NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE RETRIEVAL OF THE PAST: CARLYLE, SCOTT, BULWER-LYTTON, PATER, AND HAGGARD

by

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"Nineteenth-Century Archaeology and the Retrieval of the Past: Carlyle, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater, and Haggard" shows that the recovery, analysis, and interpretation of material history was a model for investigating, re-creating, and reinventing the past in Thomas Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843), Walter Scott's *The Antiquary* (1816), Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834), Walter Pater's *The Renaissance* (1873) and *Greek Studies* (1895), and H. Rider Haggard's *She* (1887).

Through the self-conscious use of archaeological language and methodology, the authors of these fictional and non-fiction texts composed what I term "narratives of continuity," in which the retrieval of artifacts is a tangible means of drawing connections between past and present. These narratives illustrate teleological interpretations of history espoused by archaeologists, who themselves sought prefigurations of modern culture as they studied archaeological records. This thesis in part examines philosophic, scientific, and political thought underlying the penchant in these texts to link past and present as a means of sustaining historical identity and thereby validating present institutions. To the Victorians, archaeology was an authenticating medium for the material consolidation of tradition.

The archaeological themes and language in these texts
have a counterpart in their form. Devices such as editorial "framing" and narrative "stratification" contribute to the sense of text as archaeological site. These texts are "sites" for the recovery and substantiation of the past. They also chart developments in archaeology over the course of the nineteenth century. The archaeological trope evolves with archaeology's maturation from amateur antiquarianism (reflected in Scott's 1816 novel *The Antiquary*) to the first glimpses of professional and scientific archaeology at the end of the century (depicted in Haggard's *She*, 1887). Narratives of continuity, moreover, emanate from several fields of Victorian archaeology. The writings of Carlyle, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater, and Haggard depict a range of archaeological activity spanning domestic excavation to foreign archaeology in the Middle East, Egypt, Greece, Italy, and South Africa.
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For my companion, Leah Jahn.
"The Monumental Effigies rescued by Time"
(Thomas and Charles Alfred Stothard)
INTRODUCTION

It seems to me that with the development of the critical spirit we shall be able to realise, not merely our own lives, but the collective life of the race, and so to make ourselves absolutely modern, in the true meaning of the word modernity. For he to whom the present is the only thing that is present, knows nothing of the age in which he lives. To realise the nineteenth century, one must realise every century that has preceded it and that has contributed to its making.

--Oscar Wilde, "The Critic as Artist" (1040)

In this extract, the speaker, Gilbert, argues that the past is a vast referential field over which the imagination ranges. Twice employing forms of the verb "to make," he asserts that one's sense of modernity is in part a construction based on a critical engagement with the past. Individual and collective identity requires connection with former ages. The use of the verb "to realise" in the sense of "to make real" or "to give reality to" likewise connotes the construction of identity through connection with the past.

There are two archaeological moments in the nineteenth century that sharply illustrate ways in which Wilde's sense of cumulative identity is a response to material history: the frontispiece to Charles Alfred Stothard's *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (1811-33), "The Monumental Effigies rescued from Time" (fig. 1; drawn by Thomas Stothard, Charles's father), and chapters 20-22 of George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871-72), which describe Dorothea's and Casaubon's honeymoon in Rome and their encounter with Will
Ladislaw. These examples depict some challenges and profitable avenues facing archaeology as a hermeneutic tool for historical representation in Victorian prose, and carry Wildean overtones of self- and cultural discovery.

"The Monumental Effigies rescued from Time" portrays an effort to inscribe the material past with meaning. The female figure in the allegorical engraving, presumably the presiding deity of history, Clio, brandishes Stothard's printed Records triumphantly over restrictive and parsimonious Time. Stripped of his levelling scythe, Time vainly struggles to withhold the Monuments from her archaeological scholarship, with which she raises the effigies from his dark crypt into the clear light of day—the putti adding an angelic tone to this upward movement. Armed with the Records in one hand, Clio retrieves a headless effigy with the other: resurrection is aided by language, embodied in her sibylline scroll. In its allegorical composition, "The Monumental Effigies rescued from Time" weds the ordering power of language with excavation to exhume and thus rehabilitate the material past.

