Hinsley 1981; McGuire 1992; Patterson 1991: 247).

One of the major debates at the time was whether natives belonged to the same human species as Euro-Americans. One of those contributing to the debate in Canada was Daniel Wilson, who during his time in Scotland had been influenced by phrenology (Chapter 12). Wilson still maintained the Enlightenment belief that all human races derived from a common origin, a theory which was known as monogenism. He expressed this view both in his teaching—in his course on ancient and modern ethnology—and in his publications. In his *Prehistoric Man* (1862) he drew parallels between prehistoric Europe and America, arguing that the similarities were due to independent cultural evolutions from an initial psychic unity. As he put it:

> It is not easy to discriminate here between hereditary race differences and those due to food and habit of life . . . Some of the most confident judgments which have been delivered on this subject have been distorted by prejudice or wilful slander, as in the many lamentable cases in which slave-holders or conquerors have excused their ill-treatment of subject and invaded races on the ground of their being creatures of bestial nature in mind and morals
>
> (Wilson 1885).[2]

Wilson rejected Darwinian evolutionism and this, along with his growing involvement in university administration—he became the president of his university in 1887—may have prevented him from becoming one of the leading archaeologists of his time (Trigger 1981; Trigger in Murray 2001: 1325). However, his guidance was important to Boyle, who was appointed curator at the Canadian Institute Museum in Toronto in 1884. Wilson did not consider that natives had a history. In the classification of his large collection of artefacts, for example, he employed functional criteria, and made no attempt to establish a chronological sequence. This approach

[2] In www.chass.utoronto.ca/anthropology/history.htm.

contrasts with his earlier contributions to Scottish archaeology, where he had been the first to apply the Three Age System outside Scandinavia (Rowley-Conwy forthcoming). At the time, Wilson was not an exception, for his classificatory methods were the norm until the First World War. No time depth was assumed for the past of the native Indians and this meant that ethnographic data were used to explain the archaeological remains found in the region.

The native was generally considered by most to be unrelated to the modern nation. This view was explicitly argued by some museums. In Argentina, a text written in 1910 describing the Museum of La Plata made clear that indigenous peoples were not included in the national account of Argentinian history:

> Above all . . . we find little or nothing arising from indigenous barbarism before the discovery or the Spanish Conquest. Recollections of this genre have not been excluded through desire or caprice, but rather because, in reality, Argentine culture owes little or nothing to that barbarism . . . Our civilization is the legitimate descendant of the ancient civilizations of Europe: Greece, Rome, Spain. Rather than their ideals or knowledge the Indians contributed or sacrificed generously to the Argentine culture their blood, their precious blood of free peoples; and blood does not coagulate in museums but rather boils in the veins!
>
> (in Podgorny 1997: 750).

In Argentina, the view that natives did not form part of the nation had been expressed in the 1870s by Bartolomé Mitre (1821–1906), who in addition to being a historian was the President of Argentina between 1862 and 1868. He considered natives as uncivilized and unconnected to the great pre-Columbian civilizations and, therefore, the written documentation as the only relevant as the base for the study of the national past. His opinions were not unlike those of many others in Latin America. Some scholars claimed that any attempts to civilize the natives would be to no avail, and that, because these inferior races had not contributed to the progress of the nation in any respect, their disappearance would, in fact, be beneficial for the development of the nation. Among those who maintained these opinions was, in Brazil, the director of the Paulista Museum between 1895 and 1916, the German naturalist Hermann von Ihering (1850–1930), a racist who defended the extermination of native Indians in Brazil, but who was finally forced out of his job for political reasons in 1916 (Funari 1999: 20).

Yet, not all scholars denied natives' potential for becoming civilized and their right to form part of the nation. A case in point is the polemic that Mitre had with the other major historian in Argentina, Vicente Fidel López (Schávelzon 2004: 21–2). López insisted on the importance of oral history

and of natives as valid interlocutors in the search for the past. Another alternative discourse was that of miscegenation, i.e. the mixture of races, an idea developed in the Enlightenment period and maintained by some throughout the nineteenth century. Brazil had several cases of scholars who saw miscegenation as a possible pathway towards civilization. One was the director of the Museo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, who saw the Botocudos tribe as the example of the most underdeveloped people and believed that transforming the Brazilian race from black to white was the only means to civilization (Lopes & Podgorny 2001: 116). Another was the army officer and anthropologist-archaeologist Couto de Magalhães (1837–98), an associate of the IHGE. His view of the racial history of Brazil was different to those described so far. Despite believing that there was a gradation in the primitiveness of races, he maintained that racial mixture did not result in degeneration but in the creation of strong, new races (Ferreira 1999; Ferreira 2003a). He advised against military colonization similar to that of the British in India, the Russians in Asia and the French in Algeria, as well as against the maltreatment of native Americans then taking place in Argentina, Chile, Peru, and Bolivia, and against the extermination policies in the US. Instead, he argued that an understanding of the indigenous culture was essential and the crossing of races fundamental to the creation of a strong and courageous population adapted to the environment and climate of Brazil (Ferreira 2003a). This discourse, however, was not expressed in museum displays. It is also interesting to note that while some Latin American scholars considered miscegenation in a positive light, this was not generally the case among their colleagues in the north of the continent, who saw the current miscegenation—mestizoization (as it was then called)—of the white population with natives as a negative element for progress. Latin Americans, therefore, needed North Americans to guide them towards social order and progress. This was American Manifest Destiny in Central and South America. One of those believing this was Squier, mentioned earlier in this section (Squier & Davis 1848: 155).

PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

The route towards the institutionalization of prehistoric antiquities

In Asia, in addition to the monumental remains associated with the civilizations of the Scythes, Islamism, Buddhism, Hinduism, the Khmer, and Champa (Chapters 7 to 9), other discoveries were made that were dated to

earlier periods. The treatment given to the archaeology of developed civilizations was markedly different to that accorded to the finds associated with groups considered much simpler as regards their social organization. Prehistoric antiquities failed to raise the same interest as those of later dates. Only occasionally did the scholars dealing with monumental archaeology pay attention to material of earlier periods. Consequently, in practice, archaeologists became divided into two major groups: the prehistorians and those dealing with historical archaeology. This situation was not unlike that of Europe, where there was a dichotomy between anthropologists/natural scientists/prehistoric archaeologists and philologists/historians of law and religion/historical archaeologists (Chapters 11 to 13). In Asia, whereas the latter group were able to convince the state of their value and became institutionalized to some degree before the First World War (Chapters 7 to 9), this only happened to most studies of prehistoric archaeology from the turn of the century, particularly from the 1920s, as will be explained below. Exceptions to this were India and Japan. In India, the interest in the Aryan past awakened a certain curiosity towards prehistoric antiquities (Chapter 8). In Japan the process of Westernization led to a greater appreciation of prehistoric archaeology which had a nineteenth-century development within the fields of geology and anthropology (Chapter 7).

In the case of colonial archaeology, enquiry marched along imperial lines. Hence, the Russians and the British were the protagonists of the investigations taking place in Eastern Asia and India respectively, whereas the French and the Dutch were dominant in Indochina and in Indonesia (Chapter 8, map 3). In Russia reports on the existence of rock art in the Amur region (map 2) had already appeared at the time of the first explorations, but their proper study would only take place in the 1930s (Okladnikov 1981: 12–13). Generally, however, the prehistoric remains in the Asian territories occupied during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries went largely undetected in contrast to the emphasis on excavations and studies on the Scythian, Persian, and Sassanian sites as well as those located on the ancient Silk Road (Norman 1997: 89) (Chapter 9). In Indochina, for instance, some of the studies were undertaken by French anthropologists and prehistoric archaeologists based in France such as Émile Cartailhac (in 1877 and 1890, while he was editor of the journal *L'Anthropologie*). Others were Ernest Hamy (in 1897 while Professor of Anthropology at the Museum of Natural History of Paris), and René Verneau (in 1904 while working in the Museum of Natural History and as a Professor of Anthropology from 1909) (Saurin 1969). Most of those who published, however, lived in the area and worked in professions such as marine pharmacy or teaching (*ibid.*). The creation of the Service géologique de l'Indochine (Indochina Geological Service) in 1899 provided

an institutional framework for prehistoric studies that was separate from that of monumental archaeology, undertaken in the École Française d'Extrême Orient. Interest in the Neolithic mound Somrong Sen led to an excavation by the palaeontologist Henri Mansuy in 1902, in which an archaeological sequence was created on the basis of the 4.5 m. stratigraphy (Higham 1989: 21; Mansuy 1925: 6; Saurin 1969). In Indonesia, the Archaeological Service only declared research on prehistoric archaeology under its domain from 1920. Before then studies were undertaken by interested individuals from many quarters. Some carried out their studies from Holland, such as the director of the Museum of Antiquities of Leiden, Conrade Leemans, who in 1852 would be one of the first to classify stone adzes. Other studies centred on bronze drums, other bronze finds, megalithic remains, and ancient beads (Soejono 1969; Tanudirjo 1995).

It was only in the case of weak colonial powers, like Spain in the Philippines, that scholars from other countries took the lead. Thus, despite the interest taken in the anthropology of the Philippines by Spanish researchers (Romero de Tejada 1995; Sánchez Gómez 1987; 2003), the most important investigations into prehistoric archaeology were led by the French explorer Alfred Marche (1844–98), who stayed in the Philippines (map 3) for several years in the late 1870s and during the 1880s. In 1881 Marche explored two of the Philippine islands and collected a great range of material, mainly from burial caves. Thus pottery, glazed burial jars, semi-stoneware, human skeletons, and burial ornaments were sent to the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in Paris, though some material ended up in Madrid (Evangelista 1969: 98–9). Marche's work coincided with the less systematic work led by learned native scholars, such as Joseph Montano (b. 1844) and the doctor Paul Rey from 1878–81, and the Filipino national hero, Jose Rizal (1861–96), in 1894 (Evangelista 1969: 99).

In those British colonies where ancient monuments were absent, archaeological research slowly made an appearance around the 1870s. In New Zealand, for example, earlier enquiries had been based on language and ethnography, and at the start of the nineteenth century there was some debate about whether the Maori were of either Semitic or Indian origin. This debate continued in later decades in the context of the New Zealand Institute created in 1867 (Ballantyne 2002: ch. 2). More important for the development of prehistoric archaeology is the fact that by 1877 there were five towns which had museums with natural history collections in them—Nelson, Christchurch, Wellington, Auckland, and Dunedin, though they were generally less well funded and staffed than those in Europe. The Canterbury Museum in Christchurch, New Zealand, for example, received less funding than the average provincial museum in Britain (Pyenson & Sheets-Pyenson 1999: 139,

144). Sir Julius von Haast (1824–87) researched several sites in Canterbury, and identified an earlier period in which human remains were found in association with an extinguished large bird, the Moa, and a later Maori period. Debates focused on whether or not these two populations were linked. The founding of the Polynesian Society in 1892 was mainly connected with the study of the latter and it was only in 1919 that teaching and systematic archaeological fieldwork started in the country with the appointment of Henry D. Skinner as lecturer in ethnology at Otago University[3] (Davidson 1988: 6).

In Australia there were about a dozen museums by the 1870s and the stimulus provided by the learned local societies led to a similar number opening between then and 1900—this, despite the acute economic depression of the early 1890s, which had serious consequences for museums such as the Queensland Museum at Brisbane and the museum with natural science collections in Sydney (Pyenson & Sheets-Pyenson 1999: 144–5). However, many learned individuals became largely uninterested in forming archaeological collections, for it was thought that contemporary objects represented history sufficiently well. Despite this, a few stone tools found their way into museums, especially in the first half of the twentieth century, mainly after the period this book deals with. These had been amassed by amateur collectors who earned their living as engineers, metallurgists, geologists, farmers, doctors, and educationalists. These finds were all the result of surface collections. Excavation was not deemed necessary as it was believed that the arrival of Aborigines in Australia was relatively recent (Griffiths 1996: 67, 78). The differences between Tasmania and Australia were associated typologically with the European Palaeolithic and the Palaeolithic/Neolithic respectively. Some more 'advanced' technology was considered anomalous and its presence explained through diffusion (McNiven & Russell 2005: 147) Failure to find archaeological remains in stratigraphic contexts further diminished the role of archaeology in the colonial understanding of Australia (Griffiths 1996; White & O'Connell 1982: 22–8). This meant that the discussion on evolutionism after Charles Darwin's publication of *The Origin of Species* (1859) barely touched upon archaeological local issues, but encompassed the previously existing belief in the racial inferiority of natives, who were doomed to extinction (Butcher 1999; McNiven & Russell 2005: 99–100) (for New Zealand see Stenhouse 1999).

[3] From 1937 he would be the Curator of Anthropology at the Otago Museum.

The influence of the European model in prehistoric archaeology of colonial Asia and the Pacific

The study of prehistoric archaeology in Asia was not independent of developments in Europe. On the contrary, the European model became hegemonic for the description of prehistoric collections. The major periods dividing European prehistory—still in debate at this time—were used as guiding principles by those dealing with prehistoric antiquities elsewhere. Findings made in Europe raised expectations as to what could be found in other parts of the world. Learned individuals were generally aware of the main publications of European prehistory and undertook research in the other continents based on references in them. Examples of this can be found in relation to the chronological division of finds, also in the study of megalithic monuments, as well as in a topic developed in the following section, the influence of race in the study of prehistoric remains. Regarding chronology, the European sequence served as an essential basis for the classification of prehistoric material elsewhere. The discoveries of the Somme valley in France (Chapter 12), for example, were a direct inspiration to Robert Bruce Foote (1834–1912), a geologist who arrived in India to join the Indian Geological Survey in 1858 and made his first archaeological discoveries in Madras in 1863. Throughout the next three decades his geological surveys allowed him to detect over 450 sites in southern India and Gujarat, which he identified as dating to the Palaeolithic, Neolithic, and Iron Age (Paddayya 1995: 130–1). The European influence was also felt in Indochina, where research on prehistoric material centred on the Neolithic and the Bronze Age.

One clear example of how the European mould influenced the archaeology of Asia and the Pacific is that of the study of megaliths, as seen in India and Australia, as well as in independent countries such as China. McNiven and Russell (2005: ch. 4) have identified this as disassociation, a trope of European colonialism. The identification of monumental structures with other similar ones in Europe led many scholars to the assumption of ultimate European authorship, and therefore to the disassociation of the monuments from native populations. There are many cases of the European influence in the classification of pre-contact monuments elsewhere. One of the first was Colonel Meadows Taylor (1808–76) during his tenure as the Political Agent of the British in the principality of Shorapur in North Karnataka in 1842–53. At the time of the discoveries of megalithic monuments of Carnac (Brittany, France) and England he found, mapped and excavated prehistoric sites such as dolmens, cists and circles now known to be dated to the Iron Age (Paddayya

1995: 123–5). Australia's[4] supposedly megalithic stone circles were also interpreted in light of European findings and regarded as pertaining to the barbaric stage. As Westropp put it in 1872:

> In Australia, the Penrhyn Islands, and other islands of the Pacific Ocean, and also among the Hovas of Madagascar, where stone circles and megalithic structures occur, people are in the lowest state of barbarism. We may, therefore, come to this conclusion in regard to these megalithic structures, that they are not peculiar to the Celtic, Scythian, or any other people, but are the result of an endeavour to secure a lasting place of sepulture among a people in a rude and primitive phase of civilization; and that they were raised by men who were led by a natural instinct to build them in the simplest, and consequently the almost identical form in all countries.
>
> (in McNiven and Russell 2005: 105).

Much later in time, in 1914, the knowledge of Breton megalithic monuments was paramount in attracting the attention of the French archaeologist-poet, Victor Segalen (1878–1919), to similar structures in China (Debaine-Francfort 1999: 20).

Race in prehistoric Asia

Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919), a German zoologist who will be mentioned later in the chapter because of his application of Darwin's ideas to human evolution, had also a key importance to the study of prehistoric Asia. Mainly after the late 1860s, he concerned himself with the ranking of races, starting with those of Europe, and following with others elsewhere. He believed that the various human races originated from different ape species. He thought that the Aryans represented the highest form of human evolution, and not surprisingly perhaps as a German himself, he considered German Aryans to be the highest echelon (Bunzl 1996; MacMaster 2001: 39). This belief in the Aryans as the most advanced race was followed by many, although alternatives were proposed not only in Germany but also in Britain and France (Leoussi 1998). The concept of race had been important from earlier in the century (Chapter 12), and its research had been fostered by its connection with philological studies. One of the key discoveries which fuelled nineteenth-century racism was the connection between Sanskrit and the languages in Europe, a link established by the Sanskrit scholar, Sir

[4] Also in Australia the explorer Lt George Grey argued in the 1840s that the Wandjina paintings were associated with the worship of the Egyptian god Amun. Others saw them as a result of racial mixture of peoples from Asia and Europe (McNiven and Russell 2005: 135–8).

William Jones (1746–94). Soon after this discovery, in 1813, scholars had identified Sanskrit-speakers as Aryans (Chapter 8). This equation became accepted as a truism in the second half of the nineteenth century. In India, therefore, even prehistoric archaeologists could not escape the curiosity of philologists and physical anthropologists who urged the former to research into the past to discover the origins of the peoples who spoke Indo-European languages in the area, the Aryans.

In India the link between archaeology and physical anthropology materialized in research projects such as those commissioned by the Civil Service of India to Herbert Hope Risley (1851–1911) in the 1880s. His aim was to define and explain the geographical distribution of racial types. He did so systematically measuring a selected set of physical features of a sample of the population. His research also had an impact on the understanding of prehistoric India. According to Risley, observation of the present was 'the best guide to the reconstruction of the past' and this because Indian society was 'in many respects still primitive', and it preserved, 'like a palimpsest manuscript, survivals of immemorial antiquity' (Risley in Chakrabarti 1997: 122). The dolichocephalic (i.e. long skull) leptorrhine type was located in the Punjab and the northwestern frontier of India and its members were regarded as 'the descendants of the invading Aryans of 3,000 years ago' (in Chakrabarti 1997: 119). Risley believed he could see a progressive increase of the dolichocephalic element in the population in the Ganges valley towards the 'traditional Aryan tract' and considered the invading Aryans to have imposed the caste system. The racial division was both geographically, and socially, distributed. He maintained that the more modern Aryan element prevailed in the upper end of the caste system whereas at its lower end the previous Dravidian component predominated. The oldest inhabitants of India—i.e. those of lower castes—were 'recognisable at a glance by his black skin, his squat figure and the Negro-like proportions of his nose' (in Chakrabarti 1997).

Racial impurity could be explained by past population dynamics and this was employed as a justification for imperialism and foreign rule. As Risley explained in 1908:

> The invaders, however great their strength, could bring relatively few women in their train. This indeed is the determining factor both of the ethnology and the history of India. As each wave of conquerors . . . That entered the country by land became more or less absorbed in the indigenous population, their physique degenerated, their individuality vanished, their energy was sapped, and dominion passed from their hands into those of more vigorous successors. Ex Occidente Imperium; the genius of empire in India has come to her from the West; and can be maintained only by constant infusions of fresh blood from the same source.
>
> (in Chakrabarti 1997: 128).

Risley presented these ideas in authoritative fori such as the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* of Great Britain and Ireland and the International Congress of Orientalists (*ibid.* 117, 120). His influence endured, as he largely set the agenda for research in the field of race and language for many decades. Subsequent debates took his work as a point of departure, from the 1918 *History of Aryan Rule in India* by Ernest Binfield Havell (1861–1934),[5] to the racial classification proposed by John Henry Hutton in the *Census of India*, 1931, and more recent publications (*ibid.* 131–51).

Not only in India did race become a major area of enquiry. In other parts of Asia the interest in prehistoric remains by physical anthropologists also existed although it started later. In Indochina, for example, the first skulls analysed were those found in Pho Binh Gia and dated to the Neolithic, which had been discovered by Henri Mansuy and analysed in 1909 by the Professor of Anthropology at the Museum of Natural History of Paris, René Verneau (1852–1938). Both archaeologists and anthropologists became fascinated with crania and other body parts, which were meticulously collected, measured, and photographed (Stocking 1991; Zimmerman 2001). The conjunction between physical anthropology and archaeology also became apparent at exhibitions. The use of body casts representing racial types displayed along with plaster copies of ancient monuments seen in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition organized in 1886 was not an exception (Barringer & Flynn 1997: 23). A similar connection between ethnology, racial types (physical anthropology) and archaeology took place in the exhibition organized in Madrid in 1887 on the eve of a conflict with Germany over the ownership of the Caroline Islands in the Philippines (they were finally sold to Germany in 1899). Living displays were accompanied by archaeological remains, human bones and collections of fossils (Sánchez Gómez 1987: 168). This type of exhibits became common in Europe and North America at the time. Humans were displayed either as casts or represented with natives brought for the occasion, and examples are found from colonies all over the world (Coombes 1994; Hamilton 1998; MacMaster 2001: 74–8; Pagani 1997: 38).

[5] In 1918, at the end of the First World War, Havell published *The History of Aryan Rule in India*, in which he stated that Indian loyalty to the Empire during the war was related to their recognition 'that the present Aryan rulers of India . . . are generally animated by that same love of justice and fair play, the same high principles of conduct and respect for humanitarian laws, which guided the ancient Aryan statesmen and law-givers in their relations with the Indian masses' (in Chakrabarti 1997: 147). The author argued that the people of India accepted Aryan domination [i.e. British domination] as the greatest of divine blessings. British rule was legitimated on the basis of its Aryan character (1997: 231).

European racial ideas also permeated research on human evolution in which a direct link was made between modern non-state societies still widely using lithic technology and the earliest human ancestors. In 1863 the British scholar Thomas Huxley (1825–95) argued that the skulls of modern Australian Aborigines were similar to those of Neanderthals and suggested that they were also culturally alike. In a similar vein, in 1869 one of the earlier researchers on Australian anthropology, the English-born explorer Alfred William Howitt (1830–1908), after having read Lyell, Darwin, and Lubbock, stated that:

> I have come to the conclusion that the Australian black is a wild man by nature and you 'cannot wash a blackamoor white'... These blacks have the minds of children and the bodies of adults. I think they are indigenous to the soil and date from a period anterior to the great physical changes in Australian Geology which prevented migration into Australia of the fauna of the later Tertiary.
>
> (in Mulvaney 1987: 64).

National pride and human evolution: the discovery of Java Man

The lack of institutionalization of prehistoric archaeology in most of colonial Asia did not prevent some individuals understanding their own research as abetting national and imperial pride and making amazing discoveries to this end. This was the case of Eugene Dubois (1858–1940), a Dutch palaeontologist who went to Java in search of the missing link between apes and humans. His search was influenced by the theory of evolutionism proposed by Charles Darwin in his *Origin of Species* of 1859 (Chapter 13) and especially by the scholar who promoted his ideas in relation to human prehistory, the German zoologist Ernst Haeckel. In his *History of Creation* of 1868, Haeckel had proposed that humankind had originated in Lemuria, a sunken continent that he located beneath the Indian Ocean. The interest raised by the discovery of a Pleistocene chimpanzee-like ape in the Siwalik Hills in India in 1878 led Darwin, Huxley, and Wallace to sponsor explorations in the Sarawak caves (East Malaysia in Borneo), in particular at the Great Cave at Niah (Sherratt 2002). Although nothing was found there on this occasion (the potential of the caves was only demonstrated eighty years later), by the time the bad news got out there was another man in Java, the Dutch anatomist Eugene Dubois, who was also looking for the existence of the missing link in Asia. His choice of Indonesia was based on the belief, based on the theory of Charles Lyell and Alfred Russel Wallace (but not Darwin), that the closest ape ancestors to humans were the orang-utan and the gibbon.

The similarity between the fossil fauna of Indonesia and that found in India also made Dubois suspect the existence of fossil humans in the Dutch colony. After failing in his petition for funds from the Dutch state, he applied for and obtained a post as medical officer in Sumatra. He started his research in 1888 in his free time. Despite his initial poor results, he immediately resolved to publish, finishing his first article with a patriotic call: 'Will the Netherlands',—he exclaimed—'which has done so much for the natural sciences of the East Indies colonies, remain indifferent where such important questions are concerned, while the road to their solutions has been shown?' (in Swisher III *et al.* 2000: 62). His heartfelt cry to science and national pride worked. He was relieved of his duties and assigned two engineers and fifteen forced labourers. Dubois moved to Java in 1891 where he found first a tooth and, a month later, a skull, and then, in the campaign of 1892, a femur. He classified the remains as a new species, calling it *Pithecanthropus erectus*, the erect ape-man. Apart from Haeckel and a couple of other specialists, his finding was not accepted. Interestingly, national traditions affected the criticisms Dubois received: whereas British anthropologists favoured the notion that the skull was human, German scholars (Vichow included)[6] defined it as belonging to an ape (Swisher III *et al.* 2000: 69).

Dubois' fieldwork was followed in 1906–8 by a German team led by Margarethe Leonore Selenka (1860–1922). The expedition undertook an extensive palaeoanthropological excavation on the opposite side of the river from Dubois' Trinil fossils (Tanudirjo 1995: 67). This expedition had originally been organized by Margarethe's late husband, the Munich Professor Emil Selenka (1842–1902), but his death prompted her to take over. Margarethe Selenka, known for her involvement in the Women's Rights and Peace movement (Kätzel 2001), led a team of seventeen specialists. In the bulky scientific report produced in 1911 the evidence presented contradicted Dubois' findings. It was claimed that Dubois had overestimated the chronology of the stratum where the Pithecanthropus fossils had been found. It is interesting to note that while national pride had prompted the authorities to finance Dubois and the scholarly communities to be organized along national lines, the sponsorship for Selenka's research was only possible because German colonial interest in neighbouring Micronesia was at its height.

[6] Rudolf Virchow had once been Ernst Haeckel's tutor. He was not opposed to Darwinism, but was very cautious about rushing interpretations. He first argued that there was a lack of data regarding missing links or modern human ancestors. When Neanderthals were discovered, he maintained that the differences could be explained by a range of pathologies. Then, when two fragments of Pithecanthropus, a femur and a skullcap, were discovered by the Dutch E. Dubois, Virchow claimed that the first remains were of a human deformed by pathologies and the second belonged to a giant gibbon (Ackerknecht 1953 (1981): 200–3).

PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

The archaeology of the outcast

'Outcasts of the earliest ages . . . eternally exiled by their vice, to live the life of human beasts', their souls and 'finer feelings inert and torpid through disuse' (in Lilly 1993: 44). These were the words of the British explorer David Livingstone (1813–73) referring to a couple of pigmies he had captured to be measured for the benefit of science. His words were not exceptional in the context of nineteenth-century scholarship, as well as within popular culture, for which sub-Saharan Africa was the paramount example of primitivism and underdevelopment. This could be seen in other museums opened earlier in the century, like the South African Museum, which operated in Cape Town from 1825. The title of a book by its director from 1902 to 1942, *Bushman, Whale and Dinosaur* (Rose 1961), emphasized the contents of the museum (Davidson 1998: n. 1), where natives were represented in the museum side by side with animals and fossils. Later in the nineteenth century the colonial appropriation of the rest of sub-Saharan Africa led each of the powers to organize bodies of experts to understand the terrain and the peoples living in it. The stress, therefore, was given to mapping and naming both things and peoples. The location of natives at the lower end of the evolutionary scale meant that the study of ancient implements was not considered essential by most European scholars. It was thought that the immediate present gave direct clues to the past. The colonial rulers thought along similar lines and this explains why in sub-Saharan Africa institutions were created only from the 1930s, and in most cases after the Second World War (Ardouin 1997). The exception to this was South Africa, where the consolidated white presence in the area had resulted in earlier institutions, such as the museum cited above. In it the primitivist portrayal of the black population remained throughout the period under study. The display emphasized the contrast between the blacks, especially the Bushmen people, and the white north European. The simple life of the black represented the primitive otherness. This image formed the base of a popular exhibit organized in the South African Museum in 1912, when casts of thirteen /Xam women and men were commissioned and the resulting models organized into several dioramas representing traditional ways of life (Davidson 1998: n. 1; Skotnes 2001). This display would remain, with minor changes, for many decades.

Despite official disregard and generalized lack of institutionalization, prehistoric archaeology still attracted the attention of some learned colonial collectors. Their practice is an example of the effect in the colonial milieu of

the growing interest and popularization of prehistoric archaeology in Europe. South Africa is a colony for which there is a wide knowledge of the collectors' social background and their links with Europe. They included among their number geologists, doctors, civil servants, engineers, and soldiers (Mitchell 1998: table 3; 2001: table 2). Interestingly, a group of them belonged to the highest echelons of South African society and were bonded by ties of marriage and personal friendship. This group undertook some of the earliest excavations in the 1880s and also published the first synthesis of the prehistory of South Africa. Articles on South African archaeology were sent to local journals such as the *Transactions of the South African Philosophical Society* as well as to learned periodicals in the metropolis, such as those of the Anthropological Institute, the Anthropological and Ethnological Society of London, and the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society.

Archaeology formed only a part of the anthropological package. Some of the newcomers soon became interested in making new discoveries in the new territories. Thus, in 1905 the collector Louis Evans declared, soon after he arrived in Natal, that he 'was prompted to visit the caves of the Drakensberg to try to find evidence of the history of the people, or peoples, who had in the past times inhabited these shelters' (in Mazel 1992: 762). For those interested in archaeology, ancient objects further demonstrated Africa's primitivism as well as serving as evidence that not all human societies had evolved at the same pace. It was widely believed that in Africa cultural development had been slower than anywhere else in the world. This was argued, for example, by X. Stainier in his *L'Âge de la Pierre au Congo* published in 1899, in which he highlighted the similarities between modern and prehistoric material culture and saw them as a proof of the backwardness of the African peoples (Hobart *et al.* 2002: 69; McIntosh 2001: 23). In this light, the finds gathered by South African collectors were described as having been produced by Bushmen or San people, reinforcing in this way the perception of them as primitive, as relics of the past (Shepherd 2003: 829).

European findings were in the mind of many. In South Africa, the description of stone tools and the typological sequences built with them followed Gabriel de Mortillet's scheme (Shepherd 2003: 828). It has also been observed that collectors tended to select Middle Stone Age implements, no doubt because their size made them more visible, but also for the reason that amateurs found them familiar because of their greater similarity to European assemblages (Mitchell 2001: 47). Indeed, it was because of this similarity that some collections were readily accepted in the British Museum and the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. One of these collections formed mainly of stone artefacts was sold in 1885 to the British Museum. It had been formed by a Scottish-born explorer, Andrew Anderson, on his travels during the two

previous decades in a wide area including South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe (Mitchell 2001). In addition to objects related to the Stone Age, African treasures mainly plundered in the context of conquest also arrived in European institutions. Thus, valuables from conquered monarchs were seized and sent to the metropolis. This is how treasures from Segou, Amadou Tall, and Babema Traoré reached Paris in the latter years of the nineteenth century. Some collections formed by individuals with both ethnographic and archaeological interests resulted from object-collection missions, such as the Gautier and Chudeau mission of 1904–5 by Émile Félix Gautier (or Gauthier, 1864–1940) and Raymond Chudeau, in Western Sudan, and those of Leo Frobenius (1873–1938) both before and after the turn of the century (Sibidé 1996: 79).

