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Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past

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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 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.

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(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

Museus

[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).

Museums

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.