Similar to the Stothards' frontispiece, Dorothea, Casaubon, and Will articulate a need or desire to "realise" the material past gathered in Rome. Dorothea seeks in Rome's antiquities "a binding theory which could bring her own life and doctrine into strict connexion with that amazing past," and thereby "give the remotest sources of knowledge some bearing on her actions" (84). Yet, her wishful gaze is met
only by the reified "marble eyes" of an "alien world" (188). She beholds in Rome's "visible history" the "past of a whole hemisphere . . . moving in funeral procession with strange ancestral images and trophies gathered from afar" (187). Unassimilable difference resists the young bride's efforts to wrest meaning from the "stupendous fragmentariness" (187) of material culture.

Dorothea's disappointment with this unintelligible array is poignant in light of her imminent estrangement from her husband. Rome's "oppressive masquerade of ages" (188) manifests physically the "lifeless embalmment of knowledge" (191) preserved in Casaubon's mind for his unconsummated "Key to All Mythologies." His failings lie in his deterministic, Dryasdust study of the past as the special preserve for his theory of an Ur-Myth from which all mythological and religious systems descend (23-25). In the end, the antiquary and mythographer too is overwhelmed by the fragmentariness of antiquity. The mass of his "unpublished matter" (192) testifies to the folly of his search for origins. As he himself ironically confesses, he is "like the ghost of an ancient, wandering about the world and trying mentally to construct it as it used to be, in spite of ruin and confusing changes" (17). His shortcomings are in part linguistic: he lacks the narrative organization to create a "binding theory." Casaubon intends, but fails, to give narrative substance to the "masquerade" of antiquity collected in his notebooks for
his endlessly-deferred "Key." The Stothards' allegory illustrates by contrast Casaubon's and Dorothea's failure to resurrect the material past into present narrative.

Though Dorothea shares her husband's inability to marshall the "stupendous fragmentariness" of antiquity, her desire to locate a source of morality and value that could infuse her present consciousness contrasts with her husband's decidedly antiquarian perspective on the past as an arena for knowledge-building. Indeed, her attitude is "archaeological" in a way that is central to archaeology as a literary trope. Material history is a ground for the recovery of moral and spiritual conditions. Exhuming the spirit of the past into the present consciousness both humanizes archaeology and harmonizes past and present. The recovery and re-creation of the past stimulate re-visioning or re-inventing the present.

Will "realises" Dorothea's aspirations and exposes, thereby, the limitations of Casaubon's taxonomic efforts. Dorothea envies Will's energetic response to the "very miscellaneousness of Rome, which . . . saved you from seeing the world's ages as a set of box-like partitions without vital connexion" (206). The "fragments stimulated his imagination and made him constructive" (206). Will is "modern" in Wilde's sense of the word, for he is able to garner "quite a new sense of history as a whole" (200) from the parade of material history. Ladislaw sustains the narrator's faith that to "those who have looked at Rome with the quickening power of a
knowledge which breathes a growing soul into all historical shapes, and traces out the suppressed transitions which unite all contrasts, Rome may still be the spiritual centre and interpreter of the world" (188). Will and the Stoithards articulate archaeology's power to exhume the "soul" of the past by resurrecting its "monumental effigies" from the grave of Time.

This thesis explores ways in which several Victorian prose writers adapt archaeology to literary exhumations. Through the self-conscious use of archaeological language and methodology, these authors composed what I term "narratives of continuity," in which the recovery, analysis, and interpretation of the physical past furnished materials and a mode of inquiry for drawing connections with the present. The archaeological trope of "digging up" the material past is a basis for narrative in Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843), Scott's *The Antiquary* (1816), Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834), Pater's *Renaissance* (1873) and *Greek Studies* (1895), and Haggard's *She* (1887). Archaeological content, moreover, prescribes form. The sense of stratification that constitutes an archaeological site translates into highly "layered" narratives in which historical strata are exhumed, explored, and articulated through levels of narrative voices.

These texts also represent a broad temporal and geographical range of nineteenth-century archaeology. They chart in literature archaeology's evolution from amateur
antiquarianism (reflected in Scott's 1816 novel *The Antiquary*) to the first glimpses of professional and scientific archaeology at the end of the century (depicted in Haggard's *She*, 1887). Narratives of continuity, moreover, emanate from several fields of Victorian archaeology. The writings of Carlyle, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater, and Haggard depict archaeological activity spanning domestic excavation to foreign archaeology in the Middle East, Egypt, Greece, Italy, and South Africa.