Archaeological material formed only a minor part of what was being sent to the metropolis. The bulk of the collections were of ethnographic objects that had been bought or pillaged from natives (Coombes 1994). In Europe some of the archaeological objects were displayed in permanent and also in temporary exhibitions. Some of the latter were then transformed into permanent museums, like the Belgian Central African Geological Exhibition of 1897, which became the Museum Tervuren in Brussels. Archaeological objects were also shown in the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908 in London and were included in a thematic display entitled 'The Life of Primitive Man with Particular Reference to the Stone-Age Peoples Pre-Historic and Contemporary' (Coombes 1994: 204–5). Africa was represented as a continent saved from its own past through colonialism, its heritage being displayed in the form of war trophies (*ibid.* ch. 9).

The forbidden Great Civilizations: Great Zimbabwe, Benin, and Ife[7]

A number of sites found mainly in South and East Africa did not seem to conform to the image of timeless primitive and underdeveloped Africa. The power of the model, of the black as inferior and degenerated, however, prevented those who studied and interpreted them from concluding that their remains were evidence of past black Great Civilizations. Instead, it was

[7] Sites like the sacred city of Aksum in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) were also described by Europeans from the fifteenth century (Phillipson 2002: 28–30). In 1893 the Italian bibliographer Giuseppe Fumagalli already included a section about archaeology in his *Bibliografia Etiopica* (Milan), sponsored by two prominent Italian geographical societies: the Società Geografica Italiana and the Società Commerciale Africana (Lockot 1998). There is a need, therefore, for an analysis of the way in which the different explorers interpreted the Christian ruins and the extent to which late nineteenth-century British, Italian and German imperialism affected the way in which the antiquities were described. Some sources for such an analysis are Bates (1979); Bent (1896); Manley & Rée (2001: 30, 33); and Zietelmann (2006).

believed that whites were their originators. In the south of the African continent, stone-walled structures in Zimbabwe tradition, as well as ruined stone-walled settlements in the Free State and North West Province, were found by the explorer Andrew Anderson in the 1860s and 1870s. He maintained that they had been built by a white race, for, as he put it, 'kaffirs (*sic*) have never been known to build in this way'. In his opinion, the ruins were too beautiful to have been built by African natives. He also argued that 'the present natives' had no knowledge of them, despite knowing that at least some of the ruined 'stone kraals' had until recently been inhabited by local people (Mitchell 2001: 49–50).

The site of Great Zimbabwe was subjected to a similar interpretation for the high-quality building made it impossible for scholars to accept African authorship. Anderson was not the first one to think in this way. In 1871 the German Karl Mauch (1837–75), the first nineteenth-century explorer to describe the ruins, had argued that:

> I believe that I do not err when I suppose that the ruin on the mountain is an imitation of the Solomonic Temple on Mount Moria, the ruin on the plain a copy of that palace in which the Queen of Sheba dwelled during her visit to Solomon.
>
> (Stiebing 1993: 213).

Another explorer maintained in 1898 that the Shona in the area could not possibly have been the builders of Great Zimbabwe as it was 'a well accepted fact that the negroid brain could never be capable of taking the initiative in work of such intricate nature' (in Kuklick 1991: 140). Some claimed that the ruins had been built by Semites. The Semite Phoenicians were described as 'this crafty, heartless and adventurous race, who were the English of the ancient world without the English honour' (in Kuklick 1991: 142). The ruins, however, were also seen as a source of gold. For five years from 1895 the Ancient Ruins Company obtained a concession from the British South Africa Company to 'exploit' monuments, which apparently included finding gold objects to be melted down. Great Zimbabwe was only protected from 1902, after the new Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia passed a law to safeguard it. Against all evidence, however, hypothesis regarding its Phoenician origin—as well as, at the turn of the century, theories of South Arabian involvement—persisted. In 1905, when the first dissonant voice, that of the British-born American archaeologist and anthropologist David Randall-MacIver (1873–1945), claimed that the ruins had been built in the fourteenth or fifteenth century by black Africans, his opinions were received with protests by white Rhodesians and rebuffed by a local expert.

The refusal to give credence to local authorship was also expressed regarding the Benin bronzes brought to England after the British punitive

expedition of 1897 against the Oba, in which troops entered the city of Great Benin sacking and burning it to the ground (Coombes 1996). Likewise, Leo Frobenius argued against local authorship of the Ife statues (Coquet 1998: 55). He argued that they were a product of the Hamitics, a white race of shepherd people from whom the Egyptians, Ethiopians, Bejas, and Semites also originated. Similar arguments had already been put forward earlier in the century for other artistic expressions in the continent, such as South African rock art, thought to have been created by a white hand (Mitchell 2001: 49). The statues of both Benin and Ife were bought by the major European museums, such as the British Museum and the Museum für Völkekunde in Berlin (Coombes 1994: ch. 1; Penny 2003: 86–7).

In sub-Saharan Africa local elites were not in a position to contest the European account to the extent that occurred in southern Europe and even to a certain degree in areas of the Ottoman Empire, Latin America, and South-east Asia. The process of Westernization was just beginning in the years before the First World War. Basic schooling only started around the turn of the century and was limited to basic language and numeracy instruction and the inculcation of Christian morality. Teaching assumed the locals to be inferior and subordinate (Natsoulas & Natsoulas 1993; Okoth 1993). No higher education was organized at this time. In places where the formation of elites was in process, as in countries such as Nigeria, it has been argued that 'in spite of having been subjected to Europeans or because of it, they wished to be like Europeans' (Ade Ajayi 1960: 200). Africans educated in the Western fashion wished to be members of a civilized people. A certain interest in the traditional folklore and customs, especially clothes and dancing, came together with a greater attention to their own history. Regarding the latter, in the case of Nigeria, the focus was significantly on their own Great Civilization, the Yoruba, and not on the 'uncivilized' past of tribal groups with rudimentary tools similar to those found in prehistoric Europe. This was shown by the very first archaeological collections gathered elsewhere in Africa by a few learned individuals. Museums with archaeology would only be created much later, in the mid twentieth century (Andah 1997; Kaplan 1994).

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION ABOUT THE UNCIVILIZED'S PAST

The scientific knowledge produced about the past of the uncivilized was inextricably linked with the political and social context in which it was generated. This does not mean that the body of information produced by

colonial archaeologists and anthropologists was merely unfounded convention, but rather that the understanding so created was mediated by the political and social milieu in which the practice of archaeology took place. A study of the latter reveals that the practice of archaeology within colonialism was not the result of a single stimulus, but rather of different impulses at two, albeit interrelated, levels: that of the individual and that of the state. The distinction between both was not clear-cut, however. The state and the individual did not represent separate spheres. Hidden behind a concept as abstract as the 'state', there were individuals, powerful people within the political structure of the state or colony, who made possible the funding of institutions. Both groups—that of the powerful and that of antiquarians—were not necessarily exclusive. Some individuals belonged to both, and others were directly influenced by members of the other through friendship or family links. Wishful thinking and ideology, however, were not enough. For the institutions to materialize and, more importantly, to endure, the economic health of the colony or the state had to be founded on a firm basis. This explains the difference in the number of stable institutions in an economically healthy state such as the United States of America and, at the opposite extreme, in most of the colonies in Africa even in the first year after decolonization, to choose the most contrasting examples.

At the level of the individual the aspirations and personal ambitions of antiquarians are an important factor to consider. These were not unconnected with nationalism and colonialism. Once the basic tenets of nationalism had become accepted in the Western world, individuals engaged with it in many ways: from daily practices to their working activities. Claims about the advantages for the nation of both scientific research and the formation of collections became integrated in personal strategies. In the first case, the blind allegiance expected from individuals towards their nation-state meant that their claim of their scientific enquiries as a patriotic duty and that their results would benefit the glory of the nation pulled the right strings. This was the tactic followed by Dubois to obtain funding for his investigation. It is not implied here, however, that Dubois did not believe that his enquiry was advantageous for the future prestige of his nation. To a great extent the power of his plea was precisely that he, as well as those to whom he appealed, fully believed in it. It had become part of their practical consciousness (cf. Giddens 1979; 1984), or their habitus (cf. Bourdieu 1977).

The formation of collections can also be understood at the level of the social strategies followed by individuals in their search for social recognition. Collections of ancient objects conferred prestige. The inclusion in them of objects produced by prehistoric societies allowed a wider social base of collectors in the community than that possible in previous times, when

only the wealthy could afford the purchase of Great Civilization antiquities. The aim of colonial collections was to demonstrate the other side of the discourse about the genesis of the Western civilization: not its glorious origin in the classical period, but rather its amazing degree of development in comparison with other distinctly less advanced peoples in the world. This they did in the context of their nation-state: British explorers and antiquarians showed how the British had made much more progress than the peoples in India, Australia, or any other of the British colonies, as did the French, Dutch, and Russians regarding their own colonies. Also, white Argentinians showed how advanced they were in relation to the natives in the areas being conquered in the second half of the nineteenth century within the frontiers of their nation, an attitude expressed by other antiquarians of prehistoric remains elsewhere in America. Enquiries into the archaeology of the uncivilized, therefore, strode along national lines and dealt with the antiquities of a territory controlled by (or in the process of being controlled by) the archaeologists' nation-state. This fostered the creation of networks of knowledge in each of the nations and/or colonies which were not forcefully imposed but developed through various strategies. These included the membership of societies and attendance of their meetings, the representation of one's own country in international conferences, the common understanding produced in expressing ideas in the same language, the rivalry and honour obtained in publishing in a particular set of national journals, and the citation of one another's works. Collectors earned respect and social recognition from their peers through the publicity given to their endeavours in learned societies and publications as well as by the sending of collections—often as gifts—to the major museums in the metropolis. Coming back home (male) colonizers also brought collections and displayed them as symbols, as Lahiri (2000: 688) puts it, of their colony-returned gentleman identity.

As explained earlier in the book, there were a few native archaeologists in some colonies, such as those of South and Southeast Asia. However, they rarely engaged with the archaeology of the primitive. Generally, they would only do so after the First World War and especially after independence from colonial rule. To a certain extent in the countries where internal colonialism and miscegenation had taken place the picture becomes more complicated. The reductionist duality of colonial versus indigenous so often used because of its deceiving clarity is an oversimplification which easily disintegrates on closer analysis. Starting with the white race situated at the pinnacle, there was also a grading depending on the scholars' place of provenance in Europe and their religion. In turn, natives were located in a hierarchical scale in which distinctions were made between different peoples. Thus, in Latin America,

white Europeans were usually followed by creoles—although there were alternatives—and then by other peoples who were graded depending on their perceived location in the evolutionary scale. A similar ranking has been observed in French Indochina (Van 2003). Archaeologists coming from imperial powers usually felt superior to the local archaeologists even in independent countries such as Brazil and Argentina (but the opposite was also the case).

With respect to the role of the state, the creation of discourses about the past was helpful to the colonial powers because it erased any other alternative vision that was too different from the Western narration and legitimized the colonial present with its narrative of progress. The Western nature of the discourse about the primitive past explains why beyond America, those dealing with prehistoric antiquities were for the most part members of the Western powers—which Japan would join from the 1870s. The discovery of archaeological remains served to legitimate further colonial imposition. In general terms it was argued that because the European powers had succeeded in reaching the pinnacle of cultural advancement it was their mission to help the other peoples of the world to benefit from Western civilization.

The usefulness of the discourse about the past for colonial governments materialized in the integration of prehistoric studies within state-organized expeditions and within newly created institutions. The latter were not generally the same institutions mentioned in previous chapters. They differed from them in two main aspects. On the one hand, they were not devoted to philology and the history of art and religion, but to anthropology and the natural sciences. One of the reasons for the connection between prehistoric archaeology and anthropology and the natural sciences partly derived from the borrowing of techniques from the latter (for others see Chapter 13). Yet, in addition to this, in the colonies, as opposed to Europe, the division between philological and natural archaeology, to follow Schnapp's terminology (Schnapp 1991), came together with a perceived racial detachment between scholars and their object of study. In the colonies the archaeological endeavour was not only an issue of class (the archaeologist belonging to the moneyed strata of society) but also of ethnic origin and race. Institutionally this meant that the archaeology of the uncivilized was tied to anthropology. This process also occurred in Europe to some extent (Chapter 13), but, in the search for the national roots into the past, the subordination of prehistoric archaeology to anthropology was academically contested and eventually broken in some countries from the early twentieth century. In the colonies, however, the assumed unchanging nature of savages fused anthropology and archaeology together to a much more permanent degree than in Europe—to the extent that it is still present today.

On the other hand, institutions devoted to the civilized and uncivilized also differed, in that the number and weight of the latter was significantly less relevant. Despite their symbolically important presence, it is important not to lose perspective regarding the limited extent to which the state cared for the institutions dealing with the primitive past. The effort invested in the creation of knowledge about the past of the uncivilized was notably less marked than that spent on the major civilizations. The higher consideration given to monumental archaeology led to its more permanent presence in the colonial landscape. Yet, even museums of natural history were built with imposing architecture, symbolizing national prestige and civic pride, with designs inspired in classical temples, 'which carried connotations of dignity, antiquity, and permanence' (Pyenson & Sheets-Pyenson 1999: 138).

REDEFINING THE PRIMITIVE—DISPOSSESSING THE INDIGENE

During the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, primitive societies had been described as noble savages. The imagined native was seen as hostile but courageous, physically powerful, fearless, unconquerable, and fair-minded. This image remained present during the early nineteenth-century Romantic movement but was re-worked within the cultural evolutionist framework in the 1860s and 1870s in the context of European expansionism, New Imperialism, and exultant nationalism. In contrast to the Enlightenment, in the second half of the nineteenth century primitive societies were increasingly described as ignorant, backward and uncivilized. In addition, in the same way as nations and empires, language, blood, soil, and political might became the base to imagine non-state societies (Kuper 1988: 9). The general public and most learned individuals believed that non-European cultures were biologically and socially inferior and that, due to the recent contact with Western civilization, they were prone to inevitable and immediate extinction through natural selection (Trigger 1989: 116) if not through other cruder means. The belief in the imminent disappearance of the primitives would be a long-lasting tenet, especially among conservative commentators. As late as 1906 the Englishman General Pitt-Rivers asserted that 'the savage is morally and mentally an unfit instrument for the spread of civilization, except when, like the higher mammalia, he is reduced to a state of slavery; his occupation is gone; and his place is required for an improved race' (1906 in Bradley 1983: 6). Similarly, the German Fritz Noeting, with respect to the extinction of Tasmanians, also commented that 'it is regrettable that the intensely

interesting Tasmanian race', which he had just described as one of the lowest races of non-Aryan origin, 'had such a sad and untimely end, but in the interest of the purity of the white race it is perhaps better so' (Noeting 1912 in Struwe 1997: 509).

Nineteenth-century archaeologists and anthropologists focused their studies on the 'races', both in the colonies and within their own nations. They wondered about the date of the separation between the uncivilized and the civilized races. Not all of them reached the same conclusion, and their differences had implications for the acceptance or not of the human nature of 'savages'. Polygenists were of the opinion that 'savages' had originated earlier than humans and, therefore, belonged to a separate species to the Caucasians—i.e. the Europeans. Monogenists, for their part, held that all human races derived from a common origin and maintained that the differentiation between the uncivilized and the civilized races had happened after God's creation of humans (Trigger 1989: 112–13). Some scholars argued that primitive societies represented the degeneration from a higher cultural plane and a return to previous stages. In Britain the division between monogenists and polygenists became entrenched in the disciplinarian divide between ethnologists, led by James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848), and anthropologists, directed by James Hunt (1833–69). From the 1870s, however, the meaning of both terms changed again, with anthropology coming to signify the study of cultural phenomena among the 'savages' (Stocking 1971). In other parts of continental Europe, however, anthropology came to denote the enquiry into the physical features of humankind.

It was believed that human progress was a law of nature and thus all human groups passed through similar stages of development. Technological progress was identified with moral and social progress and this made the (men of the) nineteenth-century entrepreneurial middle classes the natural inheritors of the evolutionary process (Trigger 1989: 85). Hence, their encounters with other societies were translated into a hierarchy in which white Europe—essentially northern Europe—was viewed as the most highly developed expression of humanity (Bowler 1992: 723). The demonstration of primitives' disconnection from progress further legitimized the colonial enterprise. Archaeology was not detached from this process. The division of societies into stages, from the simplest to the most complex, increasingly required the help of archaeologists. Archaeology assisted in strengthening the view of cultural immobility of particular contemporary native groups by associating them with particular archaeological remains. This also happened in Europe. In northern Scandinavia, the archaeological finds considered as most primitive were associated with the Saami, who were in this way portrayed as static and underdeveloped. Their material culture was compared to that of the

Stone Age. Some scholars argued an eastern origin for them, in this way making them foreign to the modern states in which they lived: Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia (Olsen 1986).

Archaeologists' and other scientists' views on the primitives had consequences for colonial and national practice. In a context in which progress was seen as the motor of history, and progress was defined as the adoption of Western technology and state politics, living populations that were believed not to have evolved were defined as relics and in some extreme cases were considered unworthy of any rights. So strongly held were such views that some colonizers even came to believe that it was impossible to fulfil their civilizing mission for it was futile to try and civilize the primitives. The inferiority of the natives in America, Asia and the Pacific, Africa, and northern Scandinavia justified the dispossession of their lands by whites through colonialism and internal colonialism. Thus, despite its weak institutional support, archaeology became part of the package of the intellectual background that legitimized imperialism and re-confirmed the perception of the West's huge superiority over non-state societies.

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Part IV

National Archaeology in Europe

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11

The Early Search for a National Past in Europe (1789–1820)

In the nineteenth century, the allure of the past of the Great Civilizations was soon to be contested by an alternative—that of the national past. This interest had already grown in the pre-Romantic era connected to an emerging ethnic or cultural nationalism (Chapter 2). However, its charm would not be as enticing to the lay European man and woman of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, who were much more under the influence of neoclassicism (Chapter 3). The Western European nations had no monuments comparable to the remains of Greece, Rome or Egypt. Before the Roman expansion into most of Western Europe in antiquity, there had been few significant buildings, apart from unspectacular prehistoric tombs and megalithic monuments whose significance was unrecognized by the modern scholar. Roman remains beyond Italy were not as impressive as those found to the south of the Alps. Because of this it seemed much more interesting to study the rich descriptions the ancient authors had left about the local peoples and institutions the Romans had created during their conquest. Throughout the eighteenth century the historical study of medieval buildings and antiquities had also increasingly been gaining appeal. In Britain their study instigated the early creation of associations such as the Society of Antiquaries of 1707, but even this early interest did not lead to medieval antiquities receiving attention in institutions such as the British Museum, where they would only receive a proper departmental status well into the nineteenth century (Smiles 2004: 176). In comparative terms, the national past and its relics were perceived by many to be of secondary rate when judged against the history and arts of the classical civilizations. During the French Revolution and its immediate aftermath, for example, the national past would not be as appreciated by as many people and antiquarians as that of the Great Civilizations (Jourdan 1996).

This situation, however, started to change in the early nineteenth century. There were three key developments in this period, all inherited from Enlightenment beliefs, which were the foundation for archaeology as a source of national pride. The effects of these would be seen especially from the central

decades of the century. Firstly, museums were created that focused on the exhibition of national antiquities. This transformation was exemplified by the Museum of French Monuments opened in Paris in 1793, an institution which would be extremely influential all over continental Europe, even if it did not survive Napoleon's downfall. Secondly, the promotion of prehistoric remains began at this time leading, later in the century, to their full integration into the account of the national past. This was made possible, on the one hand, by the aesthetic romantic interest in the natural and the unknown which rendered them attractive and worthy of good taste and, on the other, by their chronological organization which allowed them to become conceptualized into the temporal framework so essential for national histories. For the period under discussion in this chapter, however, not the prehistoric remains, but mainly those from the medieval period were those attracting most attention. Romanticism thrived in its interest for medieval antiquities and history, and this led to the increase in the number of scholars fascinated by it. Their studies set the ground for future debates in the century, although the imperfections of their techniques became apparent by their acceptance of fakes which had already appeared in the previous period. The Gaelic epics of the *Works of Ossian* first published in 1760 (Leersen 1996; Sweet 2004: 136–7; Williams 2004: 218), and others which followed their tradition such as the Czech poems in the *Dvur Králové* and *Zelená Hora*, 'discovered' in 1817 and 1819 (Sklenár 1983: 66), are typical examples. Not all literature was fake, for in 1818 the Anglo-Saxon epic poem of Beowulf was first studied (Sweet 2004: 217). At the same time, medieval art became a focus for collecting (Fritzsche 2004: ch. 3). The third key development to be discussed in this chapter is related to the last point. During the early years of the nineteenth century there was a transformation in the historical methodology which brought a renewed interest in the critical study of original sources, not only manuscripts and other documents, but also inscriptions, coins and statues. These sanctioned the entry into the university curriculum of the fields of epigraphy, numismatics and history of art, all three using material retrieved through archaeology.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE MUSEUM OF FRENCH MONUMENTS

In the early days of the French Revolution the attention to France's own past was strikingly different from that referred to in Chapter 3 in relation to the ancient Great Civilizations. In an attempt to wipe out the presence of the monarchy and the Church in the modern French state, a systematic campaign was waged to

eradicate tradition: the names of streets and of the months were changed, and churches were either desecrated and used for other functions or demolished. The result was plunder and devastation, a condition to which the army also contributed, for bronze statues and leaded windows were used as a cheap source of metal for weapon manufacture (Haskell 1993: 236–8). Both medieval and early modern monuments suffered the most from this situation.

Decrees were issued mainly in 1792 and 1793 that ordered the destruction of every monument related first to the monarchy and later to the Church. By 1797 eighteen buildings had been pulled down in Paris (Réau 1994: 292–5, 379–95). In the midst of all this chaos, several depots to store what was being dismantled were set up in Paris, including one at the nationalized convent of the Petits Augustins. The man in charge of it, Alexandre Lenoir (1761–1839), inspired the first museum of national monuments. As it turned out, religious objects in the museum were converted into national symbols. Yet, not surprisingly, given the circumstances in which the museum was born, the objects it exhibited, together with the political difficulties it faced and its ultimate closure, provide a good example of the way in which the balance between the antiquity of the Great Civilizations and a national past was still weighted towards the former. Nevertheless, the very existence of such a museum and the large number of visitors it attracted also shows that the national past, especially that of the medieval and post-medieval periods, was not totally rejected and that it was indeed making a place for itself on the intellectual scene.

The Museum of French Monuments (Musée des Monuments Français) was first opened in 1793, although it was only established on a permanent basis after 1795 under the name of the National Museum of French Monuments (McClelland 1994: 165). It is worth noting that the term 'national antiquities' was being used in a novel way from only a few years earlier, from Aubin Louis Millin's publication of his 1790 *National Antiquities* (with the full title of *Antiquités nationales, ou recueil de monuments pour servir à l'histoire générale et particulière de l'empire français, tels que tombeaux, inscriptions, statues, vitraux, fresques, etc; tirés des abbayes, monastères, châteaux et autres lieux devenus domaines nationaux*) (Schnapp 1996: 52).[1] He insisted on the historical value of monuments as national antiquities, while being one of the first to apply the methods normally followed in classical archaeology for the analysis of France's own past (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 37–8). The institution required a politically astute director—as Lenoir proved to be—to ensure its survival.

[1] The term 'national antiquity' was being used earlier, since at least the sixteenth century (Mora 1998; Sweet 2004), but in the context of the French Revolution, its meaning took a more political tone.

As one antiquarian noted in 1852, with regard to successive editions of the museum catalogue, 'the earliest are written in a heathen, democratic language; succeeding ones in an imperial, philosophic style; and the most recent in a devout, monarchical prose. These variations, dictated by circumstance, lend the different editions a genuine fascination' (quoted in McClelland 1994: 194). Lenoir could not have done otherwise if the museum was to survive through the changing circumstances. The material exhibited was considered at times counter-revolutionary[2] (Haskell 1993: 241). Thus, he had to convince others that his intentions were not political, but still very much informed by the enlightened mood. He had to write petitions like the following to the Committee of Public Instruction in 1794:

> Please believe me, Citizens, that it is not in order to honour the memory of François 1er that I ask permission to rebuild the monument I am about to describe to you. I forget his morals along with his ashes. I am concerned only with the progress of art and education.
>
> (Lenoir in Haskell 1993: 241).

The exhibition started in an introductory room, where some 'Celtic' altars were displayed. Nevertheless, pre-medieval antiquities were the exception. The inclusion of prehistoric monuments in the display demanded by prestigious scholars such as Pierre Jean Baptiste Legrand d'Aussy (1737–1800) (Pomian 1996: 41) did not actually take place, despite Legrand's disappointment at the lack of knowledge of 'the monuments that lie at the core of our archaeology, of the primitive history of our nation, our country, and our arts' (in Pomian 1996: 39). Legrand was a member of the National Institute of Sciences and Arts, an institution that replaced the old academies. He had suggested the need for a permit to excavate archaeological sites, and the establishment of a national inventory, an initiative that would only be realized much later. Despite the paucity of pre-medieval items, the museum did not oppose their study, as shown by the loan of its premises for the inaugural meeting of the Académie Celtique in 1805 (Haskell 1993: 367). This academy, in addition to the study of French ethnography, had as its aim 'to describe, explain, and have engravings made of the ancient monuments of the Gauls' (in Pomian 1996: 39). The increasing importance of the study of

[2] Yet, images were used and perceived in contradictory ways. Jill Cook (2004: 187–8) mentions the development of the image of the noble aboriginal patriot (a mirror image of the noble savage used beyond Europe) during the periods of the American and French revolutions and the Napoleonic Wars. This figure, always a man, represented a patriot either fighting for the liberty of the fatherland against foreign aggressors or submissive at the feet of St Paul or, even, in repressive counter-revolutionary stance (the latter in William Blake's *Jerusalem, the Emanation of the Giant Albion*, 1804–20).

archaeology in the society led to the change of its name to the Society of Antiquaries of France (Société des antiquaires de France) in 1814, publishing its *Mémoires* from 1817, setting the example for many other academies founded throughout France from 1824 (Belmont 1995; Pomian 1996: 29).

Except for these minor incursions into the prehistoric period, the Museum of French Monuments mostly focused on the medieval and post-medieval past, from the thirteenth century onwards (McClelland 1994: 178, 187). In spite of being deprecated by the revolutionary leaders and not being Lenoir's favourite part of the exhibition (McClelland 1994: 181), it was the medieval section specifically which most attracted the public (Haskell 1993: 249) and eventually became key in the new archaeological studies. Painters, sculptors, architects and decorators visited the museum to look for models (*ibid.* 249). The medieval section, however, received a major blow in 1795, when the decision was taken to transform the Louvre into the only true museum of French sculpture, which meant the forced transfer of most of the exhibits of this period from one museum to the other (McClelland 1994: 169).

The task of organizing the physical remains of the Middle Ages—especially those of buildings—had, in fact, a history of scholarly research which went back to the previous century (see for example the English case (Frew 1980 and Miele 1998: 112). In eighteenth-century France authors such as Montesquieu had already pointed to the Frankish origins of the nation (Hannaford 1996: 201). An early example of the teaching of medieval archaeology which emphasized the historical value of monuments to national archaeology can be found in Aubin-Louis Millin's (1759–1818) course on 'Roman and medieval monumental archaeology' first taught in 1795 (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 37–8). The narrative behind the exhibition of the Museum of French Monuments had been inspired by Winckelmann's *History of the Art of Antiquity*. A chronological arrangement of objects established a progression of French art from the primitiveness of the medieval period to the Renaissance. Lenoir's national narrative painted an ascendant development of French arts that had only been blocked by absolutism (the form of government where the monarch had all power to rule, with nothing to limit his rule) in the seventeenth century, an obstacle that the revolution and its institutions had overcome (Haskell 1993: 242; McClelland 1994: 181, 190, 193). Significantly, Greek art—the focus of Winckelmann's dissertation—had been substituted by the arts of the French nation, something difficult to imagine occurring a few decades earlier. Lenoir argued that this art embodied the values and politics of the age when it had been created (McClelland 1994: 167). The exhibition was perceived by most as an evocation of national history, as the ideal museum, the sort of nationalist museum which would become the norm later in the century. As the historian Michelet stated years later, 'for the first time

a powerful order reigned among them [the objects], a true order, one that reflected the sequence of ages. The perpetuity of the nation was revealed by them' (quoted in Haskell 1993: 279). The impact of the museum was also considerable as a teaching tool for history, as a comment by a frequent visitor in his childhood explained:

> As children we had become intimately acquainted with all those marble personages: kings, warriors, prelates, writers, poets, artists. We could hardly read, but already we were familiar not only with their features but also with their histories . . . [Going to the Petits Augustins] was a good preparation for reading Augustin Thierry, Barante and all that cluster of historians who soon afterwards were to throw light on those parts of our national history that were still covered in darkness
>
> (in Haskell 1993: 250).

The museum was also thought of as a gallery of great men. As Peyre, the architect in charge of building work in the museum (McClelland 1994: 178), said in 1797, the museum contained 'the images and the monuments raised to the glory of great men' (in McClelland 1994: 263), a perspective confirmed by Lenoir himself when, in relation to the seventeenth-century room, he proposed 'to include busts of the great men of France . . . who are, I believe, essential to historical narrative' (in McClelland 1994: 179).

Despite its relative success, the Museum of French Monuments enjoyed a short life. As explained, in 1795 the government decided that all sculpture had to be transferred to the Louvre. After this, the museum was further affected by the official reinstatement of religion after the 1802 Concordat. Demands by the Church and by the nobility for their monuments to be returned also had a great impact on the museum (McClelland 1994: 194, 196). Eventually, Napoleon's downfall led to its sudden closure in 1816 and to the final dispersal of its collections—some of which went to the Louvre (Haskell 1993: 348–9; McClelland 1994: 197). In spite of its apparent ultimate failure, the ethos of the Museum of French Monuments survived much longer. The spirit of the museum endured in the conviction of the need to exhibit and protect monuments and other works of art belonging to the national past. Already, during its life, this museum had inspired the creation of others, such as the Museum of Nordic Antiquities in Denmark (see below), which would become crucial for the development of archaeology. It also inspired the National Museum in Budapest, founded in 1802 with a donation of his private collection made by Count Ferenc Széchényi explicitly to arouse nationalist feelings among the Hungarians (Nagy 2003: 31–2); the Bruckenthalsche National Museum für Siberbügen in 1803; the Joanneum in Graz in 1811; the Landesmuseum für Böhmen un Mähren in Brünn in 1817; and the Vaterländisches Museum in Prague in 1818 (Bjurström 1996: 42).

THE SCANDINAVIAN AND GERMANIC COUNTRIES: THE NATIONALIZATION OF PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY

The nationalization of monuments and artistic objects, so crucial to the study of Roman, medieval and post-medieval archaeology, only partially affected prehistoric archaeology, and when it did so it mostly concerned protohistory (i.e. the period covering the centuries before the Romans). On rare occasions monuments from even earlier periods, such as the most outstanding megalithic structures, were considered of national interest. The main reason given for the difference in treatment of prehistoric and historic remains was the considered inadequacy of prehistoric objects and buildings for the classical artistic canon. Initially, this resulted in a widespread lack of interest in prehistoric archaeology as a source of historical knowledge. One should, however, distinguish between enquiry, on the one hand, into the stages of later prehistory, where the finds included pottery, polished stone axes and metals, and, on the other, into that into earlier periods. The former developed in Scandinavia. An attempt to understand the developments here necessarily takes us back to our discussion of the search for the roots of the nation in the medieval period in the previous section. In a context of long-standing interest in antiquities (Chapter 2), the lack of a break between the medieval and the prehistoric periods helped Scandinavian archaeologists to push back their work into earlier eras. However, few countries were eager to follow this northern example, a situation which, as we shall see, would only change later in the century, when elements of race and language became central to nationalism. This transformation will be discussed below and in Chapter 12. The archaeology of the most remote periods, which became identified as the Stone Age or Palaeolithic, and to which we can now add the Mesolithic, developed mainly in France and England. Yet, this interest was stimulated more by geological than historical concerns. Only with the rise of evolutionism in the last decades of the century was intellectual space for these periods created in the historical narrative.

Scandinavian antiquities

In Scandinavia, the interest in prehistory took off much earlier than in most European countries. In 1806 the Danish Professor, Ramus Nyerup (1759–1829), proposed to emulate the Museum of French Monuments. His initiative included not only rooms dedicated to the Middle Ages but also, linked to them by a so-called runehall, an area in which prehistoric objects were

displayed (Klindt-Jensen 1975: 47). The relationship between both periods is further explained when we note that in Scandinavia the Viking period is included in the Iron Age. Thus Worsaae, who is usually described as a prehistorian, was also very interested in the Viking past and travelled to England and Ireland in 1846–7 thanks to royal funding to study remains of Danish (Viking) occupation in Britain (*ibid.* 71; Briggs 2005: 9–13). In Sweden, where the Romantic movement centred on the Gothic League, a society was set up to revive Gothic ideals—'Gothic' meaning the late Iron Age in Scandinavia. Prehistoric antiquities were also integrated into museum exhibitions usually belonging to universities (Klindt-Jensen 1975: 61–2). The key issue that allowed this easy acceptance of the prehistoric period was mainly related to the lack of the Roman presence in Scandinavia, which allowed a relatively smooth transition from prehistory to the medieval period. Another area of Europe in which a similar uninterrupted transition had taken place was in England's geographical periphery: Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The upsurge of Celticist interest started around the 1760s, and foundations such as the Royal Irish Academy in 1785 have been linked to this (Cooney 1996: 152). Although only in Ireland does it seem to have been connected to some national agenda (Champion 1996: 67; Leersen 1996: 11–17), the religious schism between the medieval and the prehistoric periods made difficult—although not impossible (Hutchinson 1987: 85–6)—the integration of the most remote periods into the national history.

Returning to Scandinavia, research into antiquities had a long tradition. As seen in Chapter 2, in a political context of continuous tension between Denmark and Sweden, seventeenth-century antiquarians had been sponsored to research runic inscriptions and other archaeological finds. This development was partly halted for about a century due to economic and political decline. Nevertheless, the eighteenth century was not a complete desert; the learned academies founded from the 1740s onwards included the study of antiquities among their activities. Some new legislation was passed and a few cabinets of antiquities were opened to the public (Klindt-Jensen 1975: ch. 3). The economic and social decline ended in the 1780s. The redistribution of land radically transformed agriculture, creating wealth, and led to an extensive transformation of the landscape and, consequently, to an ever-increasing destruction of archaeological sites. In line with the liberal mood of the period, in 1792 the archaeologist and theologian Frederik Münter (1761–1830) proposed the establishment of a

> collection of all the Nordic monuments and prehistoric objects which were either extant or on which there existed accurate and reliable reports—a task whose urgency was enhanced by the destruction overtaking these monuments at the hands of peasants, and through public works as well; since many ancient burial-mounds,

assembly places, and sacrificial sites had been destroyed by road construction in Zealand, and that even those examples renowned in tradition should not have been spared is universally acknowledged and deplored.

(in Klindt-Jensen 1975: 45).

In addition to the negative effects of the development of agriculture on existing ancient remains, several other factors contributed to the success of Nyerup's proposal for the opening of a new museum. In the first place, Denmark's alliance with Napoleon proved catastrophic both economically and politically. Her fleet was destroyed, Copenhagen was devastated and her trade seriously affected. To these misfortunes the state's financial bankruptcy in 1813 and the loss of Norway in 1814 were later added. At the same time, the theft and destruction of the Gallehus gold horns from the Royal Cabinet of the Kunstkammer in 1802 was lamented not only by antiquarians: more importantly perhaps, it inspired the Danish Romantic, Adam Oehlenschläger (1779–1850), to write the first poem of the movement, *Guldhornene* (The Golden Horns). As a result, prehistory would be at the centre of the Romantic Movement in Denmark. Indeed, megalithic sites became the chief attraction of walking tours by Romantics as early as 1808 eager for exciting encounters and keen to experience the mysterious power of the past (Klindt-Jensen 1975).

In 1807, following Münter's advice, recommendations were made by the Chancellery for the preservation of prehistoric and medieval remains and monuments. A Committee for Antiquities (Oldsagskommisionen) and a state museum were created, institutions which were quickly emulated by the other Scandinavian countries: in Norway, for example, the Antiquities Commission was set up in 1810 and in Sweden the post of Inspector of State Antiquities was established in 1814. In Denmark the committee set up to select monuments had to decide which three hundred should be protected and also distributed information to farmers explaining that it was seldom worth digging for gold in burial-mounds. However, until the 1840s the committees, inspectorates and museums only indicate a proto-professionalization of prehistoric—and medieval—archaeology in Scandinavia. During the pre-professional period, all the posts related to archaeology were filled by voluntary workers. Indeed, the fact that Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (1788–1865) did not need a salary was one of the major reasons behind his selection as the first keeper of the museum in Copenhagen. To begin with even his few assistants had no salary. The same appears to have happened in Norway, where the museum in Bergen also depended on unpaid workers (Klindt-Jensen 1975). Moreover, the museum's initial official name was Museum for Nordic Antiquities. The title Royal was only conceded in 1832, when it moved to the royal

castle of Christiansborg (Jørgen Jensen, pers. comm.), and it only became 'national' in 1892[3] (despite the fact that in 1807 Nyerup had called it the National Museum in his writings (Bjurström 1996: 43)). This seems to indicate that, at least in its early years until the arrival of Worsaae, the emphasis was not on its nature as a national institution, and the symbolic weight of the title 'national' was not perceived as essential.

In the first years the museum, administered by the Committee for Antiquities, was still modest. The collections were closed to the public and stored in the loft of a church belonging to the university library. They were first open to the public in 1819 for two hours a week—although this was not very different from other institutions, such as the British Museum discussed in Chapter 2 (Miller 1973). Nevertheless, Thomsen's endeavours were successful in neighbouring countries. The Danish example was followed in Norway and Sweden, where universities either opened museums or refurbished their old cabinets and staged more modern exhibitions. In Norway the universities of Christiania (present-day Oslo) and Bergen opened in 1810 and 1825. In Sweden Bror Emil Hildebrand (1806–84), a young scholar from Lund who had been trained partly by Thomsen, reorganized the collection of the cabinet of his home university and opened it to the public for—again—just two hours a week in the 1830s (Klindt-Jensen 1975: 48–65).

The prominence acquired by the Copenhagen museum in its early years was due to the organization of the collections by Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, the curator from 1816. Perhaps in an attempt to imitate the chronological ordering of the exhibition of the Museum of French Monuments—Nyerup was a member of the commission—Thomsen wished to produce a scheme for sequentially arranging the collections. He devised the Three Age System—Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age, which would become a crucial tool for the chronological classification of prehistoric material throughout Europe and elsewhere. Thomsen's endeavours, however, seem to be more closely associated with the Enlightenment than the nationalistic era. This was not the case with his heir in the post, Worsaae (Chapter 12), whose nationalistic stance is evident in many of his writings. Not surprisingly, Worsaae saw the exploits of the early years of Danish prehistory from a nationalist perspective. Explaining Thomsen's achievements, Worsaae proudly stated that '[through] the excellent material of national antiquities collected by Thomsen and

[3] In 1892, probably following the proposal of Worsaae's successor, Sophus Muller (1842–1934), the Royal Museum of Northern Antiquities was reorganized and unified with others, such as the Ethnographical Museum, the Antique Cabinet and the Royal Coin Collection under the name 'The National Museum' (Jørgen Jensen, pers. comm.). The absence of the 'national' in the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries (Kongelige Nordiske Oldskift-Selskab) founded in 1825 should also be noted in this context.

arranged at an earlier date than in any other country in Europe, Denmark has achieved a considerable advantage, which it was a matter of maintaining, and, if possible, extending' (in Gräslund 1987: 15). Worsaae also rightly noted that the lesser interest of other countries, such as France, England and Central Europe, in prehistoric archaeology was possibly related to their current attraction to Roman monuments.

Prehistoric antiquities in Germany

Beyond Scandinavia, the acceptance of prehistoric archaeology encountered more opposition. Pre-unified Germany (map 5) was a different case altogether. Explorations into local antiquities had witnessed a short-lived boom during the Napoleonic era. They practically came to a halt with the conservative reaction of the 1820s and only reappeared after the unification of 1871. To start with, the link between France and Rome, propagated by Napoleon and maintained thereafter because of the tensions between France and Prussia, had served to reinforce German identity along with philhellenism (Chapter 4). Napoleonic interference in the German territories had brought a significant reduction in the number of states and had induced administrative and legal reforms as well as the introduction of constitutional rule. Yet, as a reaction to French hegemony, a sense of nationality emerged. Individualism, national particularism and Protestantism were juxtaposed to Latin corporatism, universalism and Catholicism, a divide which was expressed geographically in terms of northern as against southern Europe (Marchand 1996a: 159–60). The religious schism would only serve to create an image of Rome and the Catholic world in the Protestant areas as the antithesis of what was 'truly German'. Gradually the barbaric descent began to be invoked with pride rather than embarrassment, a sentiment which spread through novels, operas and scientific books alike (*ibid.* 161–2).

This early nationalism was driven by anti-French sentiment and coloured by Romantic ideals. Vereine (societies) with an interest in the local past were founded in practically all German-speaking states from 1810. Their members came from a wide range of professions and included intellectuals such as Goethe and the brothers von Humboldt and Grimm. These societies not only published journals and newsletters but also formed archaeological and ethnological collections which gave rise to the opening of some museums, such as the ones founded in Breslau in 1818 and in Bonn in 1820. The latter initially received official support from the Chancellor. Similarly, in Prussia the king, Friedrich Wilhelm III (r. 1797–1840), lent a gallery in one of his castles in Berlin, the Monbijou Palace, for the display of 'national' antiquities. All of

them were considered patriotic collections. Thus, the Bonn museum director was instructed to improve the collection 'so that it will serve the purposes of youth education, historical research, and preservation of valuable monuments [and] will inspire and nurture the sense of the significance of our fatherland and the history of the past' (in Marchand 1996a: 165). Similarly, in a *Handbook of Germanic Antiquarianism* (*Handbuch des Germanischen Altertumskunde*) published in 1836, the author, Gustaf Friedrich Klemm (1802–67), explained that 'it is necessary to spread the knowledge of prehistory among the people and to create respect for it as the safest way to patriotism' (in Wiwjorra 1996: 166).

Yet, after the fall of Napoleon, at the Congress of Vienna of 1814–15—a congress in which Germanic countries had a central role and in which post-Napoleonic national boundaries were codified—a series of reactionary measures were put in place which intended to suppress liberalism and the type of nationalism created by the French Revolution. In many German countries these measures were effective, with the effacement of liberalism in the early 1820s. As a result, the early state interest in prehistory was greatly affected. In contrast, classical philology and history gained in importance in secondary schools and universities. In fact, in many German states the study of national antiquities was discouraged (Marchand 1996a: 165). The museum in Bonn fell out of favour and the university professors appointed as advisers indicated that it should remove all non-classical artefacts, which they saw as large and ugly. The deposed director later explained that 'people then had . . . no sympathy for national antiquities; they dreamed only of art works, of museums of Greek and Egyptian antiquities' (Dorow in Marchand 1996a: 166). In contrast, the Altes Museum, which displayed classical antiquities (Cullen & von Stockhausen 1998), was opened in Berlin (Prussia) in 1830. The state's contribution to the societies was reduced and, on occasions, even frozen. By and large the study of antiquities in universities focused on the philological analysis of classical sources. Archaeology—even that of the Roman period—was considered a field for amateurs. This state of affairs was to persist for some time (Sklenár 1983: 64–5). The Professor of Greek Philology, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931), recalled that during his days as a student in the late 1860s, 'only dilettanti troubled about German antiquities of Roman date' (in Marchand 1996a: 168). The anthropologist, Rudolf Virchow, thought in 1874 that 'Prehistory is not an academic field (Fach) and it will probably never be' (in Veit 1984: 328). Yet, where extraordinary findings were unearthed, such as those made by the engineer Johann Ramsauer (1795–1874) in the Austrian Alpine village of Hallstatt from 1846, the archaeological authorities—in this case the custodian of the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Antiquities, the Baron Eduard Freiherr von Sacken

(1825–83)—duly paid attention. Swedish archaeologists were quick to include the new material into their chronological scheme (Romer 2001: 29–31).

MEDIEVALISM IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

As seen in the Scandinavian case, the early nineteenth century inherited from the years of the Enlightenment not only a taste for the classical, but also for the medieval (Chapter 2). This fascination for the Middle Ages would continue throughout the nineteenth century. In the early years this produced a series of works that would come to influence the perceptions the European learned classes had of their own past. The image created was not fuelled only by antiquarians but mainly by writers and artists. The Danish poet, Adam Oehlenschläger, mentioned above, had not been the only author looking for inspiration in the remains of the past. In fact, medieval monuments and ruins became a common stimulus for artists at the time. In England writers such as Sir Walter Scott drew inspiration from Gothic monuments in novels such as *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), *Ivanhoe* (1819) and *The Monastery* (1820). In Germany, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) wrote a large number of literary works dealing at least in part with the medieval period. In France the writer Victor Hugo (1802–85) started to defend the preservation of historic monuments, and pursued this interest in his historic novels, such as *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831). It seems significant that architects such as the Prussian, Karl Schinkel (1781–1841), who had designed buildings such as the Schauspielhaus (Theatre) and the Museum on the Lustgarten (the Altes Museum), which followed the classical style, became very interested in the Gothic which he saw as the national style (Snodin 1991).

This enthusiasm for the medieval period in general, and the Gothic in particular, was obviously shared by the antiquarians. They inherited much from the previous generation. The classificatory mood associated with the development of the natural sciences by Carl Linnaeus (1707–78), Georges-Louis Leclerc Count of Buffon (1707–88) and Jean-Baptiste Lamark (1744–1829) had been taken up in archaeology by authors such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann (Chapter 2) and in museum exhibits like, for example, those of Alexandre Lenoir in the Museum of French Monuments. The initial establishment of categories and their arrangement into hierarchies translated into chronological sequences. In England this had already started with works such as James Bentham (1708–94) *History and Antiquities of the Conventual Church of Ely* in 1771 and continued in the early nineteenth century with others such as *Architectural Antiquities* and *Cathedral Antiquities* published by John Britton

(1771–1857) in 1807–26 and *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation* by Thomas Rickman (1776–1841) of 1814–35 (Miele 1998). These would be the first in a long line of antiquarian works and exhibitions defining terminology and classifying medieval styles. In 1824, *Essay sur l'architecture du Moyen Age*, written by the French antiquarian, Arcisse de Caumont (1801–73), was published in which Gothic monuments were compared. In 1819 the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* was produced in Germany, containing data on the German people, including folk-tales, literature, charters and manuscripts. This initiative would soon be followed in France by the *Collections de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France* (Bentley 1999: 44). Following previous traditions, archaeological investigations in the early nineteenth century were essentially artistic, devoted to the study of monuments, inscriptions and coins although some authors focused their studies on particular towns or areas, such as Richard Colt Hoare's (1758–1838) *History of Ancient Wiltshire* (1810–21) in England. Increasingly, small examples of material culture such as ceramics and metal implements were included in collections and typologies of them were published. A few excavations of medieval sites were also undertaken in this period, ten in the Wessex region of England between 1800 and 1850, four of which were monasteries (Gerrard 2003: 47).

The bourgeoisie—as well as the landed elite and aristocracy—became increasingly attracted to the historical appeal of the ruins and objects of the past. Books explaining the country's monumental heritage were produced. Some of the earlier ones, such as those of the French author, Alexandre de Laborde's (1733–1842) *Voyage pittoresque et historique en Espagne* (1806) and *Itinéraire descriptive de l'Espagne* (1809), may have been more connected to the routes of the Grand Tour. Yet, significantly, there were soon translations of the first work into Spanish, and high demand justified several editions. This interest in the national past was more acute in countries where wealthy classes represented a relatively high proportion of the population. The early Gothic revival in Bruges (Belgium) from 1816–20 has been connected to patriotism and the need of repair of churches damaged by the French Revolution as well as its discovery by the British on their way to visit Waterloo (van Biervliet 2000: 100). In Britain internal tourism was also important. This was nothing new, however, for from the eighteenth century travel within Britain was frequently mentioned in the topographical literature, and visits to monuments such as Stonehenge and Hadrian's Wall and interest in Roman roads became common (Sweet 2004: 36, 134, 141, 161). In 1825–6 Warwick Castle pulled in six thousand visitors and the Tower Armouries in London expected forty thousand visitors a year after they were opened to the public in 1828, a figure that more than doubled over the following decades. Thornton Abbey,

bought in 1816 by Lord Yarborough to stop its walls being quarried for the building of a road, was opened to visitors two decades later (Gerrard 2003: 31, 36). This interest in the medieval period also had an impact in the creation of university chairs such as that of Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching (1783–1820), who had a chair for History of Medieval Art and Diplomacy in Breslau (Sommer & Struwe 2006: 25). It also explains how others with chairs aimed at the study of classical archaeology also include in their teaching national archaeology. An example of this is that of the Dutch Caspar J. Reuvens (1793–1835), appointed in 1818 (Brongers 2002).

THE REVOLUTION OF THE HISTORICAL METHOD AND OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The interest in the national past as opposed to that of the Great Civilizations became important not only to the groups mentioned in the previous section—individuals in the arts, antiquarians and tourists—but also to those who worked in universities or other higher education institutions. In the latter, the impact of the French Revolution was also important. In Prussia and the other German principalities the ensuing political events produced alarm, leading to the growth among the intellectuals of a pan-German feeling of nationalism. Thus, if the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) had argued in his *Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (1784–91) that the Volk, the people, should be the basis of historical analysis, the French threat convinced him that the time had come for the German people to feel like a nation. Significantly, he did not allude to the Great Civilizations, but to the national past when he said in 1793 that

> I do not believe that the Germans have less feeling than other nations for the merits of their ancestors. I think I see a time coming when we shall return more seriously to their achievements and learn to value our old gold.
>
> (in Bentley 1999: 18).

Herder would be a key precursor of this shift towards growing interest in the national past in contrast to that of the Great Civilizations. He postulated a unique human race divided into nations, each with its own character. 'Every nation', he observed, 'is one people, having its own national form, as well as its own language' (Herder 1784–97 (1999): 49). He became involved not only in the search for early German culture, but was highly interested in Slavic, Hebrew, Celtic and other primitive nations. He believed past and present were connected. Thus, he argued in relation to the Germans that their character

'still resembles in many leading features the picture drawn by Tacitus' (Herder in Ergang 1931: 95), and strove to discover early Germanic culture (Marchand 1996a: 152). Following Rousseau's ideas, expressed in *On the Social Contract* (1762), he maintained that each nation was a product of nature whose laws regulated the national growth (Herder 1784–97 (1999): 52–7). In this way, the idea of evolution and progress became linked to that of the nation, a link that would become crucial to the archaeology of the mid and late nineteenth century. Herder's exaltation of the native and the national made him a forerunner (and indeed his writings acted as one of its motive forces) of the Romantic movement, whose influence in archaeology will be discussed in the following chapter.

Younger than Herder, the other two intellectuals who acted as a hinge between eighteenth and nineteenth-century Germany were the Humboldt brothers, Karl Wilhelm (1767–1835) and Alexander (1769–1859), whose ideas would be extremely influential in the long-term development of the different fields of archaeology. Both followed a similar method of study—induction and reasoning—but their interests differed. Alexander von Humboldt focused on the natural sciences and his contributions helped to establish geography as a scientific pursuit and greatly inspired the unfolding of a related field, anthropology. Of especial significance in the historical development of geography were Ritter and Ratzel (Holt-Jensen 1999), authors that nowadays are also identified as anthropologists in the history of the discipline. Alexander von Humboldt's protégé, Carl Ritter (1779–1859), would act as a bridge, linking the first third of the nineteenth century to its final decades and the development of the Kulturkreise school in the twentieth century (Zwernemann 1983). Ritter, who was the first Professor of Geography in the University of Berlin, began to investigate the relationship between nature and human history. Ritter argued that a people's character, the peculiarities of a nation, was a product of its history and, following Herder's ideas, that it was influenced by the environment. Indeed, he went as far as to defend geographical determinism. He maintained that 'the customs of individuals and nations differ in all countries, because man is dependent on the nature of his dwelling-place' (1863 in Bunzl 1996: 41). He also became interested in migrations as a way to explain cultural vestiges and change. Ritter's ideas contrasted in their emphasis with those held by contemporary and late nineteenth-century French and British anthropologists and prehistoric archaeologists, who believed in universalism. In practice, however, the latter group's practice of building teleological accounts of the nation, region or empire made their positions closer, at least at this level. Ritter's interest in migrations was later developed by Ratzel and would become an extremely popular explanation for cultural change in archaeology during the early twentieth century.

Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt,[4] Alexander's older brother, on the other hand, was far more relevant to the development of the historical method in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. He was a politician, man of letters, a translator of classical Greek authors and a philologist, whose interest in the latter field brought to scholars' attention the Basque language and its non-Indo-European character. He was also significant in the development of history and of Völkerpsychologie, the study of folk psychology, i.e. the psychology of a people. He maintained that through its study, together with that of history and languages, an understanding of particular peoples and of their character—manifested in traditions, customs, religion, language and art—could be reached (Bunzl 1996: 19–36). Importantly, as Minister of Public Instruction in Prussia, Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt backed the appointment of university professors such as the Danish-born Barthold Niebuhr (1776–1831), a Classicist, and the Professor of Roman law, Friedrich Karl von Savigny (1779–1861). He introduced the critical study of sources of ancient legislation, publishing the ancient text by Gaius that had recently been discovered by Niebuhr. In 1815 he launched his *History of Roman Law in the Middle Ages* (*Geschichte des romischen Rechts im Mittelalter*) in which he demonstrated the continuation of Roman law through the post-Roman period in local and ecclesiastical customs and legislations until its resurgence in the Italian cities. He also argued that law was inextricably linked with the formation of the nation.

Niebuhr was explicit about the effect of contemporary political events. As he explained, the Napoleonic threat had been felt at 'a time when we were experiencing the most incredible and exceptional events, when we were reminded of many forgotten and decayed institutions by the sound of their downfall' (in Marwick 1989: 39). In his *History of Rome*—first published in 1812–13 and completely revised in 1827–32—he advocated the benefits of a text-based historical analysis, in which he included philological and epigraphical sources. He focused his history on institutions rather than individuals and finally separated history from mythology. His method would dominate Roman scholarship until Mommsen's work. He also influenced historians specializing in later periods such as Leopold von Ranke, a modern historian and professor

[4] There were parallel figures to Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt in other countries. In England, it is necessary to point to Edward Gibbon (1737–94). In works such as his *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* he combined the traditional historical narrative and the methods of antiquarian research—palaeography, epigraphy and the study of objects—(Ceserani 2005: 414–15; Levine 1987: ch. 7). In addition to Gibbon, Haskell mentions in his chapter about the dialogue between antiquarians and historians scholars such as Montfauçon, Montesquieu, Giannone, Lodovico Antonio Muratori, Maffei, Caylus, Robert Adam, Seroux d'Agincourt (Haskell 1993: ch. 6).

at the University of Berlin from 1824. More than anybody else, Ranke is the scholar who has been identified by later historiography—especially that produced by modern historians—as the main protagonist of the renewal of historical method. The admiration awakened by his thorough treatment of primary sources represented a revolution in the historical method and this gained him many followers. He also inaugurated the practice of the seminar in which students critically studied historical sources under the supervision of a tutor. Ranke's history tried to narrate events 'Wie es eigentlich gewesen', that is, showing how history really was. Yet, despite his empiricism and scientific approach to documentation, national history was his aim. Ranke's object of study was the history of the nations—France, England or Prussia—and of their national spirit. Ranke considered each event unique and maintained that no universal laws were able to explain events.

Whereas the Prussian revolution in higher education took place in the universities, in France the preferred option was the creation of specialized colleges or schools, although in neither institution (universities or colleges) did the archaeology of the national past become successfully integrated until the 1840s. Without this development, however, the institutionalization of the teaching of archaeology would have been difficult. In France the school founded for historical study was the École de Chartes, opened in Paris in 1821. It focused on teaching the use of primary sources for historical investigation. Its founder, the baron Joseph-Marie de Gérando (1772–1842), was a savant with many interests, ranging from languages to the study of primitive customs and history and archaeology. During a stay in Rome in 1810, he had been one of the creators of the Free Roman Academy of Archaeology (Libera Accademia Romana di Archeologia). Despite this, in the École de Chartes, the subject of archaeology was initially considered as of secondary importance. In an address made to the first students, the director of the Royal Archives stated:

> Gentlemen, the documents that will be the object of your studies are justly seen as the torch which lights up chronology and history. They supply the information that coins, inscriptions and other similar monuments do not provide. Without the documents, everything is dark, all is doubt about the Middle Ages. Without them, the genealogies are no more than problems and fables. Without them, the origins of our main institutions could not be but wrapped in darkness. In a word, every historian, every chronologist who does not use documents as a guide throughout the labyrinth of ancient times risks getting lost.
>
> (in Bercé 1997: 25).

The purpose of the school was to teach students to handle ancient French documents as a means to recover the national historical and philological past.

Philology, the study of documents in all their aspects, was the focus of the school (Bercé 1997). Teaching about material culture produced in the past, and then only that of medieval and post-medieval archaeology, would start in 1847 (Thirion 1997).

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS THE LIBERAL REVOLUTIONS

This chapter has explored how the national past was regarded during the revolutionary period of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As indicated in Chapter 2, the concerns over the past had been key elements in the emergence of eighteenth-century pre-Romanticism and continued at the turn of the century at least until the 1820s. This is the reason why, in accounts about the history of archaeology in Central Europe, authors such as Karel Skenár include the early years of the nineteenth century in a chapter, dealing with the Enlightenment. The connections between the Enlightenment and the revolutionary age are indeed very strong. Issues discussed in this chapter, such as patriotism and the search for the roots of what made each nation unique, were already present in the eighteenth century (Chapter 2). Authors like Peter Fritzsche (2004: 13) have also indicated that a difference between the Enlightenment and the years of the French Revolution was the wider spectrum of people acquiring a historical consciousness; it was no longer restricted to an elite class but was shared by people of modest means such as artisans, soldiers and travellers.

The growing and widening antiquarian interest in the national past, therefore, must be considered as an exacerbation of previous trends. Connected to this, it is important to note that in the first years of the nineteenth century it would have been difficult to establish a clear-cut division between those dealing with the antiquities of the ancient Great Civilizations and those dealing with the material remains of their own country. This had been the case of Bernard de Montfauçon (1655–1741) a century before, for whom the interest in the classical civilizations led to his involvement in the study of French antiquities (Chapter 2). This example can be mirrored by many more in the period under analysis in this chapter, though two examples suffice to illustrate this point. In Britain Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1758–1838), who studied classical antiquities while travelling the Grand Tour, later focused his attention on his native Wessex (Marsden 1983: 15). In Russia, Count Nikolai Petrovich Rumyantsev (1754–1826), who subsidized the excavation of Scythian burials, then supported the investigation of Slavic antiquities. In other cases the value of prehistoric antiquities was entirely based upon their supposed

connection with the Great Civilizations. Thus for the scholar Charles Vallancey (*c.* 1725–1812), many of the antiquities in Ireland were of Phoenician origin (Waddell 2000: 79). Interestingly, a few prestige objects found in other countries provided the clue to understanding the past of one's own nation: thus, the Polish explorer Zorian Dolega Chodakowsky (1784–1825) argued that the kurgans of Ukraine had been created by the Slavs.

Perhaps the greatest contrast between the interest in the national past in the early nineteenth century with respect to previous endeavours lay in the role the state acquired in the administration of antiquities. This did not happen in Britain, where, as explained in the case of the Great Civilizations, the utilitarian model would prevail until the last decades of the nineteenth century (Chapter 1 and others in this book). Private sponsorship was the preferred option in Britain and, during the period examined in this chapter, the situation described there was unparalleled in continental Europe. In continental Europe the financial backing of the state was established during this time. The development of state funding for the study of national antiquities started in Scandinavia, but many other nations followed suit. This pattern matches the opening of museums dedicated to the display of the national antiquities. Of special importance was the Museum of French Monuments, cited by many as the inspiration for later museums including that of Nordic Antiquities in Denmark, the National Museum on the Pest side of Budapest, and others in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as, beyond Europe, the National Museum of Mexico. The creation of these institutions was of key importance because, in contrast to earlier ones, those set up under the aegis of the state were intended to be permanent, as their existence did not depend on the impulse of a single benefactor. Another type of institutions that established links—albeit still weak—with the study of national antiquities were those related to teaching. The revolution in the methods of historical analysis in the late eighteenth century led to the encouragement of original material and although to start with documents were given priority over the study of antiquities, in the long term the latter would be integrated into the curricula of higher education.

The liberal revolutions of the early 1820s, 1830s, and 1848, and the conservative reaction against them, encouraged greater interest towards national archaeology, at a time, as will be seen in Chapter 12, that was closely related to Romanticism and to the new appeal of the concepts of race and language. Even if archaeology was barely institutionalized, the appeal of antiquities found in each European country inspired artists and writers. In every European nation the historical imagination became linked to representations that were placed in the medieval past. Europe's economic expansion, partly paid for by the colonies, provided the finances for expanding the institutionalization of

the study of the past. This, in fact, did not happen as yet in utilitarian Britain, but it definitely did in France, whose example was emulated throughout continental Europe. This process further assisted the gradual appearance of a body of professionals who continued to feed the appeal of the discovery of one's national past and the formation of national identities for a growing middle class.