Part I, "The State of Victorian Archaeology at Mid-Century" (chapters 1 to 3), establishes archaeology as a major trope in Victorian prose by exploring what archaeology meant not only to the archaeologists, who were throughout the century defining and redefining the boundaries of their burgeoning profession, but to the reading public at large, whose newspapers and magazines were filled with archaeological activity taking place both at home and abroad; and to the authors themselves, who, profiting from the general interest and excitement generated by this field, turned archaeology into a literary subject and a source of metaphors. Part I is, therefore, a cultural study of the means by which archaeology expanded how the Victorians studied, wrote about, and understood the past.

Chapter 1 examines reactions in the periodical press to a singularly renowned archaeological enterprise: Sir Austen Henry Layard's excavation of Nineveh from 1845 to 1847,
recounted in *Nineveh and Its Remains* (1849), the first archaeological best-seller written in English. Three responses dominate the lengthy and laudatory reviews of the book, responses that are representative of the Victorians' penchant to link their culture with those of bygone civilizations. First, the reviewers applauded Layard's discovery of the biblical city of Nineveh for providing scientific proof of Scriptural authenticity. British worship found material footing in the ruins of ancient Assyria. Partly for this reason, the reviewers also viewed the impressive civilization Layard brought to light as a distant ancestor of English culture and industry. An image of Britain crowning a vast cultural continuum stretching to the limits of archaeological vision prevails. Last, colonial overtones imbue the excavation and removal of antiquities to the British Museum. Modern Britain reclaimed its own spiritual and cultural heritage vis-à-vis the foreign office in Constantinople, under whose aegis Layard excavated in the Ottoman-ruled Middle East. These three themes illustrate ways in which archaeology encouraged British appropriation of antiquity into its own cultural mythology.

Chapter 2 broadens the discussion by surveying archaeological activity at mid-century as a point of reference for literary developments. A trend toward teleological interpretations of the archaeological record—as in the Layard phenomenon—laid the intellectual foundation upon which
authors constructed narratives of continuity. Archaeologists of this period, for instance, felt the need to yoke their study of the material past to the celebration of progress epitomized by the Great Exhibition of 1851. Classical archaeologist Charles Newton explicitly makes this connection, equating the "Exhibition of the Industry of all nations of the present day" with the objective of archaeology, which "would achieve if possible . . . not less than the Exhibition of the Industry of all nations for all time" (1851, 24). In the shadow of the Great Exhibition, archaeology provided the Victorians with evidence that their technological accomplishments and progress represented a continuation of processes occurring throughout history.

Chapter 3 shows how Carlyle found in archaeology a mode of literary investigation and re-creation for the "Past" section of Past and Present (1843). I treat this text—specifically the exhumation scene of the body of St. Edmund—as paradigmatic of the archaeological trope in nineteenth-century literature. As in the Stothards' engraving, excavation includes exhumation. By unearthing the buried "effigies" of the past, authors come face to face with their ancestors. I include Past and Present in Part I, and out of chronological order, because its memorable exhumation scene provides a fitting introduction to the motif of excavation as exhumation in the other texts of this study.

The form of Carlyle's book, moreover, introduces the
Past and Present is stratified with narrative/historical layers: the twelfth-century world of St. Edmundsbury is filtered through Jocelin de Brakelonde's Chronicle, which, in turn, is transcribed and reinterpreted by the nineteenth-century narrator. Through Jocelin's text the narrator promotes the labours of Abbot Samson as a curative to present inanition epitomised by the St. Ives workhouse. Carlyle thus dramatizes the past by resurrecting historical actors. The chronicle is no mere historical document—a catalogue of events—but a story replete with characters who assume a reality and vitality in the narrative present. The narrator invites us actually to "see" Jocelin through the Chronicle, to "look into a pair of eyes deep as our own, imaging our own" (55). Archaeological texts perform the task of rebuilding the past, both in print and in the mind of the reader. Carlyle's textual excavations demand a concomitant mode of reading.