12

Archaeology and the Liberal Revolutions (*c.* 1820–1860): Nation, Race, and Language in the Study of Europe's Past

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND: THE LIBERAL REVOLUTIONS OF THE EARLY 1820s AND 1830s AND 1848[1]

There was no return to the Ancien Régime after Napoleon's downfall in 1815. Firstly, the early nineteenth-century economy was increasingly strengthened by the industrial, imperial and trading expansion of the European powers throughout the world (Chapters 5 to 10), which helped to stimulate Western Europe's financial growth. Adding immeasurable impetus to this movement was the territorial expansion of Russia and the US, and later in the century other countries such as Japan contributed by broadening their frontiers manifold (Chapters 9 and 10). Factors such as these accelerated the enlargement and aspirations of the middle classes, who were precisely the group leading most of the revolutionary activity in the first half of the nineteenth century. Secondly, the reforms in administration made the state machine more efficient than that of the Ancien Régime and this impeded a full restoration of the old order. Also, for the efficient functioning of the state, the enthusiasm with which educated individuals identified with the nation was extremely important to ensure their loyalty. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century socio-political revolutions had brought a series of new meanings to concepts such as conservatism, liberal, democrat, party, and the distinction between left and right (Roberts 1996: 21). For example, liberalism was a doctrine that favoured 'progress' and 'reform'. It was also linked with the type of nationalism that the French Revolution had promoted with the sovereignty of nations and the belief that all citizens were equal in the eyes of the law (although at this time 'citizenship', as propagated by the proponents of this doctrine, mainly meant the prosperous classes and male citizens). For progressive liberals, it was not only the established states that had the right

[1] This section is largely based on Roberts (1996).

to be a nation. The nationalist sentiments and claims by Greeks, Slovaks, Czechs, Brazilians, Mexicans, Hungarians, and a myriad of would-be nations, illustrate the growth of the widespread notion of nationhood that reached to other people with distinctive pasts and cultures. Liberals also had to confront, or negotiate with, the reactionary forces that brought down Napoleon in 1815. They were mainly made up of the nobility, and also supported by conservative intellectuals. For several decades they were to impose themselves through international accords, starting with the Congress of Vienna of 1814–15. Some of the agreements attempted to reinstate the pre-1789 status quo. Others, such as the German Zollverein, or customs union, were inspired by economic and political ambitions. It was, for example, agreed that a German Confederation of thirty-nine states should be established under the presidency of Austria while Prussia enlarged its territories. Furthermore Britain obtained overseas colonies (Malta, Heligoland in the North Sea, and the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa); the Papal States were returned to the Pope; Sweden gained Norway and Russia absorbed Finland and, finally, Switzerland became independent. Furthermore Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the three most powerful reactionary regimes, would form the Holy Alliance, keeping Central and Eastern Europe under surveillance.

After Napoleon's downfall, the allies initially formed in Vienna managed to crush three liberal revolutions in the 1820s and 1830s and in 1848. International forces rapidly suppressed the revolutions in the early 1820s in countries such as Spain, Portugal, and Naples, Tuscany and other parts of Italy. In 1825 a group of liberal military officers rebelled against Tsar Nicholas I in the Decembrist revolt. After their defeat new regulations were implemented to stop any further spread of progressive liberal movements in that country. Apart from France, the only uprisings to be successful were those which took off in Greece and the Latin American countries, where after the initial reluctance of the Powers to get involved, especially in the case of Greece, the geopolitical advantages of the dismemberment of the Ottoman and Spanish empires convinced them to help rather than impede the revolutions. In both cases the past had an important symbolic role to play in the revolutions, as liberals made claims to it to argue for their right to independence (Chapter 4).

A second wave of revolutions occurred in the 1830s. There was a first attempt to unite Italy under the Risorgimento (meaning Resurrection), but after initial failure, the 'Young Italy' movement was founded by Mazzini in 1831. A rebellion in Belgium resulted in its independence (1831), but the Polish uprising against Russia (in 1830 and again in 1846) did not succeed. In France political turbulence brought down the absolute monarch Charles X and ushered in the reign of Louis Philippe. Disorder was prevented in Britain when the British Parliament passed the Reform Bill of 1832, an electoral reform that changed the basis of

Parliamentary representation. A few years later, in 1839, the People's Charter was presented to the British Parliament. In the US the abolitionist movement emerged from the liberal agitation of the 1830s. Within this movement, women's rights stirred up hot debate, as some of the main advocates claimed that the fight should be for human rights and not only for the rights of men. Yet, most male abolitionists thought that this was not the proper time to stress women's rights. In other countries such as France the earliest feminists were connected with utopian socialists (McElroy 1991; Moses 1984).

In 1848 the third wave of revolutions started. They took place mainly in Europe although they had echoes in other parts of the world, such as Brazil. As had been the case in the two previous revolts, their influence in the United States was minimal in the short term. In Europe only Russia and Britain were left unharmed, the former because of its lack of a strong middle and proletarian class and the latter because of a series of measures that defused unrest among the workers and middle classes (Roberts 1996: 25). France led the way, when the February revolt forced King Louis Philippe to flee. The revolt's success precipitated insurgencies throughout Europe. In Germany these were led by crowds of students, members of the progressive, liberal middle class and also of the working classes. The unrest was especially important in Vienna and Berlin. The Austrian Chancellor Metternich (1773–1859), a key player in Austrian politics for several decades, had to go. In Germany a Parliament was formed in Frankfurt with the aim of drafting a charter for all of Germany. However, German unification was put on hold when the Prussian monarch, Frederick William IV, refused to be crowned by the liberals. In Italy revolutions exploded in Milan, Venice, and Rome. In the latter city, Garibaldi and Mazzini proclaimed the Roman Republic and social reforms that bettered the status of the poor were implemented. French troops allowed the restoration of papal authority with the result that Garibaldi fled to the US and Mazzini to England. The Italian nationalist movement, the Risorgimento, had again failed, while in Ireland the movement Young Ireland launched a rebellion in July but was crushed by British troops.

In Eastern Europe the revolutions, led by Lajos Kossuth, produced a separate constitution for Hungary. A republic was briefly declared in 1849, but events took a turn for the worse. No concessions to the national minorities within Hungary were granted, leading to further unrest. One of these national minorities were the Slovaks. A Slovak National Council had already drafted the 'Demands of the Slovak Nation' in May 1848, but their claims were rejected. Worse yet for Hungary, the refusal to help Austria against the Italians resulted in war in which the Russian armies brought the Hungarian revolution to a rapid and bloody end. In Bohemia Czechs quarrelled with Germans over whether to unify with Germany or with other Slav peoples. In June 1848

the Czechs convened the first Slavic Congress to discuss the possibility of the political consolidation of Austrian Slavs, including Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs.

Despite the apparent fiasco of the 1848 revolutions changes were discernible, and they would have consequences in the following two decades. Perhaps because of this 1848 has been justly called the 'springtime of nations'. Both the Italians and the Germans had only two more decades to wait to unify successfully. In 1861 (annexing Rome in 1870) and 1871 both nations would respectively be recognized as independent states. Feudalism was finally eliminated in Austria and Prussia. Serfdom was abolished in Russia in 1861. Universal male suffrage started to be imposed in many countries, although this process would only end well into the twentieth century. Hungary obtained a higher degree of autonomy in 1867. Disaffected German bourgeois liberals, who had migrated to the United States after 1848 taking with them their fortunes, and also their ideals, were one of the factors influencing politics leading to the American Civil War (1861–5). Their distaste for slavery, among other things, led them to support the Union, formed by the states in the North, as against the Confederacy, constituted by the seceding Southern States. After the end of the American Civil War, the new US would continue enhancing its economic power which would position it among the emerging world powers.

Major factors contributing to the changing socio-political climate during this period were driven by industrialization and capitalism. These forces were already evident in Britain during the eighteenth century, but the same processes would only make a big impact on the continent from the 1830s. Banks were regulated and actively encouraged economic development. By 1840 railways, already an important means of communication in Britain, were being built in France, Germany, and The Netherlands. Canals and maritime shipping also enhanced transport by water. Trade was bolstered, especially after protectionist measures were lifted. The development of the industrial sector deeply transformed the economy and led to a profound change in the social composition of the Western world, converting an increasing number of peasants into industrial proletariat and leading to a significant growth in the social and political power of the middle classes. This was the context in which the study of national antiquities continued to grow.

NATION-BUILDING AND THE MEDIEVAL PAST

The process of nation-building during this era of the revolutions led to the development of the historical enquiry, a task undertaken on the basis of texts

and documents and also of ancient material culture. Throughout the century historiography became politicized in the name of the national interest (Berger *et al.* 1999a: 6). Increasingly, there was a process of essentializing what a nation was, so that it could be described as an individual with a character. The proper understanding of the national character could not be acquired but through a higher understanding of its past. The well-known Danish archaeologist, Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae (1821–85), put it this way:

> A nation which respects itself and its independence cannot possibly rest satisfied with the consideration of its present situation alone. It must of necessity direct its attention to bygone times, with the view of enquiring to what original stock it belongs, in what relations it stands to other nations, whether it has inhabited the country from primeval times or immigrated thither at a later period . . . ; so as to ascertain by what means it has arrived at its present character and conditions. For it is not until these facts are thoroughly understood, that the people acquire a clear perception of their own character, that they are in a situation to defend their independence with energy, and to labour with success at the progressive development, and thus to promote the honour and well-being of their country.
>
> (Worsaae 1849: 1).

Worsaae was in this way linking the knowledge about the past with freedom, independence and progress. In a different part of Europe, in Central Europe, as early as 1843 Jan Erazim Vocel (1803–71) had proposed to call archaeologists' practice by the term 'Czech national archaeology' (Sklenár 1983: 69).

The interest in the past was not new (Chapters 2 and 11), but during this period it grew and became an essential tool in the process of nation-building. Key components in nation-building at this time were national histories, historical paintings, the construction of historical townscapes and the practice of novel professions such as that of archaeologist. Regarding national histories, a series of them were published in the central decades of the nineteenth century. Interestingly, most of them referred back to the medieval period as the glorious origin of the nation, and only a few delved deeper into the past. An early example of these histories was Guizot's *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe* (1829–32), in which Europe mainly meant France, which identified feudalism with the forging of the French nation. Published more than twenty years later, Michel Hennin's *Monuments de l'Histoire de France* (1856) began with Childéric in 481 CE (Haskell 1993: 302). The Middle Ages were also the point of departure for Macaulay's *History of England* (1849); Kliuchevskij's Russian, and Oliveira Martins' Portuguese national histories (Fabião 1996: 93; Shnirelman 1996: 224). Historical painting, so fashionable during most of the nineteenth century, also sought inspiration from history, often using a selection of themes taken from the Middle Ages. Examples can be found in most

European countries including England (Banham 1984), France (Pomian 1996), and Spain (Díez 1992). In Ireland, also, the medieval period was key in the writings (especially his 1845 *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*) and paintings of George Petrie (1790–1866), who emphasized the 'Celtic' medieval landscape of Ireland (Cooney 1996: 150–1; Hutchinson 1987: 81–3; Waddell 2005: 103–13). Somewhere in between the national histories and historical paintings lay a series of publishing ventures of picture albums depicting the main monuments of the nation. In the 1820s the production of the *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France* started, a project only completed in the 1870s (Fritzsche 2004: 125). This and other similar ventures were copied all over Europe. Thus, in Spain three different undertakings can be mentioned as its inheritors: *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España* (1839–72), *España Artística y Monumental* (1842–50), and *Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España* (1859–81).

The importance of the medieval as a major constituent of the spirit of the nation led to its style being copied in newly built edifices that regulated the civic and religious life of towns. Administrative buildings and churches were erected in a neo-medieval style and furnished inside with furniture taking on Gothic forms (De Maeyer & Verpoest 2000). This fashion would endure for several decades throughout Europe. Architects, however, not only designed new structures, they also dealt with buildings put up in the medieval period that needed restorations and improvements. While in previous centuries this would have been done in the style of the contemporary period, in the middle years of the nineteenth century the aspiration was to restore medieval buildings following medieval rules. Yet, the description of what these were was a task undertaken by architect-antiquarians. These organized a series of taxonomies inspired by systems of classification in other fields as diverse as botany and philology (Frew 1980; Miele 1998: 112). Once these schemes were in place, they took precedence over the diversity of structures and forms that, as a matter of fact, had been the norm built in the medieval period. In this way restorations followed the new standards of what a medieval building of a particular century were thought to have looked like, either by newly building sections that had been ruined or even substituting original pieces that did not fit expectations (Miele 1998; Ordieres Díez 1995: 119). There are precedents for this practice in countries such as England in the eighteenth century (Miele 1998: 112–19), which by the nineteenth century was utilized by architects such as Gilbert Scott (1811–78). In France, the architect who would have a huge influence all over Europe in spreading this architectural style was Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79), who started to put these ideas into practice in the mid 1830s in the Romanesque abbey of Vézelay (Choay 2001: 102–6). In the middle decades of the nineteenth century this way of doing things would

become the norm all over Europe (De Maeyer & Verpoest 2000; Leniaud 1993; Miele 1998; Ordieres Díez 1995). Yet, not everybody agreed with these methods of restorations, and promoted a less interventionary approach, a position romanticized in England by William Morris (1834–96) and John Ruskin (1819–1900) (Banham 1984).

The study of the medieval was fostered by the spread of societies. In France the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy (Société des antiquaires de Normandie) was founded in 1824 by Arcisse de Caumont (1801–73). The society had as one of its main aims to study medieval antiquities and publish about them in the journal *Normandie*. A few years later, in 1833–4, the threat of destruction of the baptistery of Poitier led Caumont to organize the Society for the Conservation and Description of Historical Monuments (Société pour la conservation et la description des monuments historiques, later called the Société Française d'Archéologie). Among its activities was the publication of a bulletin—the *Bulletin Monumental*—and the organization of an annual conference (Congrès archéologiques de la France) (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 114, 135). Caumont has been considered one of the founders of modern archaeology in France. He had not studied architecture, but law, but his publications were vital for the scholarly study of the medieval period. Among those to be highlighted are his *Essai sur l'architecture du Moyen Âge* (1823), *Cours d'antiquités monumentales* (six volumes published between 1830 and 1841), which covered from pre-Roman to medieval architecture, his *Histoire de l'architecture religieuse au Moyen Âge* (1841), and his *Abécédaire ou rudiment d'archéologie* (1842), on church ornaments.

In England, the Cambridge Camden Society was created in 1839 'to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains'. Its aim was to 'impose near laboratory conditions on the study and description of medieval architecture' (Miele 1998: 120). For members of the society, Gothic architecture was the national visible manifestation of the Christian faith. Soon after, the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture was set up. In Scandinavia two names spring out from others: the Swede P. Härnquist and the Danish Niels Lauritz Andreas Høyen (1798–1870). The latter established the Nordic Art Society (Selskabet for Nordisk Kunst) in 1847. His teaching was key in the development of medieval art history, first as an occasional lecturer in many venues and from 1856 as the first Professor in Art History at the University of Copenhagen. The influence of these societies would filter through to other European countries. Thus, in Portugal the Real Associação dos Architectos Civis e Archeologos Portuguezes (Royal Association of Civil Architects and Archaeologists of Portugal) was created in 1863. Its founder was the Portuguese architect Possidónio da Silva

(1806–96). He had been trained in Paris by Caumont. Back in Portugal, he was made responsible for many of the restorations of the period. He single-handedly began teaching archaeology (including palaeography, epigraphy and philology) from 1847. He also wrote a catalogue on the great medieval Portuguese buildings, which included photographic documentation (Martins 2003).

HUMAN MORPHOLOGICAL DIVERSITY, PHRENOLOGY, AND CRANIOLOGY

Arguably one of the most original research programmes developed in the nineteenth century related to the study of the morphology of the human body, and the significance of the variability in its form. Among the various perspectives, three will be discussed below: racial studies, phrenology, and craniology. The scientific classification of races had originated in rationalism during the Enlightenment. In his *Systema Naturae* (1735) Linnaeus had clustered humans within the order of quadrupeds, breaking with the religious interpretation that, after Genesis, had placed human beings in a special position between animals and God. In a second edition he went further, separating humans into five races according to skin colour, all of them springing from a single, original group. A division that became more popular, however, was undertaken by Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840). In the third edition of his work *On the Natural Variety of Mankind*, he distributed humankind into five races, one of them the 'Caucasian' of white skin colour (Liebersohn 1998: 135–6; MacMaster 2001: 12–13), although many alternative variations were established by other scholars (Banton 1988). Throughout the nineteenth century, however, it became clear that colour had to be supplemented by other measurements, and physical taxonomy became popular.

One of the pseudo-sciences developed at the turn of the century was that of phrenology which maintained that 'a particular form of brain is the invariable concomitant of particular dispositions and talents, and this holds in the case of nations as well as of individuals' (Anonymous 1825: 7). This viewpoint was first developed in Vienna by the German Swabian physician Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828), but his ideas were soon condemned. His theories, nonetheless, spread in the 1820s to other countries in Western Europe and the US, being key in its introduction to Britain the figure of the German Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (1776–1832), and in the acceptance of one of its forms, phrenological naturalism, that of George Combe (1788–1858). The reception of

phrenology in Britain was varied: accepted by many, but opposed by the established academia, later on in the century it was generally dismissed as quackery and charlatanry (van Wyhe 2004). In 1828 George Combe published *The constitution of man considered in relation to external objects*, a book that, despite the adverse reaction by evangelical Christians who considered it subversive of the Christian faith, years later would even outsell Darwin's *Origins* (van Wyhe 2004: ch. 5). In the 1820s phrenological societies were established in London, Edinburgh, and Wakefield, followed in the 1830s by those of Manchester, Paris, Boston, Aberdeen and others (Drouin-Hans 2001: 30–1; van Wyhe 2004). In Britain, the exclusion of phrenology from the British Association for the Advancement of Science produced as a reaction the creation of the (British) Phrenological Association, which first met in Newcastle in 1839. In Scotland phrenology was followed by the Edinburgh publisher and antiquarian Robert Chambers (1802–71). Chambers published anonymously *Vestiges of the natural history of creation* in 1844, in which a universal theory of progressive development to explain changes in nature throughout time was proposed (van Wyhe 2004: 177).

Chambers would be one of the main influences on Daniel Wilson, the Scottish archaeologist who moved to Canada in 1853 (Chapter 10), and who invited the Danish Worsaae to visit Edinburgh in 1846 (Kehoe 1998: 14–17). Wilson would describe a fieldtrip with Chambers in 1851:

> On a bright day in the early summer of [1851] . . . I set out, in company with my old friend Dr. Robert Chambers, on an exploratory expedition [to a] rude stone cist . . . I had been busy with the supposed evidences of pre-Celtic races, as shown in certain strange types of head found in bog and barrow; and had experienced the utmost difficulty in obtaining the needful materials for any adequate test of the theory, set forth before the end of that year in one of the sections of the British Association as an 'Inquiry into the evidence of the existence of Primitive Races in Scotland prior to the Celtae.'. . . Primitive British crania were in special request, and here was a disclosure which revealed undreamt-of affinities between those of the Old and the New World. [Here he describes what sounds like a Beaker grave.] . . . We started homeward with our new-found treasures [skull and pot].
>
> No pleasanter companion could have been selected . . . than Robert Chambers . . . we had a theme now in view which excited his keenest interest . . . Only the year before there had been added to the English vocabulary the convenient term prehistoric . . . The . . . skull . . . disclosed a special feature which had not attracted my attention before. The occiput was flattened, precisely as in some of the skulls figured in Morton's *Crania Americana*. What if it were traceable to the same cause? Here was a theme pregnant with all the charms of a novel discovery; and our evening's talk led us through many a curious speculation on ethnical affinities, evolutionary development, perpetuated peculiarities, backward to the very origin of man.
>
> (Wilson 1878: 140–7, in Kehoe 1998: 17–18).

Despite these influences, Wilson would not become an explicit phrenologist. Yet, if the rejection of phrenology by academia grew throughout the century, the parallel development of craniology took the opposite direction. There was a certain overlap between the two for both claimed the possibility of making inferences of personal traits and intelligence. Craniology came to be defined as the science which studied skulls, measuring the brain to quantify sexual and racial differences in intelligence. Measurements of the skull were being undertaken probably in the 1830s by the anatomist and Professor of Physiology at the University of Copenhagen, Daniel Friederich Eschricht (1798–1863), who has been described as a craniologist. He quantified the dimension of skulls unearthed in barrows to test whether there were significant differences between the three ages developed years earlier by Thomsen (Chapter 11) (Morse 1999: 2). The work of another Scandinavian scholar, the Swedish Professor of Anatomy in Stockholm, Anders Retzius (1796–1860), was of key importance for craniology. In his critique to phrenology, he developed the cephalic index in 1845. With this index the very influential distinction between dolichocephalic (long skulls) and brachycephalic (wide skulls) type was created. Its significance became understood in racial terms, for dolichocephalic people were identified with the Scandinavians, the Germans, the English and the French (at least those from Northern France), who were considered intelligent as opposed to the more retarded brachycephalic types represented by peoples such as the Lapps, the Finns or Finno-Slavs and the Bretons (Poliakov 1996 (1971): 264).

Racism became entangled with the debate between monogenists and polygenists. Blumenbach had been a monogenist, a term that, as mentioned on page 312, was used for those who believed that all human races derived from a common origin. Blumenbach was not an exception as monogenism was the prevailing belief held during the eighteenth century. This, however, changed in the following century. Monogenism was still maintained in the *Researches into the Physical History of Man* (1813) published by the then young James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848).[2] Soon, however, the balance would change towards polygenism. From a generalized belief in human progress, signs of a more intolerant form of racism emerged in the mid nineteenth century. Boundaries between races became unbreakable and change became difficult if not impossible. Racism became directed towards the 'Other' beyond one's frontiers and especially beyond Europe as discussed in Chapter 10, as well as towards aliens inside, which meant towards minorities such as the Jews

[2] In a later edition (1841) he quoted Eschricht's work (Morse 1999: 3), and through this example and others it becomes clear that the acceptance of the Three Age system in Britain became linked with craniology, at least until the appearance of Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times* in 1865.

(MacMaster 2001: ch. 3). An increasing number of scholars defended the thesis that different groups of people had separate origins. Among the polygenists Samuel G. Morton (1799–1851), the author of both *Crania Americana* (1839) and *Crania Aegyptica* (1844), should be mentioned.

Racist overtones were also expressed by the polygenist Robert Knox (1791–1862), who considered that the Saxon or Scandinavian race was destined for dominance, and that the Saxons' principal enemies were the Celts, among whom he included the Irish Celts whom he defined as inferior colonial subjects (Biddiss 1976: 249; Morse 1999: 11). In France craniology was followed and developed by the polygenist Paul Broca (1824–80), his Parisian school and his association, the Société d'anthropologie de Paris (1858) (Banton 1987; Blanckaert 2001). He distinguished two main races in French prehistory:

> the monuments alleged to be Celtic twenty years ago are of two different periods: the stone age on one hand, and the bronze age on the other. Yet others, even more recent, contain some iron objects. Comparative studies ... have shown that the primary inhabitants of Europe belonged to the stone age, while the use of bronze was introduced by more civilized man, probably of Asiatic origin ... The Celtic period begins with the bronze age; the stone age period is pre-Celtic ...

and added:

> The Celts of History are a confederation of peoples in Central Gaul. The Celts of Linguistics are the people who have spoken and are still speaking the so-called Celtic languages. The Celts of Archaeology are the people who inaugurated the bronze age in Europe. The Celts of Craniology finally, are the people who brought dolichocephaly to the native brachycephalic European population, according to Retzius; whereas according to Thurnman they are, on the contrary, the people who brought brachycephaly to the native dolichocephalic British population.
>
> (Broca 1864 in Schiller 1979: 145–6).

Following in the steps of the Parisian society, the Anthropological Society of London was organized by James Hunt in 1862. The social tensions between this and the Ethnological Association have been described by Stocking (1971). In Germany the anatomist Alexander Ecker (1816–87) argued in 1865 that the long skulls found in post-Roman cemeteries represented Germanic types, whom he thought were also present in prehistory (Wiwjorra 1996: 170). The German anatomist, Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902), would become the principal representative of this trend (Poliakov 1996 (1971): 264).

Whether made by a polygenist or not, the distinction between dolichocephalic and brachycephalic (i.e., long and short) skulls created by Retzius became extremely popular for decades to come. It was used by John Grattan, a member of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society who,

although he never managed to finish his promised *Crania Hibernica*, published some skulls in 1858 (Waddell 2005: 121). The same view was also used by the craniologist and antiquarian Sir William Wilde (1815–76) who was working in the same period (Morse 1999: 5–6; Waddell 2005: 131–6). Another 'Crania' book published in this period was that of *Crania Britannica* in 1865 by John Thurnam (1810–73) and Joseph Bernard Davis (1801–81). It put together data collected for more than a decade, results of excavations such as those of Davis who as early as 1851 was digging barrows to collect skulls for his racial studies. Interestingly, very much in tune with his time, his interests had turned from local folklore, churches, cemeteries, and brass-rubbing to digging barrows and collecting skulls (Stocking 1971: 374–5; 1968: 375; 1987: 66).

Whereas no racial connection between present and past was expected in respect of the very earliest inhabitants of Europe, this was not the case for the latest prehistoric periods. Thus, the protohistoric period was being claimed as part of the national past. As well as Broca with the Celts in the quotation above, Worsaae was an example of this. He concluded that in the Bronze Age the inhabitants of Denmark were a Gothic tribe and that those living in Scandinavia during the Iron Age could be regarded as the same people as the present Swedes and Norwegians (Worsaae 1849: 144).

RACE AND LANGUAGE

During the nineteenth century, race and language became two crucial—and for the most part interrelated—notions in nationalist thought. A nation's common history and culture became central to the concept of nationalism. Individual nations were increasingly seen as the products of nature, and distinguished by character, race, and language. These were not seen as separate elements. Language was perceived as the conscious expression of racial uniqueness, being the visible emblem which distinguished one race, that is, one nation, from another (Kedourie 1966: 64). All this meant a change in the definition of a nation. Individual rights and the sovereignty of the people within the nation remained central to liberalism, especially that of the left, but for all liberals the understanding of what the nation was signified a discussion of its racial and linguistic origins. The rise of this type of nationalism, called by experts ethnic or cultural nationalism (Chapter 1), changed politics forever. It was no longer the case that only long-established states tried to reinforce the sense of identity of their citizens by appealing to nationalism. Now, there were also communities which, perceiving themselves to be

members of the same ethnic (or racial, in the vocabulary of the time) group, demanded political independence. As Eric Hobsbawm indicates, 'in consequence of this multiplication of potential "unhistorical" nations, ethnicity and language became the central, increasingly the decisive or even the only criteria of potential nationhood' (Hobsbawm 1990: 102). The triumph of this essentialist notion of the nation resulted in an intensification of the search for and legitimization of the nation's ethnic and/or linguistic roots, a search in which archaeology, as seen in the previous section, became deeply implicated. This was no politically innocent search. The growth of racism already mentioned in the previous section was steadily becoming successful among many of the learned classes. Literature about national identity became available, and among the many publications of these years perhaps one needs to highlight the work by one who has been later considered as the 'father' of racist ideology, Joseph-Arthur, Count de Gobineau (1816–82), his *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (*The Inequality of Human Races*) (1853–5).

For most people race, language, and nation became synonymous. There were, however, dissonant voices. During these central decades of the century, as well as later on, some nationalists, such as the Irishman Thomas Davies (Hutchinson 1987: 94), rejected the importance conferred on race for the formation of the nation. So did the French scholar Ernest Renan (1823–92) (Chapter 6), when he stated: 'On what criterion is this national right to be based? . . . Many will boldly reply, from race . . . This is a very grave error, and if it should prevail, it would spell the ruin of European civilization' (Renan 1999 (1882): 147). Looking at the racial mix of nations, he argued against the simple equation of race and nation. He explained that, historically, 'France is Celtic, Iberian and Germanic. Germany is Germanic, Celtic, and Slav . . .' (Renan 1999 (1882): 148). With regard to language, he then contended 'what we have said about race, applies also to language. Language invites union, without, however, compelling it' (Renan 1999 (1882): 150). There were also classical historians who opposed the identification of race, language, and nation. The French historian, Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges (1830–89), challenged Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903) in this respect:

> I am amazed that a historian like you [Mommsen] affects not to know that it is not race or language which make nationality. It is not race: cast your eyes on Europe, and you will see clearly that peoples are almost never constituted on the basis of their primitive origins. Geographical convenience, political or commercial interests are what has formed populations and founded states. Each nation is thus formed little by little, each fatherland emerges without anyone being preoccupied with these ethnographic matters which you would like to bring into fashion.
>
> (Schnapp 1996: 56–7).

Not even Paul Broca, the Professor of Medicine held to be the initiator of physical anthropology in France, agreed, asking in 1864:

> Whence come, in fact, the races who people Europe? From Europe. Whence come the languages spoken in Europe? From Asia. . . . This is the reason why I could not agree with a doctrine which, starting from too close an assimilation of language and race, would posit in principle that conformity of language indicates unity of stock.
>
> (Schnapp 1996: 57).

But despite these warnings, repeated throughout the years (although with apparent inconsistencies in Broca's case, see page 348), the majority of scholars and lay people came to believe that race and language were *the* elements which bound together the nation. The past served to explain the formation of particular races and languages. The discovery of the Indo-European language branch by the Sanskritist Sir William Jones (1746–94) in the late eighteenth century would encourage the connection between language and race in the following decades. In 1813 Indo-Europeans were described as Aryans, and the racial component of the concept became more dominant in the following decade. The connection between race and language can be found in thousands of texts. The *Addresses to the German Nation*, published in 1807–8 by the German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), one of the most influential figures in German nationalism, is only one example among many:

> In the first place, the German is a branch of the Teutonic race . . . The first and immediately obvious difference between the fortunes of the Germans and the other branches which grew from the same root is this: the former remained in the original dwelling-places of the ancestral stock, whereas the latter emigrated to other places; the former retained and developed the original language of the ancestral stock, whereas the latter adopted a foreign language and gradually reshaped it in a way of their own.
>
> (Fichte 1807–8 in Baycroft 1998: 21–2).

The growing importance of the concepts of 'race' and 'language' would influence—and at the same time be reinforced by—most historians and archaeologists. In Germany and France, the historians Barthold Niebuhr (1776–1831) and Augustin Thierry (1795–1856) were essential for the incorporation of the concept of race into historical studies. Their work encompassed not only the national past, but also that of the Great Civilizations. This showed the extent to which race had become a scholarly commonplace. In his *History of Rome*, Niebuhr, the pioneer of text-based historical study (Chapter 11), saw the disputes between patricians and plebeians and those between Latins and Etruscans as stemming from differences of race and blood. He transformed the history of the Graeco-Roman world from a history of politics and political ideas into a history of races (Hannaford 1996). Yet, the

presumption that the Latin races were inferior to the northern ones, sometimes personified in the Aryans (to which the Greeks were linked (Bernal 1987; Leoussi 1998; Marchand 1996a)), reinforced the difficulties scholars had in maintaining a positive view of the Roman period. Historians of the national past also considered race a key concept for their interpretations. This was the case of the French author Thierry, who envisaged France as occupied by an aboriginal population racially formed by Gaulish and Frankish types (Hannaford 1996: 240–1). Thierry's work is an early example of what would become common later in the century: the study of the proto-historical period and, above all, the Middle Ages, in order to discover the roots of the nation. Both Niebuhr and Thierry, like many after them, understood race in a deterministic way, therefore considering physical features to be a reflection of mental and cultural characteristics.

As in history, the study of race and language became pivotal to archaeology. Language groups became connected with races, and both with particular types of material culture. An example of this equation was the linkage made between the Indo-European language and the Aryan race (Bernal 1987: 226–33; MacDougall 1982: 120–3; Stocking 1987: 58–60). The widely held belief in the superiority of the Aryan race became a central issue in archaeological debate. Changes in material culture through time were used as proof of movements of peoples or races across territories. Thus, in relation to the Middle Ages, in England medieval specialists attempted to trace the arrival of the three main tribal migrations of Anglo-Saxons, who—so the theory went—had either exterminated or pushed the original Celtic population towards the west (MacDougall 1982: chs. 6 and 7). The belief in the unity of the northern Germanic nations, as opposed to the previous occupants of the country, the Romano-Celts, was commonplace by the second half of the century. Such ideas were reinforced by comparative philology's linking of the Anglo-Saxons to their German ancestors within the Indo-European language family (Stocking 1987: 62). Intellectuals from Latin and Slav countries—the latter belonging to the third major European race according to Germaine de Staël's (1766–1817) proposal formulated in 1813 (Marchand 2003: 158)—saw things differently. In Russia archaeologists proudly reconstructed the history of the ancient and medieval Slavs and searched for the most ancient traces of Christianity (Shnirelman 1996: 225). Further to the southwest, the archaeology of the Latin nations also regarded the linguistic and racial components of their medieval populations as central to archaeological interpretations, and in cases such as that of Spain they were inseparable from the religious opposition between Christians and Muslims (Díaz-Andreu 1996). Judging by the interests of learned societies, language was a major concern in prehistoric archaeology. Thus, as seen in Chapter 11, the French Académie Celtique,

founded in 1804, had as its aim to research the Celtic language and the ancient monuments of the Gauls, setting the example for many other academies organized throughout France from 1824 (Pomian 1996: 29). Similarly, the Danish Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries was at first a literary society, which only became more archaeological from the 1840s (Jørgen Jensen, pers. comm.).