Part II (chapters 4-7) turns to the writings of Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater, and Haggard to illuminate issues and formal considerations raised in Part I. Chapter 4 examines ways in which Scott's own antiquarian interests underscore The Antiquary (1816), whose title derives from the occupation of its protagonist, Jonathan Oldbuck. I argue that one of Scott's most adventurous antiquarian projects—the construction of Abbotsford as a familial seat—is a correlative of the antiquarian exploration and fabrication of
genealogy in the novel. Designed as an "old Scottish manor-house" (Letters 7: 111), Abbotsford incorporated building materials and ornaments taken from sites redolent with historical association. By weaving together "fragments of ancient splendour" (4: 543) into his house on lands bordering his ancestral Dryburgh, Scott forged tangible continuity with his own Scott and Scottish heritage. The Antiquary, set in the 1790s, reaffirms deep-seated connections with Scottish identity in a time of industrialization, commercialization, and cultural assimilation with England. The novel focuses on rehabilitating the pedigree of the lost heir, Lovel, by digging up the secret of his birth from the ruins of St. Ruth's Priory. His reinstatement as inheritor of the ancient Glenallan estate preserves the Glenallan line from imminent obscurity.

Scott's process of composition is, like Carlyle's, archaeological. One of Scott's antiquary alter-egos, Laurence Templeton, suggests that The Antiquary's charm "lay entirely in the art with which the unknown author had availed himself, like a second M'Pherson, of the antiquarian stores which lay scattered around him" (cited in Ivanhoe 16: v). In The Antiquary, antiquarian stores are the basis for narrative, and, like Abbotsford's own antiquarian "stores," for "constructing" genealogy.

Chapter 5 investigates Bulwer-Lytton's literary response to the famous archaeological site at Pompeii, The Last Days of
Pompeii (1834). Archaeological forays bear religious associations similar to those in Nineveh and Its Remains and Past and Present. The author probes the ruins of Pompeii to reconstitute deep-rooted connections between the "first century of our religion" (vi) and the mystical cults out of which Christianity emerged. The narrator-cum-archaeologist uses metaphors of excavation and layering to re-create the Christian subculture looming under Pompeii's official Egyptian and Roman religions. I treat this highly-textured narrative, which describes a stratified continuum of cultural and religious history stemming from pre-Hellenic Egypt to modern Britain, itself as an archaeological site.

The penultimate chapter further explores the Hellenic legacy to the Victorian world. I contend that in The Renaissance (1873) and Greek Studies (1895) archaeology provided the material and metaphorical bases of Pater's paradigm of cultural "renascence," the periodic flowering and perpetuation of the Greek origins of Western culture. I trace the origins of Pater's "archaeological" aestheticism in The Renaissance to the "father of archaeology," Johann Joachim Winckelmann, author of History of Ancient Art (1764-67). In "Winckelmann," Pater applies Winckelmann's own brand of aesthetic archaeology--in which aesthetic forms represent historical forces--to biography. Treating Winckelmann as an excavation site, Pater exhumes the Hellenic sensibilities that Winckelmann seemingly absorbed through his study of Greece's
material remains. In this way, Pater promotes Goethe's assertion that "we learn nothing by reading Winckelmann, but we become something" (cited in Renaissance 147). To Pater (and Goethe), Winckelmann revealed the transformative effects of the critical and aesthetic engagement with the Greek touchstones of Western culture.

In *Greek Studies* (1895) Pater turns to Greek material remains themselves. Similar to the assimilation of Assyria into Britain's own heritage is Pater's treatment of the artifacts of Greek prehistory—unearthed by, among others, Heinrich Schliemann—as the foundation stones of the historical Renaissance. As in "Winckelmann," the excavation of the Hellenic world through its physical remains is an important means of revealing, as Margaret Oliphant put it, "what Greek—not the language but the tone of mind and condition of thought, taken up a thousand years or so too late, on the top of a long heritage of other thoughts and conditions—may bring Oxford to" (90).