Classical archaeologists, as well as Egyptologists, also became interested in linguistic and racial studies. Discussions of race and ancient Egypt and the connections of the ancient Egyptians with prehistoric populations of Europe and America occupied an important part in the literature of scholars, especially those with links to anthropology (Champion 2003). In Germany, Niebuhr's and Ranke's rigorous methods would be emulated by the ancient historian Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903). He was a liberal nationalist who identified, like Niebuhr before him, race, language, and nation. His involvement in the revolution of 1848–9 had led to his dismissal from his post of Professor of Law at the University of Leipzig in 1850. He was later appointed to the chair of Ancient History at the University of Berlin in 1858. Mommsen based his *History of Rome* of 1854–5 on epigraphical, numismatic and archaeological sources. In contrast to Ranke, however, Mommsen did not believe in the historian's objectivity, but thought that historians should engage with the politics of their time. This identification became intermingled with the feeling, held by many, that the Roman presence in Germany had been antithetic to the national essence, a belief expressed as early as the fifteenth century (Marchand 1996a: 156–62). A similar tension between the prestige conferred by both the classical past and the national indigenous past was felt in Britain. As Lord Acton (John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton, 1st Baron Acton, 1834–1902), the renowned British liberal historian and philosopher, stated in around 1859:

> Two great principles divide the world and contend for the mastery, antiquity and the Middle Ages. These are the two civilizations that have preceded us, the two elements of which ours is composed. All political as well as religious questions reduce themselves practically to this. This is the great dualism that runs through our society.
>
> (Lord Acton in Turner 1981: xi).

In his 1854–5 *History of Rome* Mommsen saw civilization as passing from the Mediterranean world to the Aryans. He also introduced the idea of history as guided by evolutionist cycles, an idea that will be explored in the next chapter. As he put it, at the end of antiquity the cycle of Thebes, Carthage, Athens, and Rome

was accomplished. New peoples who hitherto had only loved the territories of the states of the Mediterranean . . . overflowed both its shores, severed the history of its south coast from that of the north, and transferred the centre of civilization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean. The distinction between ancient and modern history, therefore, is no mere accident, nor yet a mere matter of chronological convenience. What is called modern history is in reality the formation of a new cycle of culture, connected at several epochs of its development with the perishing or perished civilization of the Indo-Germanic stock, but destined, like that earlier cycle, to traverse an orbit of its own. It too is destined to experience in full measure vicissitudes of national weal and woe, periods of growth, of full vigour, and of age, the blessedness of creative effort.

(Mommsen 1864 (1854–5): 4).

Perhaps even more than medieval and Roman archaeology, it was prehistoric archaeology that greatly benefited from the emphasis on race and language, as the exploration into the roots of modern linguistic and racial groups inevitably moved back into the most remote periods. This is not to say that the prehistoric period suddenly became fully accepted as part of the national past, but events in the period discussed in this chapter as well as the next allowed that, at the end of the nineteenth century, it was finally about to secure for itself a place in the professional realm. From an early stage the study of the origins of language would be accompanied by that of race. To begin with, racial speculation was closely dependent on philology and had the effect of linking—indeed, almost binding—the two nascent sciences, archaeology and anthropology/ethnology. Thus, in his *Analysis of the Egyptian Mythology* (1819), one of the founding fathers of ethnology active in the first half of the nineteenth century, James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848), tried to fill in the period between the confusion of languages in the Tower of Babel, the dispersal of Noah's descendants throughout the world, and the appearance of the first historical records of the current 'nations', 'peoples', or 'races'. Later, in 1831, the same author published his *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations* in which he established the western boundaries of the Indo-European family. Prichard was not an exception for at the time comparative philology was considered to form the basis of the study into a race's past, and terms such as 'linguistic palaeontology' were coined to describe it (Stocking 1987).

THE SCIENTIFIC RECOGNITION OF HUMAN ANTIQUITY

One of the major developments in the central years of the nineteenth century was the scientific recognition of human antiquity. This would lay

the foundations for the reception of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859).[3] 'God is eternal, but man is very old', had said Jacques Boucher de Perthes (1788–1868) in his *Celtic and Antediluvian Antiquities* (1857). As Donald Grayson remarks, if not many influential scientists agreed with him then, the situation completely changed over the following two years (Grayson 1983: xi). The debate about the human presence on the earth had been lingering for several decades. The general understanding was that human existence was a recent event, by which some meant about six to eight thousand years, and others a shorter period. It was in the 1840s that discoveries made by natural historians interested in geology and palaeontology and by antiquarians were combined by the French officer of customs and amateur geologist, Jacques Boucher de Crèvecœur de Perthes (usually referred to as Jacques Boucher de Perthes). He benefited from several developments: the early eighteenth-century recognition of the stone tools as human-made, the acceptance of the stratigraphic method, and, a century later, of the dating of strata on the basis of fossil remains, including already extinct animals. Boucher de Perthes' finding of stone tools in very ancient layers had been preceded by that made by John Frere (1740–1807), a high sheriff of Suffolk and later a Member of Parliament. A letter he had sent to the Society of Antiquaries in 1797 was published three years later in its journal, *Archaeologia*. In it he described his discovery of a site in eastern England with flint implements beneath very ancient deposits. The scholarship at the time was not ready, however, to receive this publication and it went unnoticed for almost sixty years (Grayson 1983).

The main impediment for the acceptance of human antiquity was the consideration of the Bible as a historical account, and the discussion about this, especially about the significance of the Flood in the light of the new data provided by geologists and palaeontologists, led to many debates in the first half of the nineteenth century. The scholars in these early years included, in Britain, the geologist William Buckland (1784–1856), who indicated that the pre-Deluge peoples were to be found in central or southern Asia and opposed Boucher's ideas. As a reader in geology in Oxford, he trained Charles Lyell (1797–1875). Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830–3) would be very influential, but his deep religious beliefs seem to have prevented him from accepting humans' antiquity until the 1850s. He considered

[3] The debate about human antiquity and that on the evolution of species, however, were not connected events. Antiquity did not imply evolutionism. Creationists also believed in the antiquity of man. As Grayson explains, 'The length of the human existence and the transformation of species were the burning issues of life history during the late 1850s and early 1860s, but at the time that a deep human antiquity was established, they were fully separable issues' (Grayson 1983: 5).

the associations between human remains, extinct mammals, and the Flood as accidental or, at least, unproven (Cook 2004: 180–1; Grayson 1983: ch. 4).

In France research was undertaken by Casimir Picard (1806–41) and François Jouannet (1765–1845), whose work formed the basis of some of the discussion about the Celtic era in Arcisse de Caumont's (1801–73) first volume of his *Course of Monumental Antiquities* (1830) mentioned earlier in this chapter (Coye 1997: ch. 3; Grayson 1983: 118–19; Groenen 1994: ch. 1). Picard's work encouraged Boucher de Perthes' investigations in the Somme valley near Abbeville, published in his first volume of *Celtic and Antediluvian Antiquities* in 1847 (the second and third volumes appeared in 1857 and 1864 respectively). This first volume produced a negative reaction among academic circles mainly because of its amateurish nature and its inclusion of many mistakes, but became popular among those working on the fringes of the scientific community. One of those was Marcel-Jérôme Rigollot (1786–1854), a physician from Amiens, a town also located in the Somme valley, and someone connected to the Society of Antiquaries of Picardy. In 1854 he published new finds he had made in St Acheul, then cited as evidence in the second volume of Boucher de Perthes' *Celtic and Antediluvian Antiquities* three years later. This volume showed Boucher's much better command of contemporary geological approaches, for he argued his theories in the framework of the debate about the geological imprint of the Deluge and of its effects. He proposed that transformation had been the mechanism by which morphological changes throughout geological time could be explained (Grayson 1983: ch. 8).

In Britain, Boucher de Perthes' second volume was received at the time when the results of the excavation of Brixham Cave near Torquay in southwest England were becoming known. It was dug by the geologist and educator William Pengelly (1812–94), who wanted to find specimens for the Torquay Museum, and the palaeontologist Hugh Falconer (1808–65). The latter's visit to Boucher de Perthes in 1858 was then followed by the geologist Sir Joseph Prestwich (1812–96) and then by that of others, including Lyell, who was convinced by the evidence and accepted humans' great antiquity. Once he and the other major academics in Britain and France had admitted this, scholars in other countries joined the search for data. One of those was Casiano de Prado, a geologist who had been working for the Spanish Ordnance Survey (Comisión del Mapa Geológico de España) since 1849. He discovered remains of Elephas in the site of San Isidro near Madrid in 1850, but only after his visits to Paris and London in 1851 and 1852, and after having become aware of the work of the Danish naturalist, Peter Wilhelm Lund (1801–80), in Brazil (Chapter 4), did he go back to look for more. In 1862 his visit to the site with the French geologists and palaeontologists, Louis Lartet (Édouard Lartet's son) (1840–99) and Édouard de Verneuil (1805–73), facilitated the

communication about its existence to the wider academic community in Europe (Ayarzaguena Sanz 2002). Research on human antiquity would then be continued mainly in Western Europe during the following decades.

INSTITUTIONALIZING THE NATIONAL HERITAGE

Institutionalization is a wide concept, which includes institutions for both those earning a living from archaeology and those who do not. In the latter category the institutions par excellence are the learned society and the academy, both of which had existed for more than a century—or two—by the period under discussion in this chapter. Institutions for professional archaeologists today can be divided into four categories: museums, universities, heritage offices, and commercial archaeology units. Discarding the last one because of its very recent appearance in the history of the discipline, jobs whose title explicitly mentioned either antiquities or archaeology were created from the start of the nineteenth century. From the handful of jobs so described before 1820 (which included, for example, the German Georg Zoëga, and the Italian, Carlo Fea, as Commissioner of Antiquities, mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3), a small but significant number of newly created posts were added in this period. Yet, as the discussion in previous sections shows, there were many others working in cognate disciplines who also dealt with archaeological material. This issue will be analysed in more detail in Chapter 13. Most institutions mentioned in this section will explicitly focus on antiquity or archaeology.

Starting with positions created for what we would define nowadays as heritage management, after the early appointment of Carlo Fea cited above, it would be the French government that pioneered the creation of a post of a first civil servant explicitly dealing with archaeology. The new position was that of General Inspector of Antiquities, created in 1830 and filled in 1834 by Prosper Mérimée (1803–70). His office's aim was to control the increasing activity related to antiquities and excavations. In accordance with the mood of the time, a systematic cataloguing of artistic monuments was announced. A questionnaire was distributed throughout France. The difficulties that ensued showed the huge problems faced by any of these novel initiatives: to start with only a few city councils bothered to respond to the questionnaire. Moreover it soon became obvious that the office was not properly resourced for the magnitude of the work to be done and the specialists sent to check the information were rapidly overwhelmed by the task. In 1837 a Commission of Historical Monuments was set up to implement legislation and prevent the destruction of historical and archaeological monuments (Choay 2001;

Schnapp 1996: 53–4). In a short time this institution had been copied in other European countries. As the French Education Minister proudly stated in 1847:

> Commissions are being formed in Belgium, in Spain, in Italy and in Germany after the example of our Historical Committees . . . We would be right to congratulate ourselves for having, in this as in many other fields, taken the lead over other nations.
>
> (in López Trujillo 2006: 178).

The Historical and Artistic Monument Commissions established in Spain in 1844 were intended to protect buildings, monuments, and artistic objects which, either for reasons of the beauty of their construction, or their age, their origin, the use made of them or their historical importance, were considered worth preserving. Of the Commissions' three departments, one was devoted to architecture and archaeology (Tortosa & Mora 1996: 201–3). The Imperial Archaeological Commission set up in Russia in 1859 seems to have also dealt with Slavic antiquities (Dolukhanov 1995: 327), in addition to colonial archaeology (Chapter 9). In contrast, the earlier Archaeographical Commission of 1834 seems to have focused on the collections amassed in expeditions (Whittaker 1984: 187).

The construction of an administrative frame for the modern state directly affected archaeology in the creation of posts in heritage, museums and societies. Its influence, however, went beyond that, for jobs in other offices also had an impact in archaeology. This is exemplified by creations such as that of Ordnance Surveys in several parts of Europe, from Germany to Ireland (1824) and, later on, to other countries such as Portugal (1848) and Spain (1849). One of the earliest ones, the Irish Ordnance Survey, was founded in 1824 with the aim of acquiring a better knowledge of land distribution to allow the reform of the country's local taxation system (Waddell 2005: 97). In the newly produced maps archaeological sites were located, thus making available an enormous amount of archaeological information.

While there were only a few jobs in heritage, many more were created in museums. Throughout Europe the role of museums in nation-building became accepted, and, although their title as 'national' would only become the norm in the last four decades of the century (Chapter 13), it became common in all capitals and important cities to have the best museum of the whole nation. Invariably, in these star institutions archaeological displays were exhibited. In 1818 the National Museum in Pest was established, opening in 1823 (Sklenár 1983: 80). This, and the museum in Prague, would be the largest 'national' museums in Central Europe at the time. In 1835, shortly after Belgium's independence, the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire were created. It was then subdivided and part of the collections became the basis of

the Royal Museum of Armours, Antiquity, and Ethnology (Musée royal d'armures, d'antiquité et d'ethnologie) (Schotsmans 1985). In Vienna the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Antiques was the major institution. In Spain the creation of a professional body dealing with archives, libraries and museums in 1858 made, from 1868, the term 'antiquarian' official for those dealing with museums (the title would be substituted by that of 'archaeologist' in 1900).

The first example of a museum as explicitly 'national' and exclusively specializing in antiquities may have been the 1867 Museum of National Antiquities (Musée des antiquités nationales) in France. There was a long history behind this creation. The idea of a national museum had started in Paris with the Museum of French Monuments, called by some the National Museum of French Monuments (McClelland 1994: 165). After its closure in 1816 (Chapter 11), the idea of a national museum of antiquities had been raised again after the revolution of July 1831. In 1843 the politician François Arago (1783–1853), who had supported the bill in the Assembly, declared:

> Gentlemen, we find in various institutions around Paris Greek collections, Roman collections, Egyptian collections. Not even the savages of Oceania have been neglected. It is high time that we gave some thought to our ancestors. Let us see to it that the capital of France also includes a French historical museum.
>
> (in Pomian 1996: 43).

A similar concern was expressed in Britain. In 1845 in his *Archaeological Album*, the English antiquarian and writer, Thomas Wright (1810–77), one of the founders of the British Archaeological Association, had complained, 'in the British Museum, our native antiquities appear to be held in very little esteem . . . It is discreditable to the Government of this country that we have no museum of national antiquities' (MacGregor 1998: 127). Finally a Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography was opened, in 1866, in the broadly philhellenist (and classicist) British Museum (*ibid.* 136). After the rejection by the British Museum to buy some British antiquities, however, a private museum was formed with the name of Museum of National and Foreign Antiquities. Opened in Liverpool in 1867, its existence was anecdotal, as it closed after a few months (MacGregor 1998: 133–4).

In still non-unified Germany, the opening of the Central Roman and Germanic Museum (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum) was decided in Mainz in 1852. It was considered that the centralization of the collections would make it easier to determine the boundaries between Germans, Slavs and Celts in antiquity (Marchand 1996a: 169–70). The museum not only contained some prehistoric but also Roman and early medieval archaeology. Jealousy felt by provincial collectors, however, partly obviated these goals

(*ibid.* 169). Another museum, the German National Museum (Germanisches Nationalmuseum), organized by the Union of German Historical and Antiquarian Societies, opened its doors in Nuremberg in 1853 (Bjurström 1996: 42; Haskell 1993: 282; Marchand 1996a: 169). It exhibited Christian German arts and aimed to establish a 'well-arranged repertoire of the sources of German history, literature and art from the earliest periods until 1650', or, as expressed a few years later,

> to make known through its collections as true and as complete as possible a picture of the life and activities of our ancestors, and in its halls to recall to memory the most important moments of the history of the fatherland and to honour the memories of the most outstanding men and women of Germany.
>
> (in Haskell 1993: 283).

Other museums were established in the provincial cities. Others would now join the early examples from Austria mentioned in Chapter 11 like the Joanneum in Graz (1811): the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck (1823) and the Oberösterreichische Landesmuseum (Upper Austrian Regional Museum, 1833) (Sklenár 1983: 80; Urban in Murray 2001: 127). In territories belonging to the Austrian Empire national museums were also opened, one of them being that of Belgrade in 1844 (Babic 2002: 311). The dissolution of the monasteries in Spain and Portugal in the 1830s brought many archaeological and artistic objects into circulation. In Portugal, some were sent to museums in the largest cities, Lisbon and Oporto, and exhibited from around 1833 in their respective Fine Art Academies. In the case of the coin collection which had belonged to the Alcobaça Monastery, the Museu da Casa da Moeda (Mint Museum) was created. In Spain, museums were opened even in small provincial towns such as Castellón, Girona and Huesca, to cite just three examples (Díaz-Andreu 1997). In 1848 the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (founded in 1780) was organized. To begin with it opened two days a week, and was 'acknowledged' (i.e. funded) by the state from 1851 (MacGregor 1998: 127).

Regarding the third professional area mentioned at the start of this section, the teaching of archaeology in higher education, examples can be found in the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century. The examples of Christian Gotlob Heyne, Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching, and Caspar J. Reuvens have been cited earlier in the book (Chapters 2, 5, 11). The first chairs of archaeology in Uppsala in 1662 and in Kiel in 1802 have also been mentioned (Chapter 2). Except for these two (and perhaps others to be discovered), most of the earliest chairs specifically mentioning archaeology appeared around 1850. In 1847 some provision for the teaching of archaeology was made in Ireland in the Queen's Colleges established in Belfast, Cork

and Galway, and in 1854 a professor of Irish History and Archaeology was appointed at the Cardinal Newman's Catholic University in Dublin (Cooney 1996: 155; Waddell 2005: 114–15). In the Austro-Hungarian Empire chairs were established in Vienna (1849) and Prague (1850). The first was created for the Slovak archaeologist specializing in the Slavs, Jan Kollár (1793–1852), and the second for the Czech Vocel (Sklenár 1983: 83). A course on 'Archaeology and arts of the Middle Ages' was also organized in the Parisian École de Chartes in 1847 (Thirion 1997). In Spain, an institution set up in the image of the École, the Escuela Superior de Diplomática (Higher School of Diplomacy (i.e. Documents)), opened in 1856, and archaeology was taught in it from the start (Peiró Martín & Pasamar Alzuria 1996). The French model was not apparently followed in Britain. A first chair of archaeology, the Disney Chair, was created in Cambridge in 1851, but its occupant, the Reverend John Marsden (1803–70), has been described as a little known clergyman with some interests in antiquity (Wiseman 1992: 83–4).

In the mid 1800s instruction in archaeology mainly took place in universities under the umbrella of a wide range of collateral disciplines: history, architecture, philology, medicine, the natural sciences, geography, and, increasingly, anthropology. In Spain, for example, in addition to being taught in the Higher School of Diplomacy, instruction concerning Islamic archaeology was the responsibility of the chairs of Arabic language at the Universities of Madrid (chair created in 1843 for Pascual Gayangos (Pascual de Gayangos y Arce, 1809–97)) and Granada (1846, José Moreno Nieto (1825–82)) (Díaz-Andreu 1996: 70). As academic disciplines, philology and history were much more successful in gaining acceptance than archaeology. The greater sophistication achieved in the analysis of written sources compared to the study of the material remains of the past meant that the former method was still considered preferable. This accounts for the relatively high number of chairs of ancient and medieval history—and not of classical or medieval archaeology—in countries such as France and Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century (Keylor 1975: 219).

The number of different jobs mentioned in the paragraphs above may, however, be misleading if we take it as a direct measure of the number of professionals in the discipline. In this period, as would be the case later on, it was not uncommon that a series of new professional posts were occupied by the same person. The Danish archaeologist Worsaae exemplifies this. He was Inspector and later Director for the Conservation of Antiquarian Monuments from the late 1840s, director of the Royal Collections at the Rosenborg castle from 1857 to 1885, and museum director at the Oldnordisk Museum (the Museum of Northern Antiquities) from 1866. He also lectured in prehistoric archaeology at Copenhagen University, although his role as a

lecturer may have been overstated. He was only part-time and only taught from 1855 to 1866 (Klindt-Jensen 1975). When he left, teaching in prehistoric archaeology did not start again until 1880, and the sudden death of the lecturer the following year meant a vacancy for this discipline in Danish universities that would last for many years (Wiell 2006).

Another issue that should be commented on in relation to Denmark is the excavations of mounds of shells interpreted as Kitchen Midden or, in Danish, Kjokkenmoeding, towards the end of the 1840s and the emergence of an interdisciplinary research group for their study, the First Kitchen Midden Commission of 1849–69. This was formed by Worsaae together with the zoologist Japetus Steenstrup (1813–97) and the geologist Johan Georg Forchammer. The commission based its work in carefully documented observations of stratigraphy, context and typology made on the bases of primary data obtained in field investigations (Kristiansen 2002). Their research was made public in the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology (Congrès International d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique, CIAPP), especially during its fourth meeting in Copenhagen in 1869 (Chapter 13).

At a different level, including professionals and non-professionals, antiquarians' interest fostered the creation of new learned societies and journals.[4] A number of societies dealing with medieval archaeology have been discussed in the section about nation-building. A few associations previously founded had been exclusively centred on archaeology. The difference now was that some focused their interest on their own regions. This led to a significant multiplication in their number, with only a few having their headquarters in the state capital. There are many examples of regional associations. One of them was the Belfast Natural History Society founded in 1821, which had within its remit the study of antiquities (Waddell 2005: 116). In Britain, between 1834 and 1836, twelve new antiquarian societies were set up, many with their own scholarly journals (Banham & Harris 1984a: 66). 1836 saw the launch of the *Proceedings of the Numismatic Society of London* and of John Yonge Akerman's *Numismatic Journal*, which were later fused as the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Wetherall 1998: 27). From the 1840s the rising interest in archaeology led to the creation of societies in most British regions. The first County Society was that of the Norfolk Archaeological Society inaugurated in 1845, soon followed by the Cambrian and Sussex societies of 1846, a move in which Ireland also participated with the creation of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society in 1849.

[4] Another type of institution which could perhaps be included in this section is that of the Great Exhibition, that held at the Crystal Palace in 1851 in London and the Great Industrial Exhibition in Dublin in 1853, the latter containing an important display of antiquities (Waddell 2005: 124).

In 1843 the Austrian Geschichtsverein für Kärnten (Kärnten Historical Society) was established and the publication of a scholarly journal, *Carinthia*, started soon after (Urban in Murray 2001: 127). In the Austrian part of Poland a society of the Friends of the Sciences was created in Poznan in 1857 (Sklenár 1983: 78, 80). The Moscow Archaeological Society seems to have appeared around these years (Klejn & Tikhonov 2006: 198). Some authors have stressed the importance of the new means of transport in the proliferation of new finds that bolstered interest in membership of regional societies and facilitated communication between them (Hudson 1981; Van Riper 1993; Vernon 1998). The importance of this would, however, increase later in the nineteenth century (Chapter 13).

The interests in the region were complementary to those of the nation. Consequently the aim of the promoters of the regional institutions was to highlight the specific contributions of their own region to the nation. Among the national associations one has to speak about those created in the eighteenth century—including, for example, the Czech Society in Prague (Sklenár 1983: 77), and others established in these years such as the Austrian Imperial Academy of Sciences of 1847 (*ibid.* 77). Interestingly, some of the associations mentioned in this paragraph were created in countries which only later would become independent such as Ireland, Czechia, and Norway. Thus, in 1840 the Irish Archaeological Society was created. It would join the Celtic Society founded a few years later and formed the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society in 1854 (Waddell 2005: 114). The Czech Archaeological Committee started to function in 1843, funding excavations and, from 1852, publishing its own journal (Sklenár 1983: 81). Almost every archaeologist in the country was a member. A final example of a national association is the Society for the Preservation of Norwegian Antiquities founded in 1844 (Mytum in Murray 2001: 865).

Another national association was that founded in Britain in 1843 as a reaction to the apathy of the Society of Antiquaries. Its name was the British Archaeological Association for the Encouragement and Prosecution of Researches into the Arts and Monuments of the Early and Middle Ages. The new association decided to hold a congress in Canterbury in 1844. This would be one of the first archaeological congresses ever organized in the world.[5] Discussions were arranged into four sections: Primeval, Medieval, Architectural, and Historical and a barrow-digging expedition and excursions were also planned. The meeting finished with the spectacle of an Egyptian mummy

[5] I have not been able to find the starting date for the annual conferences organized by the Société Française d'Archéologie created with the name of Société pour la conservation et la description des monuments historiques in 1833–4 (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 114, 135).

being unrolled. In the following months the association became prey to internal fights and divided up into two rival groups, one changing its name to the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (Marsden 1983: ch. 5; Wetherall 1994). Most of these societies had their own journals such as the British *Archaeological Journal*. In 1849 the Sociedade Archeologica Lusitana (Lusitanian Archaeological Society) was founded in Portugal (Fabião 1997). The flurry of new societies indicated that the former dominance of classical archaeology in learned societies was clearly giving way to an interest in the national past. A clear illustration of this process is the example of the Russian Archaeological Society, founded in 1846, whose initial emphasis on classical archaeology was overturned as early as 1851, when Russian nationalists managed to take control of it and declared that the study of Russian antiquities should be its aim (Shnirelman 1996: 222).

MID NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGY IN EUROPE: FINAL REMARKS

The contrast between the early and the mid years of the nineteenth century in terms of the interest towards the past is striking: the sheer numbers of people, associations, and museums that have cropped up in these pages are staggering in comparative terms. Yet, this is but an intermediate period, for in the final years of the century numbers would again show an increase—and this trend would continue later. An analysis of the social composition of those doing archaeology is revealing. Firstly, the balance between professionals and non-professionals still favoured the latter, as in fact would be the case well into the twentieth century. Secondly, in contrast to earlier centuries and even the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the individuals dealing with archaeology mainly originated from the middle classes: not from the aristocracy or those with sufficient means not to have to work, but from individuals—mostly men—in a very wide range of professions. Thus, Theodor Mommsen commented at some point in his life (despite his role for the discipline) that archaeology was a harmless but useless hobby 'for regional doctors and government officials, retired army officers, village teachers and superannuated village priests' (in Sklenár 1983: 114). Eric Hobsbawm aptly reminds us that the romantic passion sweeping Europe since the last years of the eighteenth century led many to the quest for the pure, uncorrupted peasantry and its customs and folklore, and, I would add, to the remote and romantic past. He indicates that in some parts of Europe those involved in these studies did not belong to the same ethnic group as the peasants. This was the case of Swedes

in Finland and of Germans in many parts of Central Europe. As he explains, the organizers of the Finnish Literature Society in 1831 were Swedes, and the data recorded by them were in Swedish (Hobsbawm 1990: 104). Hobsbawm's view is most probably right in that not all archaeologists were nationalists as yet, but the example he proposes may be misleading: it is easy to see a correlation between this and practices in the colonies which in Parts II and III of this book have been connected to nationalism. This is because the data collected by the Swedes allowed a better understanding of the Finns, who were, for the Swedes, the 'Other' (in this case, the 'Other' to be re-conquered, for Finland had passed from being under Swedish control in the seventeenth century, to be under Russian influence in the eighteenth century. Later Finland had become an autonomous Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire after the Finnish War between Sweden and Russia in 1809). Societies such as the Finnish Literature Society also contributed to the modelling of an ethnic map of Europe which produced a type of knowledge key for the creation of national identity.

Many of the individuals who have been mentioned in this chapter had been born around the years of the French Revolution and some had been influenced by its ideals. Despite the conservative reaction, the number of revolutions in Europe shows that the national argument was gradually becoming accepted as the basis of the nation-state by a wider spectrum of the population. There was an awareness that claims for national identity had been used to rationalize the independence of new countries such as Greece and many in Latin America (Chapter 4). As a nation needed a past to legitimate its existence, the creation of most learned societies dealing with subjects such as archaeology might be seen as one more means by which educated elites expressed their political will and desires to further promote a sense of national identity—either a separatist national identity or an integrative one, also including regions as part of the nation—among a wider population. This process happened in countries such as Ireland and Czechia which were not independent at that time, but where ambitions for national independence were high. Learned societies were not groups of individuals with one voice but loci where discussions and negotiations about national identity took place.

As mentioned in several chapters of this book, discourses about the past are not static, but throughout the different periods of world history have been an arena of interaction, something to be remodelled and agreed on. Europe, of course, is no exception. During these years there was a change of emphasis on the main periods and themes being studied. The new emphasis of ethnicity and the national tongue in the definition of a successful nation compelled scholars towards the study of race and language, something that would increase in tempo until the Second World War (see Chapter 13 for the last

decades of the nineteenth century). It also encouraged intellectuals to give preference to the study of the medieval period, for it was then, after the failure of the Roman Empire, that most nationalists considered that the roots of the nation were to be found. The interest in the medieval led to more searches and discoveries, novel classifications and a wider knowledge about the Middle Ages, but it also came together with a fresh evaluation of old buildings, many of those in need of repair. Restorations of old churches were undertaken while new buildings purposely looking old were built. This emphasis on the medieval period does not mean that Roman archaeology in Europe was left behind: it was not. This is apparent in the number of finds written about in the learned journals. It also becomes clear from the high number of classical themes in historical paintings. Yet, there are many issues for future investigation, including how archaeologists studying the Roman period justified their endeavours in the era of race and language and whether the absence of societies specifically dealing with Roman remains found beyond Italy is significant. The latter, I suspect, will only be known when an analysis of the endeavours of the long-established societies is undertaken. The impression is that the way in which Roman antiquities were perceived indicates the versatility with which archaeological evidence is treated: Roman finds were associated with ideas of civilization and superiority, aspects every nation also wanted to be linked with, but also with notions of national defeat and foreign domination.

In spite of the emphasis on the medieval and, to a lesser extent, the Roman periods, those investigating prehistoric remains seem not to have found the Roman presence a major problem. Prehistorians had no doubts that the roots of the nation could be observed at least in the first millennium BCE, during the protohistoric period. Yet, there were difficulties in the creation of a coherent discourse about this period, and these were mainly due to lack of data and the insufficient development of archaeological method. This resulted, importantly, in pre-Roman times being generally ignored in national histories. As we will see in Chapter 13, this would change to a large extent in the following decades. As the previous pages show, part of the reason for this was that the scarcity of data, instead of discouraging scholars, may in fact have served as an encouragement, for feelings of patriotism led many to deal with those periods in which knowledge was slim and many more data needed.