The last chapter examines the late development of the archaeological trope in the nineteenth century. In Haggard's *She* (1887), archaeology sustains the adventure narrative. Its form recapitulates that of Layard's *Nineveh and Its Remains*, a non-fiction text that nonetheless combines archaeology with travel and adventure. *She* also bears the colonial overtones of Layard's exploits in the Middle East. The novel's protagonists, Leo and Holly, examine in the depths of
southeastern Africa the ruins of an extinct white-skinned race, which turns out to be the ancient progenitor of Western civilization. This aspect of the novel is in fact an imaginative response to the discovery in 1871 of the ruins of Zimbabwe in the Rhodesian interior. This event stimulated much discussion as to their provenance, diffusion from Mediterranean civilizations prevailing until the early twentieth century. Like English excavations in Mesopotamia, the discovery of the Zimbabwe ruins is an instance of archaeology providing ideological fodder and, in the case of Zimbabwe, historical precedents for Western colonialism. Archaeological discourse in the nineteenth century demonstrates that the past the English encounter when abroad is often their own.

This novel also exhibits the author's consuming interest in the fields of Egyptology and comparative anthropology, archaeology's sister science. Haggard, furthermore, meditates upon implications of geological and biological uniformitarianism in the realm of prehistoric archaeology. In She, the archaeological trope itself "evolves" to accommodate scientific advances central to archaeology's emergence as a profession at the end of the century.

We can see from archaeology and its literary correlatives that the Victorians were themselves keen excavators and articulators of their heritage. The "narratives of continuity" that I have identified as a major thematic and
formal feature in the writings of Carlyle, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater, and Haggard are rooted in both archaeological practice and in an intellectual climate that tended to foster teleological interpretation of material data. If these texts reflect a wide amateur interest in scientific discovery, they also betray the anxiety of a culture whose long-established beliefs were disturbed by science. Myths of continuity are in some measure a defensive response to the Victorian's unsettled world. The writings of literary archaeographers--the "cultivators of archaeology"--emerge partly out of the Victorians' need to locate themselves in history as they uncovered the monuments of the past. Archaeologists furnished artifacts and a mode of investigation through which Victorians materially consolidated their traditions. To the twentieth-century reader, these examples of archaeological prose are an excavation site for nineteenth-century culture.
PART I

From Archaeology to Literary Excavation:

Sir Austen Henry Layard, Thomas Carlyle, and British Archaeology at Mid-Century.
CHAPTER 1

The Excavation of Cultural Identity: Layard of Nineveh and the Periodical Press

And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England's mountains green?
--William Blake, Milton (Preface 1-2)

To commemorate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, Rudyard Kipling wrote what is arguably his most famous poem, "Recessional." In contrast to the martial pomp and circumstance that crowned sixty years of Imperial rule, the poem warns British revellers to guard against "frantic boast and foolish word" and to reflect upon the passage of ancient empires. Kipling draws this moral by appealing to the memory of lost worlds. He writes,

Far-called, our navies melt away;
On dune and headland sinks the fire:
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget--lest we forget! (13-18)

In 1897, Kipling's reference to Nineveh carried the weight not only of biblical allusion but also of material history, for the existence of the ancient city had for half a century been established as an archaeological fact by Sir Austen Henry Layard, who unearthed the vanished city during his two expeditions of 1845-47 and 1849-51. Kipling's refrain "lest we forget" is, furthermore, a leitmotif in the lively
discussion in periodical literature aroused by Layard's discoveries. At mid-century, remembering Nineveh was nothing short of a national pastime, such that this hitherto obscure and distant world quickly became absorbed into Britain's own historical consciousness.¹

In 1845 the British Museum's collection of Assyrian antiquities measured a "case scarcely three feet square," which, from England's perspective, "enclosed all that remained, not only of the great city, Nineveh, but of Babylon itself!"² The man who wrote these words in 1849, Austen Henry Layard, brought to light the semi-mythical world of ancient Assyria for the English.³ His finds were spectacular. In October 1848, 50 cases from Mosul (located on the west bank of the Tigris River) arrived at the British Museum. They contained the material remains of a once proud and mighty empire. Among them were colossal reliefs of Assyrian deities and kings; friezes depicting royal hunts, battles, and sieges; entablatures inscribed with a hitherto unknown wedged-shaped cuneiform (which, when translated by Henry Rawlinson, became invaluable records of the Assyrian world); the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (fig. 2); and, perhaps most famous of all, monumental sculptures of human-headed, winged lions and bulls (fig. 3). Layard's marbles remain the heart of the British Museum's Assyrian collection.