Some imbalances have been observed in this chapter regarding the geographical development in the discipline in Europe. There are issues that were discussed earlier in some countries than in others. A clear example of this is the debate on human origins, which took place in Britain and France in the 1850s and was only later received elsewhere in Europe. This impression is also obtained regarding the discussions related to phrenology and craniology. It can be argued that the reason for this was colonialism. The imperial

encounter of British and French scholars with areas of the world populated by people of other colours, political organizations and tongues led them to discussions about race, language and origins that did not seem so pressing in other parts of Europe. Also, the colonies brought wealth, and therefore the possibility of either the state or private individuals sponsoring a higher number of scholars to deal with these matters. Empires, however, do not explain everything, for a strong tradition of scholarship existed in other parts of Europe like Germany and Central Europe, and in Scandinavia. For other aspects like environmental archaeology, intriguingly, developments in the latter area are remarkable and with no apparent parallel elsewhere in Europe.

Archaeologists' concern for the past does not mean that they did not believe in the power of the Classics and the archaeology of the Great Civilizations. Indeed the discourse of civilization still remained very powerful in the nineteenth century, as explained in Part II of the book, and this arguably influenced the study of the Roman archaeology in the own nation. Yet, for most of those with interests in the past it was simply not sufficient to engage with the archaeology of the Great Civilizations to the same extent that they could become involved in the search for their own past. Their commitment illustrates how, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the discovery of a country's own past devolved from being controlled by the higher strata in society to the middle classes. It is worth emphasizing that this interest rose at a time, first, when through liberalism and economic wealth, the middle classes were accessing political power and, second, when the history of Europe was a complicated one in which many views competed over the existence and exact location of national frontiers. Archaeologists could not avoid being part of this contest. On the one hand, their experiences as individuals sometimes had a critical impact on their social and intellectual lives. On the other, they often contributed with their opinions to the on-going political debates.

13

Evolutionism and Positivism (*c.* 1860–1900)

INTRODUCTION

It is not least in the great art auctions that a phenomenon has become visible that has hitherto been confined to the sphere of politics. The trade in antiquities has become affected by a national movement insofar as every country endeavours to buy their own pieces of art. Whereas in the past the English or French used to buy anything they liked in other countries, irrespective of the origin of an object, there has been a clear shift in both England and France towards [national] antiquities, even in those cases where these are undoubtedly of a lower artistic value than available foreign ones. The Englishmen tend to buy the English, the Frenchmen the French, the Germans the German, and the Belgians and Dutchmen the Dutch old works of art. This is not true merely of historical museums but applies to private collectors.

(Zimmer 2003a: 197).

This was the way that one of the executive members of the Swiss National Museum phrased, at the end of the nineteenth century, the changes that had taken place in the previous decades: the interest in the national past was replacing the former emphasis on the Great Civilizations. Another transformation that had occurred was that the study of prehistory, rather than the history of the Roman and medieval periods, was definitively on the agenda. This change of emphasis, which took place between the 1860s and 1880s, had been in motion throughout the century but had finally crystallized in the last two decades of the century. By then, nationalism had transformed its character into a predominantly conservative doctrine. Another adjustment was also apparent. The acceptance of evolutionism had emerged as a major scientific theory to explain change. Issues of nationalism, regionalism, and imperialism became intertwined with scientific theory and further nourished the interest in the remote past. The development of methods to study evolution in the natural sciences promoted a scientific approach to the prehistoric period. At the same time, this affected attitudes towards the Roman and the medieval past. In this chapter, therefore, I reject the view expressed by other historians of archaeology such as Trigger (1989: 148) and

to a certain degree Sklenár (1983: 123–6), who think that nationalism constituted a threat to cultural evolutionism and its eventual dismissal. This, they think, took place when scholars moved towards the adoption of the culture-historical perspective in the first decades of the twentieth century. The following pages will reveal, however, that the belief in evolutionism was not contrary to the nationalist cause. Late nineteenth-century archaeologists believed in the evolutionary theories to a greater or lesser extent. Despite this, they also became deeply implicated in the construction of their national past, to a degree not seen in previous decades. Culture-history did not oppose evolutionism; it accepted its tenets and moved beyond them.

Several caveats are needed at this point. To start with, it is important to realize that not all of those who we would nowadays refer to as evolutionists perceived themselves as such. In this light it may be worth establishing a distinction between evolutionists *sensu latu* and evolutionists *sensu strictu*. The former group had faith in positivism, believed in both progress and decadence, and had confidence in the superiority of the white race. Evolutionists *sensu strictu* went further and assumed that an inevitable linear evolution of human cultural and physical development followed similar stages everywhere. Unless the latter is mentioned, in this chapter the term evolutionist will refer to the former. It should also be clear that evolutionism did not equate with Darwinism, an evolutionary theory that stood for the arbitrary character of natural selection to explain the transformation of species through time. Another issue is that of positivism and its relation to evolutionism and nationalism. The positivist philosophy held that scientists should not theorize beyond the basic evolutionist parameters. The role of the scientist was to develop the methods and analytical tools to study objects scientifically and rationally through observation and logical comparison with similar objects. Positivism began to affect the way in which archaeology was written. Personal accounts were largely abandoned and substituted at this time by texts written in a more impersonal and distant style with a greater use of passives. The majority of the scholarly community subscribed to positivism, to the idea of progress and, therefore, to a certain evolutionary understanding of the historical process. Yet, positivism did not oppose nationalism, in the sense that nationalism deeply influenced the object and scope of archaeological study. This could be a topic intimately involved in the national cause such as the scientific search for a particular race in the past—the Goths, Romans, Slavs, and so on. A main concern was the search for their geographical location, an issue that was rationally investigated in an area which very frequently only covered the precise territory demarcated by the modern frontiers of the researcher's nation.

A BACKGROUND: NATIONALISM, SOCIALISM, FEMINISM, AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF 1873

In 1861 Italy became a united state (map 3), although the process of unification was only completed after the acquisition of Rome in 1870. Moreover, after more than half a century of attempts at German unification, following the Franco-Prussian War, thirty-nine of the German states were unified in 1871. From 1878 a number of European states, which had hitherto been integrated into the Ottoman Empire, achieved independence after the war between Russia and Turkey. These political reshuffles marked the establishment of the nation-state as the dominant form of political organization in Europe (a form that would attain world-wide recognition in 1918 (Lynch 2002)). Yet, only a few national movements for independence were successful at this stage: in Ireland and many countries in Eastern Europe the national liberation struggles were still in progress at the end of the century. Regarding the existing nation-states, despite declaring their unity rooted in the past as well as in their racial and linguistic homogeneity, the reality of both the newly created and the long-established countries was that they were neither linguistically nor culturally homogeneous. In Italy and Germany, as well as France and Spain, several languages and dialects were spoken that were mutually incomprehensible. The situation was embodied by a remark attributed to the nationalist leader Massimo d'Azeglio (Massimo Taparelli, marquis d'Azeglio, 1798–1866), in 1861: 'We have made Italy, now we must make the Italians.' Traditions differed widely within the national territory and in some countries there were important minorities some of which became politically aware during this period. The dramatic improvements in the means and speed of transport had a universal impact, and their effect was especially noticeable in less developed countries. Their growth and even the state nationalization of services such as the postal networks, schooling (particularly with the teaching of geography and history), the police, and military conscription, served to reproduce the nation in everyday life and, therefore, in making adherence to the nation the norm (see Weber 1976; 1991 for data on this related to France). These changes were the outcome of the state's efforts to foster the feeling of nationhood among its people, as well as the result of private initiative. An example of the latter is the lobbying of train operators for the state to unify the time for the whole of the national territory. Their success meant that not only the nationalization of geographical space was solidified with the mapping and fixation of national frontiers, but that of time also became a reality. Both became powerful means to make the nation identifiable, real as well as imaginable.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, nationalism altered its character, transforming itself from an ideology of reform to one of conservatism. This was partly the result of changes within progressive liberalism. Once the belief in nationalism became widespread, liberalism adjusted its objectives. Romanticism was replaced by realism, an ideology that paid attention to detail, then description in the pursuit of authenticity (understood as the reflection of the real, crude, daily experience) would come to the fore. The most social-minded liberals now embraced the demands of the increasingly powerful trade unionism movement, together with the ideas put forward by Karl Marx (1818–83) and Friedrich Engels (1820–95), the latter overtly hostile to nationalism. In 1848 they jointly published the *Communist Manifesto* urging the workers to unite, regardless of their nationality, against the moneyed classes. As a matter of fact, however, internationalism did not play against nationalism, but was juxtaposed to it: representatives of each nation travelled to meet others in the international meetings. In any case, there were several attempts to unite the proletariat in the first (1864–76) and second (1889–1917) international working men's associations. For Marx and Engels, development could only be understood by analysing economic and social class. Marx outlined the real social content of political struggles, framing them in terms of different social interests. As he explained in his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* (1852), the French Revolution had been a war of the bourgeoisie, and not of the nation as a whole, against the king.

Marx never wrote much about the remote past, but he read a lot of anthropology (Allen 2004: 85). Some of his notes on *Ancient Society* (1877), by the American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–81), were found after his death by Engels. *Ancient Society* dealt with the Iroquois of North America. Engels used these notes for his subsequent book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884). In it he followed Morgan's adoption of the enlightened analytical categories of savagery, barbarism, and civilization, which served to describe the periods of human history. The author hypothesized about the emergence of a class of society based on private property from a previous primitive community. *The Origin*... soon had several editions and was translated into most European languages. The direct influence of this book on archaeologists was most probably minimal in this period, given the bourgeois background of most professionals and amateurs. Nevertheless, it no doubt popularized evolutionism and the idea of a white 'man's primitive past among many late nineteenth-century working-class autodidacts, who until then had been oblivious to the developments occurring in archaeology, especially those of the study of the prehistoric period.

One of the reformist ideologies that gained strength in the late nineteenth century was feminism. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 12, the battle for

human rights had started with movements such as abolitionism and utopian socialism which had operated under the umbrella of liberalism. From an early stage the latter had been supported by feminists, but feeling that they had not received a similar degree of support in return, they eventually created a movement of their own, with several contradictory strands. Some of these were 'radical' for the standards of the day, as they argued for complete equality with men. Others supported the patriarchal system while asking for some legal amendments that gave women more autonomy over their own affairs, as well as allowing them to have the educational opportunities still reserved for men alone and to be economically independent (Allen 2004; Moses 1984: 83). Within the feminist movement those who lobbied for women's voting rights were called the Suffragettes. The development of feminism as an ideology can be connected to the fact that during the late nineteenth century the first women started to work as professional archaeologists. Most of these women and their followers during the pioneering period up to the First World War belonged to the well-off classes. Although they could be referred to as feminists by the very fact that they had chosen to work, given their class background many would have been horrified by this identification. Some of these early professional women archaeologists were outspokenly opposed to suffragism and even defended the need for women to remain at home as mothers and wives (Díaz-Andreu & Sørensen 1998b: 20, 35).

As professionals these women, as their male counterparts, played an active role in the elaboration of national identity. Johanna Mestorf's role as curator of the Museum of National Antiquities (Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer) in Kiel, and, later, professor at the university of the same city, is an example of this. To be a professional archaeologist in institutions located in a disputed borderland between Germany and Denmark necessarily required her to take a political stance (Díaz-Andreu & Sørensen 1998a: 11). Professional women had several challenges to overcome. First, their place in society—and therefore their possible contribution for the national cause—was still believed to be inferior. Evolutionism had proposed biological explanations for the inferiority of women. In most cases, evolutionist scholars such as Henry Maine (1822–88), John Ferguson MacLennan (1827–81), Sir John Lubbock (1834–1913) and Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) justified the patriarchal system. The Swiss Professor of Roman Law, Johann Bachofen (1815–87), had proposed in his book *Mutterrecht* in 1856 that there had been a transformation from a prehistoric matriarchal society, the Earth- or Mother-Goddess (Kuper 1988: 5–6), to a patriarchal society with male gods. This widely accepted evolutionary theory was taken to explain women's inferiority. An exception in this respect was Oscar Montelius (1843–1921), a famous

Swedish archaeologist and also a supporter of the suffragette movement. In his articles 'For how long has woman been considered as the property of man?' (1898) and 'The women's issue in Sweden' (1906), he criticized the widespread belief that the regulation of sexual roles and common rights had been constant throughout history and was therefore innate to human nature. Instead, he saw these regulations as a social resource (Arwill-Nordbladh 1989). Secondly, the very idea of the nation reinforced women's inferiority: nationalist ideology naturalized their subjugation by defining rival nations as feminine, by which it was meant that they were weak and a failure. Further examples could be cited here, but one will suffice. In 1872, in the journal *The Dark Blue* a certain W. Turley claimed that 'a nation of effeminate enfeebled bookworms scarcely forms the most effective bulwark of a nation's liberties', while also identifying the English with the masculine (Dodd 1999: 91) (see discussion on this in Yuval-Davis & Pryke 1998 and Anthias 1989).

Nationalism increasingly left behind its reformist character to become a useful mechanism for governments to bind the population to the state machine. This does not mean that nationalism was exclusively encouraged from above. Its value for the state was that people willingly, and in some cases even wholeheartedly, believed in it by identifying with their nation (Chapter 14). If in the early years nationalism had been the cause of anti-clericals and left-wingers, now, without completely losing the loyalty of most progressive liberals, its main thrust was conservative, anti-liberal, and right-wing. The rise of parliamentary democracy continued. Despite this, discrimination against minorities—blacks in America, minority ethnic groups such as gypsies and peoples speaking other 'non-national' languages in many parts of Europe—remained the norm. Racism and xenophobia were on the increase (for a brief discussion on anti-Semitism see Chapter 6). Indeed, it also affected how Europeans (and Euro-Americans) saw each other. It was generally believed that the English, Germans, and other North Europeans belonged to a superior race of Nordics or Aryans. In contrast, peoples of Mediterranean and Eastern Europe were inferior breeds (Kidd 1999: 249; Livingstone 1984: 181).

Nationalism found outlets in the pursuit of glory and empire. Ideology and economics would work hand in hand to this end. The transformation of the creed of nationalism from a progressive liberal to a conservative creed has also been partly explained by some as one of the effects of the economic depression that took place after 1873. Economic expansion became more difficult because of overproduction and the reduction of profits. New markets were required to overcome the crisis and the colonies would provide them. The colonial expansion of Europe, Euro-America (and of Japan) intensified in the period with which this chapter is mainly concerned, from the 1860s to the 1890s, and would continue until the First World War. As explained in Part III

of this volume, large areas of the world—especially the African continent, but also parts of Asia and the Pacific—were partitioned by the powers, and the expansion of white settlers displaced native populations in countries as far apart as the US, Argentina, South Africa and Australia. The appropriation of the informal colonies' Great Civilizations has been discussed in the chapters in Part II of this book. Chapter 10 looked at how the colonial encounter with the uncivilized in the framework of increasingly exultant nationalism brought a new perspective to contemporary 'primitive' societies. This chapter will examine how this situation influenced the view of the non-state societies which had settled in Europe in prehistoric times. The discussion will also cover the developments in both classical and medieval archaeology in Europe.

EVOLUTIONISM, RACISM, AND NATIONALISM

Political persuasions and racism in archaeology

Some commentators have linked the radical approach of many French archaeologists to their upbringing during a period when the European liberal revolutions of 1848 were either in progress or their memory was still very much alive (Fetten 2000: 171). This may explain the selection of the title of 'history of labour' as the theme of World Exhibitions, such as those in Paris in 1867 and in Vienna in 1873 (Müller-Scheessel 2001b; Sklenár 1983: 108). In the case of German archaeology, the overlap between Virchow's liberal and left-wing politics and his interest in the human sciences has also been noted (Smith 1991b: 54). Yet, not all archaeologists—indeed perhaps only a minority of archaeologists—in the last four decades of the century were left-wingers. Nor was evolutionism a theory that can be classified as such (or, in fact, the other way round, a right-wing theory). It is true that evolutionism, the assumption that things evolve through time, usually from the simple to the complex, became, from the 1860s (Grayson 1983: ch. 7), a radical theory which directly challenged the biblical interpretation of human existence. Yet, the increasing prestige of science among individuals of all political persuasions and the search for intermediate doctrines on human origins led even the most conservative scholars and members of the general public to rethink and eventually overcome their initial rejection of it. The connection between evolutionism, revolution, and liberalism does not appear to have operated in countries such as Britain, where conservative ideologies seem to have been prevalent in academia. General Pitt Rivers is a good example—albeit perhaps an extreme one—of a conservative mind in British archaeology. Despite his

application of the theories of evolution to organize his collections of material culture chronologically, one of the main aims of his work was to teach the unnaturalness of social revolution and he explicitly held that archaeological museums should serve to inculcate 'sounder' (i.e. conservative) views on social questions (Bradley 1983: 7). Even in France, Hammond (1980) notes, as the resistance to evolutionary doctrines ceased, so did the doctrine's revolutionary character.

Liberal or conservative, most evolutionists unashamedly believed in the superiority of the white race and in the superiority of their own nation (Barkan 1992: 17). From today's perspective, nineteenth-century racism appears to be a clear illustration of an extremely conservative political attitude. At the time, however, it was an issue upon which the great majority of intellectuals agreed. Exceptions to the rule were few and far between. The study of anthropology—and of prehistoric archaeology—was at first linked, in the case of some individuals, with anti-authoritarian and anti-clerical attitudes, but not with a conviction in the equality of the races. As evolutionism advocated progress, primitive peoples were considered to belong to the past, to convention, tradition and irrational belief (Chapter 10). As discussed in Chapter 12, during the first half of the century a series of techniques had been developed to measure the differences between the races, and, whereas some theories such as phrenology had been rejected by academia, others like craniology had been widely accepted. Differences in the skull form of distinct human groups had been one of the common arguments used to maintain polygenism, the theory that sustained that not all human races had the same origin. In the last four decades of the century craniology continued developing and refining its methods. In Germany, for example, in 1883 craniologists rejected Darwinism and a consensus was reached in the so-called Frankfurt Agreement. This also resulted in a consensus about the appropriate measurements to be taken so that data produced by different scholars could be compared. As Zimmerman (2001: 88, ch. 4) explains, this agreement also had the effect of creating a collective identity among those doing research in craniology. The success of craniology would carry on during the last decades of the century, indeed to continue well into the twentieth century (Poliakov 1996 (1971): 264; Zimmerman 2001: ch. 4). In Britain, craniologists were represented by men such as George Rolleston (1829–81), Linacre Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in Oxford from 1860 (Price 2005–6). During this period, practising barrow-diggers felt that a discussion of the skulls found in the graves was part and parcel of what a good antiquarian should do (Giles 2006).

In 1869 Sir Francis Galton (1822–1911), a first cousin of Charles Darwin (1809–82), published *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into its Laws and*

Consequences. He suggested that the principles of 'natural selection' could be applied to improve the human race. Race, for him, was equated with levels of intelligence and other mental abilities that could be measured. Galton argued for the establishment of a hierarchy of racial groups that distinguished between the 'superior' and the 'inferior' races on the basis of criteria such as intelligence, moral character, ambition and creativity. He also maintained that interbreeding between superior and inferior races led to degeneration. In order to prove his hypothesis, Galton created an 'anthropometric laboratory' at the South Kensington Science Museum in London and hired the then young Flinders Petrie (1853–1942), who is more known to archaeology as an Egyptologist and the first Edwards Professor of Egyptology in London (1892–1933) (Chapters 5 and 6). As a result of this collaboration, later in his life, in 1887, Petrie published a book, *Racial Types from Egypt*, in which he applied many of Galton's ideas (Ramsey 2004; Silberman 1999b: 73). Darwin's opinions, however, seem to have differed from those of his cousin. In *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871), he argued that races 'graduate into each other, and that it is hardly possible to discover clear distinctive characters between them' (in Barkan 1992: 18). Thus, in his opinion, racial differences were not of evolutionary importance. However, as Barkan points out, Darwin's views were mostly ignored by his contemporaries. Theories on racial inequality became extremely popular and later in the century would be the basis for a racial doctrine known as 'eugenics', which would be in favour until the Second World War. The followers of eugenics believed in the racial differences of human groups and advocated intervention to improve races in aspects such as intelligence (Barkan 1992; MacMaster 2001: ch. 1; Massin 2001; Shipman 2004).

As seen in Chapter 12, earlier in the century the interest in racial studies had had an impact on classical and medieval archaeology. This continued for several decades as can be illustrated by particular examples from Britain and France. In Britain, the English solicitor and historian, Henry Charles Coote (1815–85), criticized in his book *The Romans in Britain* (1878) those who believed that the Anglo-Saxons had made a *tabula rasa* of Roman Britain. He argued that the Anglo-Saxons had had neither a racial nor a cultural impact, given that racially the population had been Teutonic (by which he meant German and Aryan) since pre-Roman times and that the laws and customs observed under Anglo-Saxon rule were of Roman origin. The Roman period had only signified the arrival of civilization, not a mixing of races. The Anglo-Saxon period had, therefore, been a Dark Age, which only ended with the Normans. His ideas reflected those of many of his contemporaries and were repeated well into the twentieth century (Hingley 2000: chs. 7–8). In France, many archaeologists also claimed that, despite the adoption of Roman and

later Germanic institutions, the pre-Roman Gaulish race had basically remained untouched (Carbonell 1982: 392–3).

Nationalism

Evolutionism supported universalism, the belief that human societies function and change by following rules that are common to all. In a similar way to flora and fauna, humankind was, therefore, seen as amenable for scientific analysis and classification. Thus, General Pitt Rivers argued that:

> Human ideas, as represented by the various products of human industry, are capable of classification into genera, species, and varieties in the same manner as the products of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and in their development from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous they obey the same laws.
>
> (Lane Fox [i.e. Pitt Rivers] in Thompson 1977: 38).

Belief in universalism, however, did not mean that evolutionists denied the specificity of the particular national past. In practice, universal schemes were applied to each country stressing, in teleological accounts, the particular stages of its development. One of the leading voices at the time, the French prehistorian Gabriel de Mortillet (1821–98), argued for a historical continuity in France rooted in early prehistory leading towards the ulterior national unity (Richard 2002: 182). The idea of a national past, on occasions with a chauvinistic slant to it, was also present in international venues. The latter were precisely what the name says, places where several nations met (i.e. not where a melting-pot of nations resulted). Thus, in the displays of prehistoric archaeology organized on the occasion of the Universal Exhibitions held in Paris[1] in 1867, 1878, and 1889, nationalist ideology came through in the ways the various nations interpreted the objects on display. As Nils Müller-Scheessel has pointed out, 'much of the motivation for staging international exhibitions drew from the desire to outdo other nations' (2001: 400).

[1] Universal and colonial exhibitions were common in the last decades of the century. They started with the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace (1851), and the Great Industrial Exhibition in Dublin (1853). As MacMaster points out, they proliferated between 1878 and 1914, during the height of the colonial era. The major locations were Paris (in 1867, 1878, 1887, 1889, 1891, 1893, 1900) and London (1886, 1892, 1897, 1899, 1903, 1908, 1924), but other international exhibitions were held in Moscow (1872), Vienna (1873), Italy (1888), Germany (1891), Antwerp (1894) and Brussels (1897, 1910), as well as in major provincial cities like Glasgow (1901) (see about others Kinchin and Kinchin (1988)), Cork (1902), Wolverhampton (1902, 1907), Bradford (1904), Liège (1905) and Marseilles (1906). They were very popular and MacMaster gives the figure of 39 and 50 million people attending the Paris World Fair of 1889 and 1900 respectively (MacMaster 2001: 74) (but is he translating from French and he means 39 and 50 thousand people?).

Evolutionist schemes were also put into effect in the permanent exhibitions on display in national museums, at least in its simplest formulation. This was done through the use of chronological criteria in the organization of the displays which allowed visitors to experience both visually and spatially the evolutionary ages of their own nation. In Rome, the Royal Museum of Antiquity was reorganized on the basis of chronology and geography by Luigi Pigorini (1842–1925) in 1867 (Skeates 2000: 25). The creation of a sub-department in the British Museum to deal specifically with British antiquities has also been seen in the light of evolutionism, contextualized in the friendship between its inspirer, the curator Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826–97), and leading evolutionists such as General Pitt Rivers (1827–90), Sir John Lubbock (1834–1913) and Sir John Evans (1823–1908) (Chapman 1989: 157). The French Musée des Antiquités Nationales (Museum of National Antiquities), established in Paris in 1867, followed a chronological order, as did the Museo Arqueológico Nacional (National Archaeological Museum) opened in Madrid in the same year. In Sweden, an exhibition set up in the Museum of National Antiquities in the early 1870s arranged objects into two parallel series, one according to typology (and, therefore, chronology), although the other, based on find location, went along a system conceived by Hans Hildebrand (1842–1913). A similar chronological arrangement was adopted in the Museum of Scandinavian Prehistory in Copenhagen (Almgren 1995: 27). In the field of prehistory the opposition to the Three Age System devised much earlier in the century (Chapter 11) was finally overcome. The scheme became widely accepted partly through the spread of the typological method developed by Oscar Montelius (Morse 1999; Rowley-Conwy forthcoming; Sklenár 1983: 111, 118). This way of doing things was not unique to Europe and specific examples have been mentioned in Parts II and III of this volume, particularly in Chapter 10 in respect to national museums in America and Australia.

The creation of accounts about the past based on the geographical boundaries of the nation derived not only from the scholars' willingness to contribute to the national cause but also from the administrative framework and the legislation that was being put in place in each country. The growth in state institutions mentioned in Chapter 12 for the central years of the century continued in the last four decades: the monuments commissions formed in many countries in the 1840s continued to work in this period. Their efforts were complemented by those of other offices of new creation. In 1868, a Hungarian Commission for Monuments was founded, and in 1873 the Austrian Central Commission with jurisdiction over Bohemia included a section dealing with prehistoric and classical archaeology (Princ 1984: 14–15; Sklenár 1983: 116). One of the important issues to be tackled was cataloguing.

In 1865 Worsaae, from his post as director of the Danish National Museum, launched a systematic field survey of all visible monuments in the landscape (Kristiansen 1984: 22). Regarding legislation, in the second half of the nineteenth century much lobbying took place with the result of new laws put into effect especially from the 1880s. It is interesting to note that not everybody was happy about this move: some archaeologists had initially rejected legislation, as was the case of the Swiss, Edouard Desor (1811–82), in the early 1860s (Kaeser 2004: 327). However, in most cases this initial reluctance soon diminished in view of the benefits provided the systematic study and collection of antiquities. The Ancient Monuments Act was passed in Britain in 1882. Similarly, in 1887 a law protecting historical monuments was issued in France and the organization of archaeology into inspectorates was established in Italy (Breeze 1996; Choay 2001: 98; d'Agostino 1984). In other countries such as Spain, catalogues and legislation would have to wait until the early years of the following century (Díaz-Andreu 2004b: section IV). Finally, it is interesting to note the promptness with which newly independent European countries created academic chairs in archaeology. An example of this is Romania, where in the very year of the country's independence, 1877 (although it was only internationally recognized in 1878), a chair of Archaeology and Antiquity was created at the University of Bucharest for Alexandru Odobescu (1834–95) (Babes 2006: 237).

Another issue worth commenting on with respect to the relationship of evolutionism and nationalism is a practical one. One of the knowledge-making practices of archaeology, which helped in the visualization of the nation through archaeology, was that of drawing maps. Maps were originally produced to register the distribution of particular types of objects, but in practice they helped to make the territorial perspective observable, allowing scholars to visualize the physical dispersal of objects. Although this trend may have originated in Germany in fields such as geography, anthropology, and philology (see discussion on biblical topography in Chapter 6, see also Chapter 10), maps were promptly adopted by other scholars. Together with the use of names to identify typological series which showed specific geographical distributions, maps paved the way for the theoretical shift which occurred at the turn of the century: the introduction of culture history in archaeology. Thus, terms which seemed to have already been in use at the end of the nineteenth century, such as the Lausatian culture and the Únetice culture, and the understanding of Hallstatt and La Tène periods as cultural entities, were further reinforced with the typological series established by the German archaeologist Otto Tischler (Sklenár 1983: 110–11). The issue of maps and the coordination of the symbols used in them made possible the comparison of different areas. This issue was discussed at congresses as early as the

International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology (CIAPP in its French initials) held at Copenhagen in 1869. Two years later at the CIAPP in Bologna the Polish archaeologist Count Aleksander Przezdziecki proposed the creation of an international committee for type maps but, although set up, no successful work came from it. A very different story resulted from the organization of a parallel working group at the meeting of the German Anthropological Society in Swerin also in 1871. This was led by the keeper of the Royal Cabinet of Naturalia (Königlichen Naturalienkabinett) in Stuttgart from 1855, Oscar Fraas (1824–97), with work by E. von Tröltsch. After only two years the committee was working on 142 distribution maps that covered the whole of Germany at a scale 1:200,000. However, only fifteen—those related to Bavaria—were finished in the end and the committee was disbanded in 1889 (Sklenár 1983: 112).

Although the transmission of ideas, as illustrated in the examples mentioned above, was common, it is also important to acknowledge that on many occasions national rivalries led to a reluctance to accept theories coming from other countries and this even led to the marginalization of those scholars considered to be too sympathetic to other nations' ideas. This had an effect in many areas: from archaeological practice and interpretation, to the organization of congresses and museum displays (Massin 2001: 305–9). The rivalry between France and Germany after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, for example, led to two major international congresses of prehistory being developed in parallel. Central and Eastern European archaeologists met in the congresses organized by the German and the Vienna anthropological societies (Sklenár 1983: 107).[2] Western European archaeologists met in the International Congresses of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology (Congrès International d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique, CIAPP).[3] In them the imperial overtones of French nationalism became clear. Despite

[2] I am unaware of in-depth analysis of the participants in the German-speaking congresses. It would be interesting to see whether the interest in the Aryans and the belief in the superiority of the Nordic race encouraged Scandinavian and British archaeologists specializing in periods from proto-history onwards to attend the German-speaking congresses. Yet, it may well be the case that most of them attended other types of congresses than those organized under the umbrella of anthropology.

[3] There is some confusion about when and where the first congress took place and under what name. The congress organized in La Spezia (Italy) in 1865 was that of the Italian Society of Natural Sciences (Richard 1999: 105). In 1866 the congress in Neuchâtel (Switzerland) had the title of International Palaeo-Ethnological Congress (Clermont and Smith 1990: 98). It is from the following congress, held in Paris in 1867, that the meetings received the name of International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology. The meetings moved venue from Italy (1865, 1871) to France (1867, 1889, 1900), England (1868), Denmark (1869), Belgium (1872), Hungary (1876), Portugal (1880), Russia (1892) and Monaco (1906). Participants included scholars from most European countries and, exceptionally, from elsewhere in the world such as Japan and Argentina (Richard 1992: 194).

their parallel use in the nationalist arena (as argued by Coye and Provenzano (1996) for the case of the meeting of Bologna in 1871), others have persuasively argued that these congresses merely represented anthropology and prehistory as viewed by French scholars, who managed to institute French as the official language in the discussions and proceedings, especially in opposition to German (Müller-Scheessel 2001a; Wiell 1999: 141–2). Paris hosted three of the fourteen meetings, and Frenchmen got the main positions within the organization (Richard in Murray 1999b: 93–107). It has been argued that a reason for the dearth of conferences at a national level was that prehistory had been institutionalized at an international level (Kaeser 2002). There are, however, exceptions to this; the Congress held in Canterbury as early as 1844 mentioned in Chapter 12, and, during the period under discussion, the Czech anthropological–archaeological conferences held in Prague in 1880 and 1882 (Sklenár 1983: 107) and the Russian Archaeological Congresses (Klejn & Tikhonov 2006: 199). It may be more appropriate to see this absence as the result of the still relatively small number of scholars working in each country, making national meetings nonsensical. It would only be in the twentieth century, with the increase in the number of archaeologists, that national meetings started to be held in many countries. Moreover, as against the apparent neutral internationalism of the CIAPPs, its French imperialist overtones became clear when the dates of its meetings are plotted against the power balance between France and Germany. The CIAPP declined in the late nineteenth century and was eventually substituted by the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences led by Germany, by then the centre of the scientific world (Müller-Scheessel 2001a).