Layard's recovery of this lost city stirred a frenzy of public excitement, much as Schliemann's discovery of Homer's
Troy would do in the 1870s. The Trustees of the British Museum were, as Layard remarks with a touch of irony in his autobiography, "elated at the success of the first expedition and delighted at the crammed houses which the new entertainment brought them" (1903, 1: 191). Victoria at once dispatched Albert to the newly appointed Nineveh room (fig. 4); Prime Minister Lord John Russell, himself awed by the exhibit, ordered a naval vessel to pick up a winged bull and lion that remained at the docks in Basra on the Tigris River (Brackman 227). In fact, the Shipping of the Great Bull was treated as a national event by The Illustrated London News (fig. 5), which took the occasion to voice a widely held desire for the government to fund Layard's decidedly patriotic work. He ultimately received a small stipend from the Trustees of the British Museum as well as their financial backing for the second expedition of 1849.

Layard found himself nothing short of a national hero upon his return to England in 1848 after his first expedition. Honours were heaped upon him. Oxford conferred a Doctorate of Canon Laws in July 1848. He was elected a member of the Athenæum and was awarded the prestigious Royal Geographic Society Gold Medal. Victoria put her royal stamp of approval on Layard's work for the nation by being the first contributor to the Nineveh Fund, set up in 1853 (Winstone 88). And on the continent, King Louis Phillippe of France took time out from the political turmoil of 1848 to request an audience with the
archaeologist. In his autobiography, however, Layard glibly states, "I was glad to avail myself of the excuse of immediate departure, and to sacrifice His Majesty to a Christmas dinner in England" (1903, 1: 186).

Layard became part of the British public's daily reading. His exploits were followed by the Morning Post's correspondent in the Middle East and regularly by the Times. The pages of The Illustrated London News were packed with minute descriptions and sumptuous reproductions of Assyrian artifacts received by the British Museum. Collectively, its coverage is a catalogue of the antiquities removed to the British Museum, a "complete guide" ("Nimroud Sculptures" 331) for those visiting, or who could not themselves visit, the Museum.

Layard's popularity and his prominent role in the early years of archaeology are reflected in the commercial success of his book Nineveh and Its Remains, published by John Murray in 1849. Selling 8000 copies in the first year, it was the first archaeological best seller written in English (Woodhead 5). Layard drily remarked that the sales "will place it side by side with Mrs Rundell's Cookery" (1903, 2: 191). An American and a second edition were published in the same year, as well as an expensive series of etchings, The Monuments of Nineveh, which also sold out (Silverberg 121; A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh was published in 1853). An abridgement, A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh, followed in 1851, which appeared in 1852 among the first half-
dozen titles published under the "Murray's Reading for the Rail" imprint for the W. H. Smith bookstalls (Daniel 1981, 75). This also quickly ran into two editions. His 1853 Nineveh and Babylon, the account of his second expedition, was another best seller, enjoying publication in a popular cheap form within the year.

As packed crowds at the British Museum and impressive sales of Nineveh and Its Remains intimate, the British public was consumed with Nineveh. Reasons for this general interest in Layard's exploits are to be found in the lengthy and laudatory reviews of the book in the periodical press. Appearing in newspapers and in literary and scientific journals spanning the gamut of political and religious perspectives, the reviews reveal cultural values and assumptions that explain Layard's popularity and expose much about the way the British viewed themselves and their traditions in a so-called "age of progress" commemorated two years later at the Great Exhibition of 1851. Indeed, throughout the century archaeology was enmeshed in the celebration of material, cultural, and even moral progress, while simultaneously serving to assuage a very real need to define British historical identity in response to change. Philippa Levine, in a study of the professionalization of archaeology and history, likewise stresses that the "belief and faith in progress . . . fostered a strongly teleological approach to history, such that it became, ironically, the
gospel of heritage, nullifying the less palatable conceptions newly prompted by its study" (4). The critical discussion surrounding Layard's excavations illustrates how nineteenth-century archaeologists sought to justify, substantiate, and authenticate the origins of modern institutions. I suggest, then, that the importance Victorians attached to Nineveh and Its Remains marks the book as an important index—or archaeological site—of mid-nineteenth-century British anxieties and values.