In addition to the meetings of the German Anthropological Society and those of the CIAPP, a third set of international congresses dealing with national archaeology in Europe were the Slavic congresses. The first one had been organized in Prague in 1848 and in it there were discussions about the feasibility of political consolidation of Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), and Southern Slavs including Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs. All of the latter were still under Austrian rule with the exception of the Serbians, who had gained effective autonomy from the Ottoman Empire in 1867 and being internationally recognized as a country in 1878. Interestingly, however, some authors indicate the conference in Moscow in 1867 as the starting point of the Slavic congresses (Klejn & Tikhonov 2006), and this may be a good indication of the tensions, negotiations and national rivalries within pan-Slavism (Geyer 1987: 59–61).[4] Slavic archaeology became increasingly popular in many

[4] Interestingly some authors contrapose pan-Celticism to pan-Germanism and pan-Slavism (Leersen 1996). It would be interesting to see whether this schema fits into the three major international congresses discussed for the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Eastern European countries, with events such as the Slavic Congress in Moscow of 1867, and excavations of 'Slavic' sites in countries such as Russia and Poland (Geyer 1987: 59; Raczkowski 1996: 197–9; Shnirelman 1996: 222–5).

Regionalism and some emerging nations

A similar trend of constructing teleological accounts based on evolutionary ideas for a country's past took place in most European regions. In contrast to the assumptions of some authors, regionalism did not contradict nationalism; the opposite was usually the case. In most cases regionalism was—and still is—part and parcel of nationalism. Regional identity does not conflict with national aspirations, but is complementary and, in fact, furnishes the corresponding national identity with local roots (Storm 2003: 252). Cultural revivalism in the regions originated in the eighteenth century and crystallized in the creation of many local learned societies in the 1840s, as seen in Chapter 12, a process which continued and expanded from the 1860s. Membership of local societies became not only a means of satisfying personal intellectual curiosity, but was also a way to climb up the social and academic ladder through personal contacts, and it is the latter fact that may explain societies' popularity. In Western Europe examples from different countries such as Spain and Switzerland and the Czech area in Eastern Europe illustrate this. In Spain, after the first societies were founded in Madrid (Numismatics 1837) and Tarragona (1844), others came along later in the century, such as Seville (1870), Valencia (1871), Mallorca (1880), Carmona (1885), Osuna (1887), Barcelona (1878, 1888), Mataró (1888), and Cádiz (1893) (Díaz-Andreu *et al.* forthcoming). In Switzerland a historical and archaeological society was founded in Neuchâtel in 1864 (Kaeser 2004: 334). In Eastern Europe, societies appeared in Cáslav (1864), Kutná Hora (1877) and Prague (1864, 1888) (Princ 1984: 13). Other examples could be added here from Britain (Hudson 1981: chs. 1–2; Piggott 1976), France (Duval 1992), Germany (Marchand 1996a: ch. 5), and Russia (Shnirelman 1996: 222). The regionalist revival could also be seen as parallel, to a certain extent, to similar movements in the colonies as mentioned in Part III of this volume.

The archaeological section of most learned societies aimed to retrieve information about the ancient past of the region undertaking excavations and building collections, which would then be a tool for education through their display in local museums. Some of the latter institutions followed the pattern already seen for national museums, in the sense that for the organization of the displays inspiration was sought from evolutionist principles. In 1865 in France, for example, Toulouse's Museum of Natural History

devoted one room to finds from caves that completed its palaeontological narrative. In the Archaeological Museum of Tarragona in Spain, from the 1870s if not before, displays were also organized along the lines of prehistory, the Roman and medieval periods (Jaume Massó, pers. comm. 18.3.2004). In addition to learned societies and local museums, the shift towards the provinces was also to an extent seen in journals—many published by the learned societies—and also in university teaching. In Southern France, for instance, Émile Cartailhac directed the journal *Matériaux*...[5] from 1868–9, as well as started teaching at the University of Toulouse in 1882 (Richard 1992: 199). In the revolutionary atmosphere of the first Republic in Spain (1873–4), prehistory was taught at the University of Seville, but abolished with the re-establishment of the monarchy (Ayarzaguena 1992: 20). In the part of Poland belonging to Russia, Professor D. Ya. Samokvasov started to teach archaeology within his remit of history of law in Warsaw University from 1873 and unsuccessful attempts were made in the eleventh Russian Archaeological Congress in Kiev (1898) to make archaeology a proper university subject (Klejn & Tikhonov 2006: 199).

In the regions archaeology was the result of societies as well as the labour of a few individuals, some of whom have already been mentioned. A final example is that of Vasilij Ivanovich Zausailov in Kazan, Russia. As one of his contemporaries explained:

> His collection was started at the end of the 1870s. This was one of the most splendid periods in the history of science and learning at Kazan. Ever since the times of the Fourth All-Russian Archaeological Congress, scholarly interests were very much revived here. A society of archaeology, history and ethnography was founded... In those years, Kazan was the work place of Professor S. M. Shpilevskij [Shpilevsky], Professor N. P. Zagoskin, Professor A. A. Stuckenberg... By 1884, his collections were already so vast that he started publishing a pictorial atlas of them... Zausailov increased his collection mainly by means of purchases from Tartar merchants, who traded in this business professionally. But in some cases V. I. Zausailov himself conducted small-scale excavations (for instance at Aisha in 1891). V. I. Zausailov primarily collected objects representing primitive culture...
>
> (in Salminen 1994a).

In a few cases regionalism turned into nationalism: the discovery of the country's tradition aimed to emphasize not so much the peculiarities of the national character in a particular region, but rather to demonstrate how opposed its character was to that of the state into which it had been forced

[5] *Matériaux pour l'Histoire naturelle et primitive de l'homme.* The original name of the journal edited by Gabriel de Mortillet was *Matériaux pour l'histoire positive et philosophique.* It changed in 1869.

by historical state circumstances. The peculiarity of the area character was interpreted as proof of being a distinctive nation and consequently, for nationalists, the territory had a right to independence. It is significant in this respect that regions with a growing national sentiment tended to create learned societies encompassing the whole area of the new small nation. See for example the early case of Ireland (1840) in Chapter 12, page 363. In this period, two emergent nationalist movements in Spain, in Catalonia and Galicia, are a case in point. In the former, for example, some societies did not limit themselves to a single Catalan province (Barcelona, Girona, Lleida, or Tarragona) but tried to represent the whole of Catalonia. Examples of this are the Catalanist Association of Scientific Excursions, founded in 1876 and its offshoot, the Catalan Association of Excursions (1878). Presidents of the first society declared the study of antiquity as an essential condition for the renaissance of the fatherhood, and requested official funding for archaeological excavations (Cortadella 1997: 278–9). In terms of museums, the founder of the Central Archaeological Museum of Galicia (1884), Leandro Saralegui y Medina (1839–1910), published books inspired by both evolutionism and nationalism, such as his studies about the Celtic period in Galicia (1867). In this and other works he wrote about the history of the whole of Galicia, not limiting himself to one of its provinces as was usually the case in other parts of Spain, and adopted a narrative of progress subdividing the territory's prehistory into the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Age (Pereira González 1996).

Similar processes occurred elsewhere in Europe, especially in the East, in countries such as Romania (then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), where a National Museum of Antiquities was created in Bucharest in 1834. It was funded under the Russian cultural and political patronage, with most antiquarians being Russian officers, and renovated in 1864 under French influence. The museum had been preceded by a museum in Sibiu (1817) and followed by the Historico-Natural Museum in Iasi (1834) (Anghelinu 2002–3: 31; 2003: 87–8; Comsa in Murray 2001: 1116). Also in Bulgaria the Bulgarian Academy was founded in 1869 (Todorova in Bailey 1998: 91), although most developments seem to have occurred after independence from 1878 (Velkov 1993). The trend towards the regionalization of journals and institutions discussed above also became even more marked in those areas with aspirations of total political independence such as Finland. In Helsinki the first chair of archaeology was the Professor Extraordinarius Johan Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915) (chair 1878–85), a Finnish historian who had been trained in archaeology in Sweden by Oscar Montelius and Hans Hildebrand in 1867–8. Aspelin's ideas were informed by nationalism. In his doctoral dissertation he dealt with Finno-Ugri archaeology, declaring in its

foreword that his aim was the tracing of the Finnish people back to prehistoric times. Aspelin founded the Finnish Antiquarian Society in 1874 and under its umbrella organized several expeditions to Siberia, aiming to uncover Ugro-Finn antiquities (Salminen 1994b).

The switch of nationalist ideology from civic to ethnic nationalism had made it possible for new nationalisms to come to the fore. Thus, in Catalonia the consideration of the Romans as a superimposed, but separate, race had already been put forward by archaeologists such as Buenaventura (Bonaventura in Catalan) Hernández Sanahuja (1810–91)—the excavator of many sites in Tarragona, the ancient Tarraco. Yet, a clear link between this theory and Catalan nationalism was established from the late 1860s, when many writers alluded to the struggle against the Romans by the ancient leaders Indivil and Mandonio as the origin of the separatist Catalan spirit. Nationalism was clearly on the agenda, as can be illustrated by comments by the Catalan politician, historian and archaeologist, Salvador Sanpere i Miquel (1840–1915), in his book on *Origens i fonts de la Nació Catalana* (*Origins and sources of the Catalan Nation*) (1878):

> If nationality reappears in a more favourable place and time . . . it is because 'the people' who formed it have not died. If it were dead, the aboriginal race would also have died and the nationality would not have been able to reappear because the differential element would have been missing.
>
> The Catalan race, therefore, is for us today well known. It travelled without fainting through Roman and Gothic times, [for these were] completely alien to its aboriginal character . . . Hence, there is a Catalan race, a Catalan people . . . Yes, a Catalan people made of Iberian stock with a strong Semitic component.
>
> (Sanpere in Cortadella 1986: 85).

Colonialism

In Chapter 10 it was argued that collectors in the colonies commonly looked at the sequences established in European prehistoric archaeology as a model to organize their archaeological and ethnographical findings and that this further contributed to the image of natives as backward. Yet, this was not a one-way process. As recent studies have suggested, colonialism triggered changes in the metropolis that would have long-lasting effects, such as the creation of passports and other symbolic paraphernalia of the nation. In archaeology the encounter with the 'Other' influenced the image of Europe's own past. In this way, the archaeology of the uncivilized, both in the colonies and in prehistoric Europe, became closely intertwined. On the one hand, the catalogues created by European prehistoric archaeologists served as an essential tool to

build chronologies of both present and past native populations, and also to legitimize the colonial occupation. On the other, however, the reports on the customs of the tribal groups and their material culture had an impact on the discourses about prehistoric archaeology in Europe. The colonial experience provided an important means for archaeologists to visualize the inhabitants of prehistoric Europe, and the functionality of the objects found in excavations. Yet, one should not forget that this vision was not completely independent from the images created from the early modern period based on discussions on the classical authors. This was a baggage that anthropology had for years to come. The link between the colonial experience and the study of prehistoric Europe was made explicit by the British archaeologist, John Lubbock, who explained in his celebrated *Pre-Historic Times*, which was subtitled: *As Illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages*:

> As regards the Stone Age in Europe both history and tradition are silent . . . Deprived, therefore, as regards this period, of any assistance from history, but relieved at the same time from the embarrassing interference of tradition, the archaeologist is free to follow the methods which have been so successfully pursued in geology—the rude bone and stone implements of bygone ages being to the one what the remains of extinct animals are to the other . . . in the same manner if we wish clearly to understand the antiquities of Europe, we must compare them with the rude implements and weapons still, or until lately, used by the savage races of other parts of the world. In fact, the Van Diemaner [i.e. Tasmanians] and South Americans are to the antiquary what the opossum and the sloth are to the geologist.
>
> (Lubbock 1913 (1865): 430).

THE PLACE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AMONG OTHER COGNATE DISCIPLINES

Prehistoric archaeology

Evolutionism placed humans at the same level as other living creatures, robbing them of their special divine character. A key figure in this radical change in the way humans were perceived was Charles Darwin. His ideas had a tremendous impact after the publication of his *Origin of Species* in 1859. As explained earlier in the chapter, they were applied to human prehistory by Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919) in his 1868 *History of Creation* and subsequently developed by Thomas Henry Huxley (Shipman 2004: 52–3, chs. 2–4). Yet, evolutionism was not a new theory. It had been present in intellectual circles

since the Enlightenment (Trigger 1989: ch. 3). Darwin had been particularly inspired by Sir Charles Lyell (1797–1875), whose book *Principles of Geology* (published in two volumes in 1830 and 1832) he had taken with him on his scientific expedition around the world on the HMS Beagle. Lyell had challenged the geological understanding of the world, denying the authority of the Old Testament Genesis as a historical source. Instead, he proposed that the geological past should best be understood in terms of gradual natural processes. As discussed in Chapter 12 (page 356), Lyell, however, did not follow the same logic with regard to living species which he thought to have been fixed. Darwin would be the scholar to put forward the theory regarding evolution of species, including humans. The key distinction between Darwin and some of his contemporaries who were proposing similar ideas was the mechanism by which change occurred: natural selection. Despite being Darwin's mentor, Lyell refused to support him in print, as became apparent in his book *The Antiquity of Man* (1863). Darwin would later publish *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871). Darwinian evolutionary theory produced heated debate and brought with it a new way of scientific reasoning. Although not everybody took on board the implications of Darwin's theories—the arbitrary character of natural selection—they persuaded many to accept one of the basic evolutionist tenets, that of the transformation of species through time. In contrast to Darwin, many people related changes in animals to those taking place in the environment, a theory that had been proposed half a century earlier by Jean-Baptiste de Lamark (1809). Lamark's proposition that qualities acquired or learned by an organism during its lifetime could be passed on to its offspring would ultimately be proved wrong, but at this time it was widely accepted.

As seen in the case of Darwin and Lyell, natural scientists' work on the evolution of geological strata, fauna and flora took them closer to anthropologists and prehistoric archaeologists to the extent that the boundaries of these still emerging disciplines became blurred. In addition, all of these scientists shared a range of interests with another newly emerging discipline, geography. In today's literature, it is not uncommon to find someone introduced as a geographer described as an anthropologist elsewhere. Geographer or anthropologist, their research could have focused on the study of past remains and historical origins, something that under current disciplinary boundaries would fall under the field of archaeology. This interconnection between prehistoric archaeology and the natural sciences was institutionalized as cartographers, geologists, and archaeologists fused in institutions dealing with the elaboration of maps, such as the Ordnance and Geological Surveys and Commissions. In the universities, prehistoric archaeology became part of the curriculum in Science faculties together with anthropology,

geology, and biology.[6] Sklenár (1983: 105–8) has also pointed out that one of the main characteristics of archaeology at this time was to produce an anthropological approach, and he provides many examples of the convergence between archaeologists and anthropologists in Germany and other parts of Central and Eastern Europe, many of those mentioned in previous sections.

Yet, while centripetal forces were bringing the four disciplines—natural sciences, geography, anthropology, and prehistoric archaeology—together, increasing specialization would pull them apart. Fractures began to emerge from the mid nineteenth century, especially in the relationship between the natural sciences and the other disciplines. This can be illustrated in the change of name of the chair obtained in the mid 1850s by the French scholar (and *sensu strictu* anti-evolutionist) Jean-Louis-Armand de Quatrefages (1810–92) (Laming-Emperaire 1964: 180), from 'Natural History of Man' to 'Anthropology' (Fonton 1993: 70).[7] This initial detachment, between the natural sciences on the one hand and anthropology and prehistoric archaeology on the other, became more apparent in museums. The diverse nature of the collections also meant that museum curators decided their display either in separate museums or at least different sections within a single museum. Thus, the Prehistoric Collection of the Viennese Society of Anthropology, created in 1878 under the direction of Ferdinand Ritter von Hochstetter (1829–84), was later moved to the Austrian Imperial Museum of Natural History founded in 1889, where it remained curated by the Department of Anthropology and Ethnography (Urban 2006: 266). The division of various archaeology and anthropology collections was also the case when the Pitt Rivers Museum was founded in 1884 (Ovenell 1986).

In contrast to the incipient rupture with the natural sciences, the human base of both anthropology and prehistoric archaeology kept them together for much longer. Rather than a separate discipline, prehistoric archaeology was initially seen as a sub-field of anthropology. The vocabulary used at the time reflects this subordination well. In 1872, for example, an anonymous reviewer, probably the famous French archaeologist Émile Cartailhac (1845–1921), explained that 'Italians and Spanish use the word "prehistoric". In adopting the term prehistorians, we are just translating . . . but perhaps it would be better to employ a periphrasis or just keep the name anthropologists' (1872 in Clermont & Smith 1990: 97). 'Palaeoethnology' was also employed as an

[6] Although not often an option, in some cases, such as at Cambridge University, philology and prehistoric archaeology were also combined (Fagan 2001: 17).

[7] Although other sources explain that Quatrefages had replaced Etienne Serres in the chair of Human Anatomy in 1856, a chair which later changed its name to that of 'Natural History of Man' and subsequently to 'Chair of Anthropology' (Fonton 1993: 70).

alternative term to Prehistory (Richard 1992: 195), and its use is still popular in Italy. In Romania the teaching of Professor Odobescu included geography, language, ethnography, and religion to introduce the set of lectures on the Iron Age (Babes 2006: 238). In fact, as the content of journals shows, in countries such as France and Germany the disciplinary separation between anthropology and prehistoric archaeology only began from the early twentieth century (Richard 1992: 195). In England, as late as 1903, a document calling for the study of anthropology at Cambridge still viewed archaeology as a branch of anthropology (in addition to ethnology, and physical and mental anthropology) (P. J. Smith, pers. comm.).

In the last third of the nineteenth century the marriage of anthropology and prehistoric archaeology was not only apparent in institutions such as societies, conferences, university teaching, and museums, but it could also be seen in the personal biographies of many of the protagonists at the time.[8] Most prehistoric archaeologists and colonial anthropologists belonged to the same learned societies and some individuals acted as experts in both fields. A summary review of two key archaeologists, representing Britain and France, the two major pre-1870 imperial powers, illustrates this. The Englishman, John Lubbock (later Lord Avebury) (1834–1913), was considered one of the leading figures in both prehistoric and anthropological studies. The regard in which his work was held by anthropologists led to his election as the first president of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, founded in 1871. In *Pre-historic times, as illustrated by ancient remains, and the manners and customs of modern savages* (1865) he included information about prehistoric archaeology and about modern tribal societies, despite the fact that the link was almost entirely based on his belief that the latter could shed light on the understanding of the former (Trigger 1989: 115). He also amassed both prehistoric and anthropological items, although the latter only accounted for about a tenth of his whole collection. The overlap between archaeology and anthropology can also be seen in the case of the Frenchman, Gabriel de Mortillet (1821–98). As one of the founding fathers of French prehistory and a combatant evolutionist (Hammond 1980), Mortillet was behind the establishment, in 1866, of one of the international fori where both archaeology and anthropology were jointly debated—the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology (Richard in Murray 1999b: 105). He was also a very active member of the Society of Anthropology and he taught Prehistory at the Parisian School of Anthropology (École d'anthropologie) founded in 1875 and which he had helped to create (Gran-Aymerich 2001: 475; Richard 2002: 178).

[8] Many of them had also an interest in folklore. An example of this is the Irish archaeologist William Gregory Wood-Martin (1847–1917) (Waddell 2005: 143).

Roman and medieval archaeology

In Parts I and II of the book it was pointed out that the image of the archaeology of the Great Civilizations—and especially that of the Roman Empire—was used to legitimize the modern European empires. This led to the creation all over Europe of university chairs to research the antiquities of Italy, Greece, Turkey and elsewhere. Yet, it is less clear how this affected institutionalization of the Roman antiquities found within national territory. Further analyses of the effect of the emphasis on Celtic, Slavic and Germanic archaeology in Roman archaeology are still needed. The data seem to indicate that Roman archaeology was indeed supported by the state, perhaps pointing at several discourses about the past running parallel to each other. An example of this is the admiration by the French Emperor Napoléon III (1808–73, r. 1848–70) for Caesar which led him to promote excavations of the Roman sites connected to the siege of Alésia (Mont Auxois) besieged by Caesar in 52 BCE—the main reason behind its excavation was not it being Vercingetorix's hillfort (King 2001: 115). Also, Theodor Mommsen, the writer of the influential *History of Rome* of 1854–6 and the Professor of Ancient History at the University of Berlin from 1858, had the idea of the RLK or Reichslimeskommision (the Imperial Commission for the Study of the Roman Frontier) in 1892. The debate that surrounded its creation exemplifies the confusion over Roman archaeology in Europe. In the case of the RLK, the question was whether it should be controlled by the German Archaeological Institute—the body that managed excavations abroad, including those in Italy—or be kept independent of it? In the end the first option was chosen and the RGK or Römisch-Germanische Kommission was created (Marchand 1996a: 173–4, 177–9).

The number of university chairs for the teaching on the Roman and medieval antiquities went on growing in this period. Teaching on them already existed in institutions such as the French École de Chartes and the Spanish Escuela Superior de Diplomática (Chapter 12). There were newly created chairs for numismatics, epigraphy, and history of art. New chair holders were, for example, the numismatist Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823–96) in Italy in 1861 (Barbanera 1998: 19) and Mihailo Valtrovic (1839–1915) in Belgrade in 1881 (Babic 2001: 172–3; Milinkovic 2006). In Britain, although the teaching of archaeology in universities such as Cambridge and Oxford seems to have been more linked to the study of the archaeology of the Great Civilizations (Beard 1999; Medwid 2000: passim), some of the professors spent some of their time on Roman Britain. This was the case of Robert Carr Bosanquet (1871–1935), who was the Director of the British School at Athens (1900–6) and later Professor of Classical Archaeology in Liverpool (1906–20). While in Liverpool he devoted his energies to the excavation of the Roman fort of Housesteads by

Hadrian's Wall in northern England (Gill 2004: 237–9; Gill in *Oxford Dictionary*: vol. 6, 695–6). In addition to these professionals, there were many others rightfully considered as experts but whose main occupation was elsewhere. There were architects such as the Frenchman, Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79), the Englishman, Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811–78), and the Spaniard, Eduardo Saavedra (1829–1912); clerics such as Father Fidel Fita (1835–1918) in Spain; travellers such as the Hungarian-born Austrian, Felix Kanitz (1828–1904) who published extensively on Roman Serbia (Babic 2001: 173–6); and men—practically no women—from other professions such as the military and medicine. In England the Mathematics fellow at Cambridge, Robert Willis (1800–75), who published on monumental architectural history in England, and the Oxford modern historian, Edward Freeman (1823–92), who published about Norman archaeology and history, are examples of this (Cocke 1998). In addition to the scholars in parallel disciplines, the increasing strength of learned societies meant that amateurs continued to play an important role in the archaeology of all periods (Levine 1986). Yet, it seems revealing that by the end of the century the first voices against the quality of the archaeology undertaken by the societies were being voiced by professionals (Marchand 1996a: 178–9).

THE METHODOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

The rationale behind evolutionism was explained by the Swedish archaeologist, Oscar Montelius, in the following way:

> When studying a specific question we will find that evolution has passed many stages, before it reached its present state . . . [we can] also see all the stages still represented, since an old form does not always disappear when a new form rises . . . Often there will be no difficulty to see the successive order of the different forms
>
> (in Arwill-Nordbladh 1989: 138).

The growing acceptance of evolutionary theory in archaeology led scholars to embrace methods among which stratigraphy, typology, and seriation are especially important for prehistoric archaeology, and for the archaeology of other periods. These methods were used to confirm scientifically sequences of events and change through time. These crucial improvements in the scientific method paved the way for prehistory to be accepted as proper science. The connection with the natural sciences enabled archaeologists to borrow methods from palaeontology, such as the stratigraphic method, which, although at this time it was not applied to the extent that it would be

after the First World War, was essential for the acceptance of human antiquity in Europe (Grayson 1983; Van Riper 1993). Stratigraphy was also key to confirm the established typological sequences. The antiquarian pursuit of study collections started to give way to the retrieval of data through excavation. Early examples in which stratigraphy was considered were in the first and second Kitchen Midden Commissions (1849–69 and 1885–1900) (Kristiansen 2002). During this period stratigraphy was included in publications such as the handbook written by A. Voss in 1888 issued by the Prussian Ministry of Education on the excavation and protection of antiquities (Sklenár 1983: 114). Stratigraphy was also used by Wilamowitz in his excavations in Italy (Ceserani forthcoming) and the collaboration between Romanists and the natural sciences has been mentioned for the case of Hungary (Nagy 2003: 15). Yet, most classical and medieval archaeologists used the practice of searching for walls and, once found, excavating the contents of rooms usually without any stratigraphic control and often in an unsystematic way. In contrast, the excavations by the English General Pitt Rivers between 1890 and 1900 are among the best examples of how thorough the work of the field archaeologist was becoming.[9] Importantly, he followed his method regardless of the established chronology of the site. Examples of his excavations extend from the prehistoric (Cranborne Chase), Roman (Rushmore Park) and also medieval (Caesar's Camp in Kent) periods (Lucas 2001: ch. 2.1). In this respect, Pitt Rivers was ahead of his time. Most archaeologists were less systematic than he was and the impact of the techniques being developed in prehistoric archaeology on the latter periods would only be visible later, in the twentieth century.

In typology, the lead was taken by French prehistorians and by Scandinavians. The system proposed by Gabriel de Mortillet for the Palaeolithic in 1869, for example, was based on technical progress: from Acheulean, to Mousterian, Solutrean, Magdalenian, and Robenhausian and other periods later added. This single evolutionary scheme would soon be contested in its details, but not in its substance, by scholars from other nations as well as other French regions. Another scientific method adopted by evolutionists was typological seriation. Montelius would state in this respect:

> The type for the prehistoric archaeologist is the same thing as the species is for the scientist . . . Concerning the product of nature—it has long been known—one form

[9] In the early twentieth century Pitt Rivers' excavation techniques would be followed by others, laying the groundwork for the excavations by Mortimer Wheeler and Alexander Keiller (Fagan 2001; Lucas 2001; MacGregor 2000; Murray 1999a; Stone 1994), and with other archaeologists important later in the century: Stuart Piggott and Grahame Clark (Fagan 2001: 10–11).

can emerge from another. But not until recently, has it been possible to show the same kind of evolution concerning the products of human work.

(Arwill-Nordbladh 1989: 138).

When establishing a typological series it was important 'with the greatest possible accuracy', he said, 'to try to analyse the find context' (*ibid.*).

Typology was also a key method in the description and the establishment of chronological sequences of Roman and medieval monuments, inscriptions, coins, and other objects that had already been a major preoccupation throughout the nineteenth century. Thus, in Vienna the Austrian art historians Franz Wickhoff (1853–1909) and Alois Riegl (1858–1905) approached typologically the Roman and 'Barbarian' collections of the Imperial Museum with the aim of organizing them and to analyse the connections between the Roman and later medieval art. Riegl's work resulted in the publication of *Spat-römische Kunst-industrie* (*Late Roman art industry*) in 1901 (Bianchi Bandinelli 1982 (1976): 142). In Hungary, the proximity of the celebrations in 1896 of the millenary of the Hungarian conquest of the country led to a flurry of archaeological activities in which those related to Conquest and Migration period grave finds received most attention. The cataloguing of the museum collections by Professor József Hampel (1849–1913) covered all archaeological periods (Nagy 2003: 19). Cataloguing became one of the obsessions in the last decades of the nineteenth century. A good example of catalogues are the corpora, some of which dealt with archaeology beyond Europe and have been mentioned throughout the book. In Europe the monumental project organized by Theodor Mommsen in 1862, the positivist *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum* (Moradiellos 1992: 81–90), an exhaustive catalogue of Latin epigraphical inscriptions, should be mentioned.[10]

The new methods allowed archaeologists to deal in much more effective ways than ever with issues of chronology in the prehistoric period. Starting with the most ancient epoch, once the great antiquity of humanity had been acknowledged by the scientific community (see Chapter 12), work had to be done in the organization of the oldest period of human occupation in Europe. The Stone Age was accordingly segmented into Old—the Palaeolithic—and New—the Neolithic, and both were subsequently further subdivided into subperiods (Van Riper 1993: ch. 7). Work was undertaken in other parts of Europe by others such as the Russian Vasily Gorodtsov, the Frenchmen

[10] Another similar positivist and descriptive project organized between the 1860s and the 1890s, but referring to Greek art, was the *Inschriften Griechischer Bildhauer*, published in 1885 by the Austrian-born professor at the University of Rome, Emanuel Loewy (Bianchi Bandinelli 1982 (1976): 131–9).

Édouard Lartet (1801–71) and Gabriel de Mortillet, the Britons General Pitt Rivers and John Lubbock and the German Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902) (Daniel 1963: table 1, passim). Nomenclature was also developed to define the implements of each period. This process was not undertaken without a great amount of debate and argument, for contenders were competing not only in the scientific sphere, but also for academic leadership and power. The authority of French archaeologists was manifested in their ability to direct the tone of Palaeolithic studies. Mainly under the control of archaeologists based in Paris, Southern France became the focus of Palaeolithic studies because of the typologies devised from flint implements found in the area (Groenen 1994). Excavations also unearthed decorated bones and stones dating from that period and served as proof of the artistic qualities of ancient 'man' (Groenen 1994).

The Bronze Age was also subdivided by rival schema, but, in contrast to the previous periods, an overall application to the whole territory of Europe proved difficult. For many areas of Europe it seemed that an early Copper Age could be distinguished. Schliemann's excavations in Mycenae between 1874 and 1879 provided a link to Egyptian archaeology (see Chapter 5). This allowed the building of Bronze Age chronologies, first between Egypt and Greece, and then between Greece and the rest of Europe. Of key importance would be Montelius' 1885 subdivision of the Scandinavian Bronze Age into several phases. Even more than when dealing with the Bronze Age, archaeologists examining the Iron Age connected their discussions to issues of language and race, as ancient sources provided archaeologists with descriptions of the people that inhabited Europe at this time. The Iron Age was split into two periods on the basis of the excavations of Hallstatt and La Tène in Austria and Switzerland respectively. Greatly inspired by the nationalist ethos, some excavations with important Iron Age strata were undertaken starting, in the 1860s, with the digs at Mont Auxois (Alésia) in France and at Numantia in Spain.

Evolutionism was not opposed to diffusionism, at least not in the case of non-Darwinist evolutionists. The movement of objects and peoples from region to region was widely accepted at the time by most. Yet, archaeological remains from prehistory to later times were sometimes identified with known historical peoples. The latter were also defined as races, as discussed earlier in this chapter, such as the Slavs or the Celts. The way in which archaeologists attempted to demonstrate the expansion of the Indo-Europeans or Aryans clearly illustrates the link between evolutionism and diffusionism. This example allows us to join together several threads running through this book. As seen in Chapter 8, in 1813, the Aryans had been described as Indo-Europeans and both concepts—Aryan and Indo-European—had gained racial overtones in the 1820s. It was unclear when the Aryans, a people for whom experts

stipulated an original homeland in Central Asia, had arrived in Europe and several theories competed (Mallory 1989). In any case, archaeologists increasingly tried to trace their movement throughout Eurasia. In 1835, the Asiatic Society of Bengal sent two bronzes found after a landslide near the village of Niora in the province of Etaweh (India) for metallurgical analysis to Copenhagen. Their analysis showed that they contained very little, if any, tin in the alloy. In 1877 Worsaae, who, as we have seen, was an evolutionist and an explicit believer in the usefulness of archaeology for the national cause (see Chapter 12), gave a lecture to the Nordic Society for Antiquarianism and History. In it he undertook an overview of world prehistory. He presented a list of non-tin alloys mainly from Europe among which he included the two pieces from India. The reason for grouping these together was made explicit in his *Nordens Forhistorie* (*The Prehistory of the North*) (1881). When talking about the Bronze Age of Scandinavia he stated that 'here, too, evidence more and more points to the age-old cultures and countries in Asia and first and foremost to the copper- and tin-rich India' (in Sørensen 1985: xiii). Worsaae concluded 'that India, if not the proper or only cradle of the Bronze Age, was then at least one of the earliest and most important points for its beginnings' (*ibid.*). These ideas would later be taken up by his younger Swedish colleague, Oscar Montelius, and, more generally later in the early twentieth century, by the culture-historical school. So, for him, as well as for many others in this period, the creation of national accounts, that distinguished one nation from the rest, was not incompatible with the belief that objects, and for some even people, had moved across space in prehistory and later periods. In sum, evolutionism, diffusionism, soft racism, and nationalism could go hand in hand, although conversely they could contradict one another, and could be used against one another.

CONCLUSION

At the turn of the century, professional archaeology increasingly became less of a gentleman's pastime in which one dug a hole in a few hours to discover a national treasure, and more an enterprise in which meticulous techniques were being imposed both in the field and in the analysis of the data. Many significant events had happened in the last four decades of the nineteenth century. The nationalist cause had been accepted in the political imagination of most Europeans and this meant that the study of history and of archaeology increased its appeal even more than earlier in the century. One of the most remarkable transformations was that gradually national histories pushed

the nation's origins back in time to include evidence from the most remote past, although the allure of the medieval period remained dominant in the national historical discourse. The growth in the amount of professionals and amateurs took place in the context not only of an expansion throughout the world of the imperial powers (see Part III of this book), but also of an increase in the number of powerful nations in Europe: some of the new countries such as Italy and Germany resulted from the unification of previously divided states, whereas others such as Serbia and Romania were formed when their territories gained political independence from their old masters. New philosophies—mainly positivism and evolutionism—replaced the Romantic approach that had dominated the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Evolutionism, the belief of things changing through time from the simple to the complex, was not new, but in this period became the backbone of the organization of historical discourse. Importantly, scholars now insisted in following scientific methods, which also meant being rational and impersonal. However, this should not deceive those not familiar with archaeological practice at this time: positivism came together with an ample acceptance of an essential division of humanity into races which were not of equal value and whose difference could be measured by increasingly sophisticated techniques such as craniology. Evolutionism also agreed with universalism, as there was general conformity about a series of stages all humans, i.e. each nation, went through throughout time. This concept was made visual in exhibitions at all scales: local, regional, national, and international. It was also made apparent in the distribution maps that scholars started to include in their publications. Scholars looked for these stages within the frontiers of their nations, a practice that led to circular argumentations: the geographical extent of the nation was taken as given but also became part of the conclusion. This practice was mainly voluntary but became increasingly crystallized through funding—only projects that conformed to the sponsor, either the state or a private source, received subsidies—and legislation, which obviously conformed to the national boundaries.

The wide diversity of material culture dealt with by archaeologists led to a parallel variety in the way it was institutionalized. The situation described at the start of this book as the 'sheer lack of homogeneity' of what archaeology is today, of its multivocality, has roots mainly in this period, although it has much earlier precedents that go back to the early modern period. Two major divisions became established: monumental and non-monumental archaeology. The latter mainly referred to prehistoric material, and was institutionalized within the natural sciences, geography and/or anthropology. Monumental archaeology was shared by philologists, historians of art, classicists, and others specializing more narrowly in epigraphy and numismatics.

Within monumental archaeology a major distinction was made between the archaeology of the Great Civilizations, that of other civilizations—in America and Asia—and national archaeology. Despite these divisions which have deeply marked the discipline, in the years under discussion in this chapter there were commonalities in the way in which material culture was treated. The method of typology was widely accepted during this period to the extent that for some it became an end in itself. Seriation was recognized as one of the most useful tools to establish chronology. Less widespread, the stratigraphic method timidly started to be imposed as one of the common practices in excavation.

Histories of archaeology dealing with the early years of the twentieth century have shown a quasi-obsession with the figure of Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931). He supported the concept of national archaeology, and looked for the geographical spread of the Germanic race, whom he thought was superior to any other. The preceding pages have shown, however, not only that there is much more to archaeology than prehistoric archaeology—Kossinna's main field of research—but, more importantly, that many of the revolutions supposedly started by him were very much present in the preceding period. If there was anything which characterized the archaeology of the last four decades of the nineteenth century it was its emphasis on race and national archaeology. The analysis of how this continued in the early decades of the twentieth century has been partly impeded, in some countries, by an unwillingness to accept that the belief in racism and its offshoot, eugenics, which was widespread at this time (Barkan 1992), could have affected the study of the past in other countries than Germany and, perhaps, Italy. Equally needing analysis is the extent to which some early twentieth-century archaeologists may have become part of the fight against the manipulative and speculative hypotheses that had flourished in the name of science.

The example of Kossinna, however, illustrates an aspect that has not been widely analysed in the history of archaeology: that of scientific networks. Once the number of academics had grown to the extent it had at the end of the nineteenth century, the relationship between nationalism and archaeology became naturalized and, therefore, gradually less important. In its place there were, increasingly, other considerations: one of them the establishment of academic networks some of whose precedents have been mentioned in the previous pages (mainly, the competing international congresses). It would not make sense, therefore, for a book on twentieth-century archaeology to take as the main focus of discussion nationalism and imperialism. These were influential up to the Second World War and in the period following decolonization, but they were less part of the story than in the period this volume has dealt with, the nineteenth century.

14

Conclusions

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE WORLD HISTORY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGY

In this book explanations have operated at various levels, of which two will be highlighted here: top-down and bottom-up approaches. Regarding the first approach, it has been argued that archaeology's emergence as a professional discipline needs to be understood within the framework of the appearance of nationalism as the political ideology that changed the way in which states were characterized, leading to their definition as self-governed nations. An overview of how nationalism, and, connected to it, imperialism and colonialism, affected the development and institutionalization of archaeology throughout the world in the nineteenth century has been provided in the introduction. In this final chapter I do not intend to repeat arguments put forward there. Instead, the following pages will further elaborate on the bottom-up approach, utilized throughout the work but not explicitly formulated. This concerns archaeologists' role in the changes that led to the growing acceptance of nationalism and imperialism, and the increasing success of archaeology as a scholarly discipline. Nation, colony, empire, and state are abstract concepts that, in fact, represent communities of individuals whose agency is fundamental in the events that mark the history of these institutions. People successfully instil—or otherwise—the belief in the existence of a nation, an empire or a colony. Explorers, amateurs, and professionals played a vital part in the organization of the search for antiquities, claiming their undertakings were useful from a political point of view, and popularizing this vision through exhibitions, speeches, teaching, and publications.

The scholar and the nation

To understand correctly the mechanisms by which nineteenth-century archaeology related to nationalism it is important to stress that the political role played by most individuals involved in the study of antiquities was not the result of an imposition. On the contrary, free choice motivated them. The

many analyses undertaken on the social provenance of archaeologists (for example Kristiansen 1981; Levine 1986; Mitchell 1998) show that a number hailed from the social elite and, importantly, that the great majority were from the middle classes. They, therefore, belonged to the strata in society leading the nineteenth-century revolutions. These were not enforced from above, but, quite the reverse, were voluntarily directed by the intelligentsia—the educated strata in the society mainly drawn from the middle classes—in their search for space in the political sphere. They even, to a large extent, played a crucial part in supporting 'official nationalisms'—those to be found in some Eastern European countries like Russia, as well as perhaps other states beyond Europe, like Persia, in which nationalism was imposed by the monarchy on its subjects (Anderson 1991: 86). The middle classes' fight for political recognition would eventually meet with success. This was the context in which the appeal of antiquities led scholars to put their work at the service of the state. They did so willingly, and their enthusiasm would be key to the evolution of archaeology into an academic discipline. Institutionalization did not come first. Before institutionalization—and after it had started—there were individuals whose concern for antiquities was driven by the belief that their research assisted the advancement of their nation. In contrast to today's practice, for most nineteenth-century archaeologists the association between their nationalist feelings and their interest in the past was unproblematic. Archaeologists were moved, among other motives, by patriotic zeal and by a sense of pride in their nation. The considerable personal sacrifice often required to undertake their work was offset by their sense of achievement. They were proud of the result and talked and wrote about it freely. Such comments did not usually appear in the main text of academic publications, although there are exceptions. Rather, most commonly they were made in speeches and papers, in newspapers, in book introductions and the like. This openness regarding their perceived role as discoverers of the roots of the nation is also found among the minority who managed to find jobs related to archaeology. If anything, their frankness was reinforced by their confidence in having acquired a responsibility towards the building of the nation because of their professional standing.

Archaeology thus grew out of a political context in which the nation was the major element which provided legitimacy to the state. This happened in Europe as in all the other parts of the independent world, including the Near East, Latin America, China, and Japan. The very nature of the nation, however, was an arena of negotiation in which archaeologists had a voice. To start with, it was necessary to demonstrate that the nation indeed existed, and for this the construction of its life history was crucial. Knowledge of the past and an understanding of the events that had led to the specific make-up

of a nation became a political tool. The arrangement of data of the national history into a coherent account was deemed essential for the explanation of its present identity and of its likely future. Archaeologists, and others from cognate disciplines, such as history, philology, anthropology, geography, and the history of art, endeavoured to interpret the data available to them. They aimed to assemble a framework in which the nation was made intelligible, helping to further disseminate the national idea in the population's imagination. The public outcome of archaeologists' work, museum displays and academic publications, mediated the past, present, and future. They produced authorized versions of the past, which in time crystallized as public memory. This was helped by the popularization of these sanctioned renditions through the modern arts (mainly paintings but also sculpture), school books and newspapers.

The value of archaeologists' interpretations for the construction of the nation led to the institutionalization of archaeology. The connection that the social theorist, Michel Foucault (1972 (2002); 1980b), makes between power, knowledge, and truth is relevant here. Archaeologists helped the state with their understanding of the past. This convinced some of those in power of the usefulness of funding archaeologists' work, both on a permanent and on a short-term basis. Regarding the latter the state sponsored expeditions and provided encouragement to privately commissioned individuals who explored ancient sites. They were supported through the state purchase of the antiquities gathered by them and also through their selection for honours and medals. On a permanent basis the state nursed archaeology mainly through the creation of museums, universities and offices for heritage administration. Once institutionalized, archaeology enforced a control of the interpretation of the past by establishing its own rules. Hence a 'discipline' (cf. Lenoir 1997) was established, and this led to a regulation of what constituted legitimate knowledge. In the process of selecting collections to be exhibited, and writing handbooks, museum curators, as well as university professors and heritage officers, determined criteria of significance and moulded the historical imagination.

The suggestion that archaeologists were inspired by nationalism, and indeed that they took an active part in its success as a political ideology, does not negate the existence of competing views about the essential aspects of the national past. One could say that there were—and are—as many nations as individuals, for each of them drew a different picture of it. During the nineteenth century, as well as today, there was a pool of elements from which each person selected a few in order to characterize their own nation. The perception of the nation (and of its past) was affected by factors such as political allegiance to either conservative or progressive ideology, sympathy

for other ideologies, such as socialism, as well as by the operation of other identities, like gender, class, and academic status. Scholars' identities were constructed through interaction with other individuals, and choice and agency were part of the process by which they gained and maintained their identities. Also, proposing that nationalism had a role in archaeology and that individuals actively engaged in nation-building does not deny that archaeologists had a bona-fide individual scholarly interest, indeed fascination, towards the past. The analysis undertaken in this book has not refuted this, but indicated how this allure was put to the service of the idea of the nation, and revealed how this influenced the professionalization of the discipline.

Moreover, nineteenth-century scholars' understanding of the world and how they identified with it was a process in continuous flux. How they dealt with the past was, therefore, also in motion, subject to transformation over their lives. Changes of opinion throughout the scholars' biographies were—and are—the norm. Thus, the way in which archaeology adapted and contributed to the shift of nationalism from a progressive to a conservative ideology around the mid nineteenth century did not require new actors. Those already active responded to the new fashions and strategically contributed to them, showing in this way their loyalty to the cause and their group belonging. Some disagreed, but even opposition can be linked to the same social processes: individuals who rejected new trends did so implying that they were not conducive to the national good. The wide range of forms by which such swings can occur shows that the revisions archaeologists continuously made of their own interpretations were not at all mechanistic, but a matter of social interaction, negotiation, and contestation. It was through archaeologists' actions that new archaeological practices related to the shift in nationalism and its new emphasis on language and race were successful. These practices, for example, encompassed a novel emphasis on the thorough study of skulls found in excavations, and archaeologists' approval of a talk on race, as shown by their attendance at it and also by applauding at its end. Membership of new societies, in which the fusion of archaeology and philology, or of archaeology and physical anthropology, was promoted, was another possibility. Many others could be mentioned.

In the introduction internationalism was alluded to, and reference was made not only to interdependencies but also to rivalries. In connection to the latter it is important to realize that nationalism—and competition among empires—also affected the selection that learned individuals made regarding whose ideas to follow. This could be seen in an unwillingness to welcome ideas formulated in another country. Scholars' nationhood was defined as against the nationality of other peoples. On occasion national rivalries led to a reluctance to accept theories coming from abroad, even leading to the

marginalization of those scholars too sympathetic to them (see an example of this in Massin 2001: 305–9). Yet, rivalries were not the exclusive province of nationalism, for they also existed among each country's archaeologists, and even among those working in the same institution. Despite this, it is important to stress archaeology's—like other social sciences'—contribution to the intensification of international rivalries in that it forged a set of images of the nation. Archaeologists distanced themselves from those of other nations, by giving 'scientific' legitimacy to essentializing hypotheses on their national origin and its distinctiveness from any other.

Agency and the building of colonial archaeology

Imperialism and colonialism became connected to nationalism from its inception, as Napoleonic expansionism clearly showed in the early years of the emergence of nationalism as a political ideology. Throughout the nineteenth century this association became tighter, reaching a peak in the 1870s, when the possession of an empire became an essential element to be considered a successful nation. Imperialism and colonialism were crucial for the development of archaeology beyond Europe, especially in areas under the direct control of the imperial powers. An inversion of the formula, however, does not hold. Antiquities were only one of the assets used to legitimize imperialism. Sometimes the historical account that explained the roots of a colony's inferiority was assumed rather than based on data. This was especially the case when no monumental antiquities existed in the area. When they did, archaeologists played a role from the early days of the colony. The importance given to the presence of monuments can partly be explained because of the strength of the classical model—the consideration of the ideas expressed by the Graeco-Roman authors and the arts produced by its artists as the canon from which to measure wisdom, knowledge and civilization. Following its rules, only remains of a monumental character were thought worth studying to start with, for they were automatically considered the work of an ancient Great Civilization. Accounts of them were not impartial, however. The yardstick against which information about antiquities was retrieved, analysed and publicized was that of the archaeologists' perceived own Great Civilization, which for most of the nineteenth century, and especially for its first half, meant Greece and Rome. Unsurprisingly, in comparison, most ancient monuments around the world were viewed as abnormal. The greater distance archaeologists travelled, the more anomalous things looked, the more exotic the monuments became and the more alien material culture was perceived. The discourses about monumental

antiquities, therefore, assisted in the creation of a past for many colonies that explained their historical shortcomings and the right of the Powers to dominate them.

The object of study in colonial archaeology increasingly broadened throughout the nineteenth century to include vestiges from societies perceived as inferior and primitive. The widening of scholars' interests to non-monumental remains led to the expansion of archaeology to areas of the world not previously considered. This does not mean that non-state societies, both those of the past and the present, were seen in a more positive light. The belief in progression meant that these communities were deemed of a lesser rank, at the bottom of humanness. Primitives' ignorance and their lack of civilization, in sum, their detachment from progress, rationalized the colonial venture as justifiable. The issue of racism also became key in the examination of the data, to the extent that when monuments were found in areas where the local population was thought too low in the hierarchy of races to have produced them, white authorship was proposed. For the description and interpretation of the findings the sequence created for the European prehistoric material served as a standard to follow, but this was not a one-way process: the European classifications had been formed partly on the basis of the information sent by explorers in their reports about living 'primitives'.

For the success and development of archaeology beyond the Western world scholars' active involvement had a crucial role to play. Nationalism's interest in archaeology would not have spread around the globe without the curiosity of learned individuals from the imperial powers. As in the case of Europe, America, and some of the other early modern colonies, in almost every other area of the world individuals' interest towards antiquities came before institutionalization. Scattered throughout the continents archaeologists and explorers built discourses about the past of increasingly remote places, creating a global picture that vindicated the world they were living in. They voluntarily collaborated in the construction of a past that helped to legitimize imperialism and colonialism. Their sense of duty was one of the key motivations explaining their actions. Firstly, they felt it was their responsibility to undertake a task that, in their opinion, locals were unable to do. In fact, in the case of areas which had not been colonized before the nineteenth century, they were right, for the rules archaeologists followed in the elaboration of discourse of the past were very specifically Western, completely alien to local wisdom. Secondly, those dealing with antiquities felt the urge to explain why the imperial countries—i.e. the white populations living in them—were superior to the peoples living in the colonies. Some were moved by a quest for prestige, achievable through their efforts to uncover the good, the rational and the truthful. Others tried to uncover their own colonial identity through

the definition of the colonized. These feelings should not be mistaken for archaeologists' lacking a material ambition. Some individuals made all the issues listed above compatible with the sale of antiquities from which to earn some capital in addition to social status.

The power of colonial archaeologists' discourse was related to their own national might. Archaeologists from non-imperial countries in Europe may have also wanted to participate in imperial archaeology, but they did not have either the means nor the audience to do so and so had to re-orientate their careers to other subjects for which subsidies were at hand. This was the case, for example, of the Spanish archaeologist, José Ramón Mélida (1856–1933), whose fascination with Egyptology as a young man had to be substituted, later in his life, for subjects closer to home, like the Iberians, the Celtiberian site of Numantia, and the Roman town of Merida (Díaz-Andreu 2004b). Thus, the greater involvement of archaeologists of the imperial powers in colonial archaeology was related not to their intellectual superiority, as they believed, but to the economic strength of their nation, which allowed their rich governments—or their rich sponsors—to support their studies. Both amateurs and professionals benefited from the state's interest in their research. In the case of the latter the reasons are straightforward: they were paid to work in museums in the colony or in the metropolis and in other institutions, such as universities or other teaching schools, most of them located in Europe. Importantly, amateurs and private collectors also profited from the economic prosperity of their nation. They had an audience and a readership for their discoveries and purchases, both in the colony and in the metropolis. They were frequent collaborators in academic journals and regularly met and/or exchanged correspondence with the professionals. The prosperity of imperial archaeology does not mean that everybody or any project was funded in the centres of imperial power, for only those useful for the state were endorsed. Concerning the latter it is illustrative to observe that, in the case of Southeast Asia, for example, not many French archaeologists were found in India nor British archaeologists in Indochina. The pattern of distribution of the archaeologists from the imperial powers clearly shows that, with a few exceptions, they worked in areas where their nations had a political interest.

Institutionalization in the colonies was based on the same three types of institutions as in the metropolis—the museum, the university and the government office dealing with antiquities. To this, one should add the learned society, which was not necessarily related to professionalization, for it preceded it and later, to an extent, was one of its supporters, giving precedence to the professionals' opinions and, on many occasions, allowing them to become its leaders. As is clear from the examples provided in the book, with the exception of the learned society, which was usually the first to be set up, no

rule fits the order of appearance of each of these three institutions in the colonies. Diversity and fluency were the hallmarks of the ways the discipline developed institutionally in different parts of the world. In order to explain this, it may be worth looking at how individuals related to the past. In the previous section it was mentioned that there were as many nations as individuals. This also applied to the colonies, where the different political ideologies and other identities also affected the way individuals constructed their past. Moreover, the different strategies followed by individuals also depended very much on a series of circumstances that were beyond their control—the personality and tastes of whoever was in charge as governor and had the power to fund one institution or another, the orders coming from the metropolis, the ambitions of other colleagues living in the colony and the like. As in the case of the archaeologists working on the national past, changes in archaeologists' interpretations and practice throughout their lives were the norm and one does not necessarily have to expect the arrival of new scholars to explain the way in which archaeology developed in one particular area of the world.

The discourse about the past created by the imperial powers in Europe became hegemonic throughout the world. Their strong economy allowed the growth of the middle classes in them, the strata of society from which more archaeologists came. The Powers' need for cohesion, to have a solid basis for their national existence and their right to maintain and expand their empire, coupled with the wealth partly derived from the exploitation of the colonies and the manipulation of other independent but weaker states, led to the creation of bodies of professionals who were larger in size than in non-imperial countries. This lured youngsters from elsewhere in the world to the imperial institutions, where they learned the new creeds that they then publicized back home. The allure of the ideas created in the imperial centres also came from the power that the means of communication gave to their experts, for as well as institutions, the imperial states funded publications and journals with no parallel in non-imperial countries. The efforts of imperial archaeologists were disseminated both at home and beyond, for journals could be bought, funds allowing, in any corner of the world with a minimum number of archaeologists eager to know—and emulate—the latest trends in the discipline.

Despite becoming hegemonic, the narration created by imperial archaeologists did not remain uncontested. In informal empires, as indicated when discussing nationalism in the previous section, national histories were also constructed. Yet, it is important to note that this elaboration had to count with the opinions expressed by archaeologists coming from the imperial centres. In some countries within informal empires, the study of antiquity

had a long tradition of scholarship which had developed centuries before the arrival of the Europeans, but their conventions were of a very different nature to those developed from the Renaissance. This was the case of China and Japan. Resistance in each case took very different paths. In China there was a reluctance, throughout the nineteenth century, to accept the new scholarly rules coming from Europe—only after the First World War would the situation change. In Japan a very different reaction took place. Japanese politicians decided to mimic their European counterparts and become an imperial empire. The analysis of the actions undertaken by individuals, which produced these divergent paths, is beyond the remit of this book. However, information published regarding archaeologists in China and Japan shows that their archaeological practice assisted government policies, not because they blindly followed official orders, but because they themselves had personal reasons to do so. This helps to explain some of the specific aspects of the development of archaeology in each country. For example, someone like the Japanese abbot-to-be, Kozui Otani, would not have engaged in the search for Buddhist antiquities had it not been because of his fight to stop the decline of this religion in Japan. Also, the approach to archaeology by the Chinese geologist, Ding Wenjian, would have been different if he had not received a classical Chinese education in Confucian ethics, followed by a university degree in geology in Britain. They played a part in the creation of a national history, but they did so generating transcultural forms, a hybrid archaeology between their tradition and that of the West.

Resistance followed a different pattern in other parts of the world. In addition to China and Japan, many more areas can become the focus of our attention. The first of them is Latin America, an independent, but besieged world, which had been opened to European influence during the early modern era, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. There, the process of Westernization had produced its own local elites before the nineteenth century. From early on these local elites had been keen to create their own accounts of the history of the land they had come to inhabit. Significantly, a higher percentage of miscegenation, of racially mixed population, usually belonging to the well-off classes in areas such as Latin America, had been reflected in the early appearance of feelings of pride towards the archaeology of the pre-colonial period. This also happened among native elites educated under Western standards coming from other parts of the colonized and independent world beyond Europe, such as Indonesia, Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire. However, the quest for Golden Ages in the native past had a major obstacle to overcome: the power of racism, an ideology that grew in strength throughout the century and that stubbornly claimed the superiority of the white race. Resistance in parts of the world such as Greece and Italy was

easier, for scholars knew the rules of the game from the start, and institutionalization, legislation and the outlawing of the export of antiquities assisted them in organizing a body of experts who contributed to the construction of an alternative national history to that produced by others. The final part of the world in which to discuss the issue of resistance is that of most of sub-Saharan Africa (with the exception of the colony at the southern tip of the continent) and parts of Australia, not because there was much of it but, in fact, because there was none. This occurred mainly in territories in which no state political organization had existed, or in which it had been much less pronounced, before the arrival of the Europeans. There, imperial archaeologists did not encounter any opposition to their particular narration, for the local understanding of time was far removed from that developed in Europe.

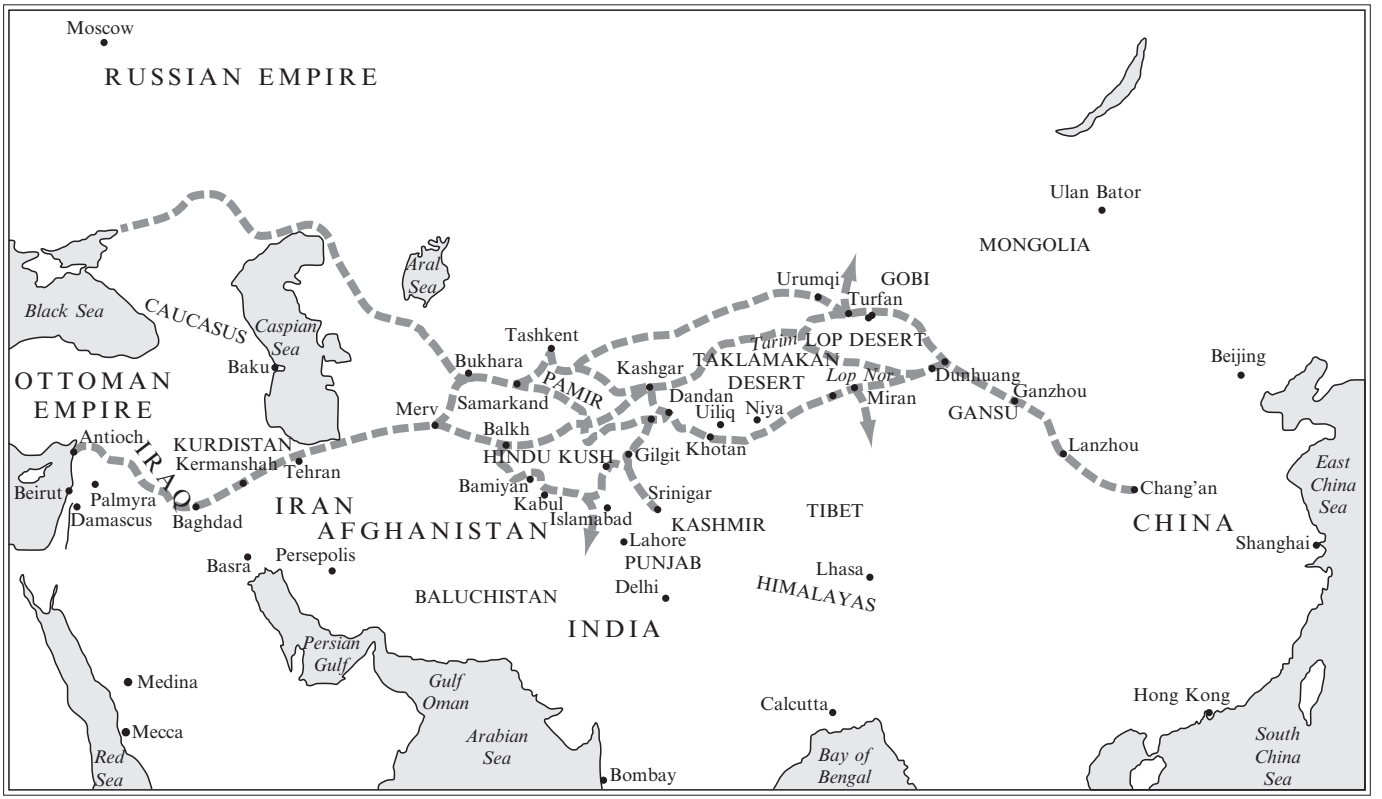
A closing comment needs to be made. Hegemony and resistance are useful tools in examining imperial situations, but to some extent are also slippery words. The concept of resistance can be used, in fact, to refer to tensions among colonial archaeologists: between those living in the colonies and those in the metropolis. One could also see as resistance the involvement in the study of the past of a few local scholars. Their efforts were ambivalent. Local archaeologists became complicit in the discourse authorized by the imperial authorities, but, by getting involved, they challenged the rules of the game, for their supposed inferiority made them inadequate interlocutors in the negotiations about past-building.

TOWARDS TWENTIETH-CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGY

Many of the developments that took place in the 1800s had an enormous impact thereafter, to the extent that some are very much present in archaeology today. In the early decades of the twentieth century, as had been the case in the previous hundred-odd years, archaeology's role in constructing the essential historical roots of the nation continued to attract the attention of politicians. The political map of Europe, subject to so many changes during the nineteenth century—legitimized, at least in part, through recourse to the past—was only temporarily frozen in the decades following the end of the First World War. More importantly, archaeological monuments and objects continued being used as mnemonics—elements to assist historical memory—of imagined remembrances and shared group experience. A nation with a past had necessarily a future. Recurrent sets of archaeological objects and features were organized in terms of 'cultures', which were then seen as proof of the racial and linguistic make-up of the nation. The political importance of

archaeology resulted in its growth during these years, both in terms of its institutionalization and in its popularity among the general public (see, among others, Härke 2000; Patterson 1995b; Quartermaine 1995). Yet, the framework in which this occurred in many countries was far from neutral. In 1917, the Russian Revolution imposed the first of a series of authoritarian regimes that would come to dominate much of twentieth-century European history. But while dictatorship in Russia was imposed from the left, those which followed would come from the opposite direction. Starting with the Fascist regime established in Italy after Mussolini's rise to power in 1922, right-wing dictatorships mushroomed in Europe. By the end of 1938 more than half of European states were dictatorial in nature. The fact that archaeology thrived during this historical period necessarily opens up questions that have been explored in several critical works over the last thirty years (the earliest to my knowledge are Cagnetta 1976 and Canfora 1976; among the latest Galaty & Watkinson 2004). Yet, the extent to which the development of archaeology in dictatorships affected the Western countries that remained democracies—mainly the United Kingdom (information about the US can be found in Patterson 1995b)—as well as the rest of the world (South America, the empires' colonies), is still in need of investigation.

Map 1 Nineteenth-century America (based on Barraclough 1992: 101)



Map 2 The Silk Road (based on Whitfield 2004: 6–7)

Map 3 Nineteenth-century Southeast Asia (based on Dixon 1991: map 1.1)

Map 4 The Russian Empire (based on Moore 1981: 70)

Map 5 Map of Europe in 1861 (based on *The Times Atlas* 1994: 156–7). The grey line encloses the German confederation

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