Three issues recur in the reviews of Nineveh and Its Remains. First, and perhaps foremost, the reviewers applaud Layard's excavation of the biblical city for providing his readers with scientific, material proof of biblical historicity, which had been for decades under siege by the Higher Criticism and, earlier, by uniformitarian geology (formulated by James Hutton in Theory of the Earth [1795] and refined by Charles Lyell in Principles of Geology [1830-33]). Indeed, biblical archaeology is, states Silberman, "a unique cultural manifestation of the age in which it was born," for the advent of the nineteenth-century scientific consciousness compromised the stable body of religious tradition so that "the literal accuracy of the Bible had to be defended on new terms" (xiii). But through biblical archaeology the Christian world witnessed material history emerge from under the desert sands of the very birthplace of its faith to testify to the truth of Scripture.
In this vein, the Southern Quarterly Review postulates that the many illustrations and coincidences . . . casually referred to by the sacred writers, afford a triumphant argument in favour of the authenticity of the Books, written while the children of Israel were in contact with the inhabitants of Assyria and Mesopotamia. ("L." 24)

The earnestness and sheer repetition with which the reviewers correlate Layard's digs with scriptural history suggest both defensiveness in the face of science and philology and a need to challenge textual criticism on scientific grounds.

According to Genesis, Nineveh was built by Assur, who was descended from Shem, son of Noah (10.1-11). Located in the early post-diluvian topography, the region was naturally claimed by Christians as their spiritual homeland. Britain was, therefore, eager to restore this ancient, biblical city and civilization to the Christian world. The British Quarterly Review confidently asserts, "eight persons, we know, survived the flood. With them survived civilization. Noah was spared because of his personal excellence. (Gen. vi. 9.) Hence he represents the highest culture of the age" ("Nineveh and the Bible" 408). The reviewer enlists Layard's discovery of a city mentioned in conjunction with Noah to dismiss implicitly uniformitarian geologists' challenge to the notion of a universal deluge. In the eyes of the reviewers, Layard's
journey was nothing short of a pilgrimage, a spiritual voyage
all scripture readers in an age of doubt and questioning could
identify with, and, furthermore, vicariously undertake.
Layard emerges in the reviews as a vital link between modern
Britain and an ancient world intimately connected with
Christianity.

The Southern Quarterly Review, for instance, accentuates
these topographical and religious associations. "Here it was
that the Lord God planted the Garden of Eden. . . . Here still
flow on the Tigris and Euphrates, named in Holy Writ (Gen.
ii., 14,) as rivers of Eden" ("L." 1). Recovering the
Assyrian world for the modern imagination is a material step
towards rehabilitating the notion of the divine origin of
life. The reviewer continues, "here our first parents spent
their brief hours of innocence" (2; my emphasis). First-
person possessive pronouns abound in the reviews to denote
cultural, spiritual, and even racial solidarity with the
region associated with Eden.

The British Quarterly Review, whose "high goal . . . was
to educate Dissenters on all current issues and to present
Non-conformist views to the world at large" (Wellesley 4:
114), extolled Layard's pious mission: "put on the defensive,
the Bible has appeared to need defence" (408). The review,
entitled "Nineveh and the Bible," announces that Layard's
"voice and that of the Bible are in unison. . . . The Bible in
its narrations relating to the earliest governments, speaks of
realities" (413-14). The reviewer praises Layard's vindication of the so-called "myth" of the Assyrian Kings chronicled in scripture, "that long line of vanishing myths, come back, like Banquo's ghost, to punish their ruthless slayers" (415)."

Layard's associates and friends were not insensible to the marketability of *Nineveh and Its Remains* among a large, anxious, inquisitive, and, in some cases, zealous Christian readership. Layard's friend, Sir Charles Alison, the Oriental Secretary at Britain's Embassy in Constantinople, urged the archaeologist to "[w]rite a whopper with lots of plates," and to "fish up old legends and anecdotes, and if you can by any means humbug people into the belief that you have established any points in the Bible, you are a made man" (qtd. in Waterfield 171). Henry Rawlinson likewise suggested that a "spice of the Bible and the old chroniclers would render the dish very palatable" (qtd. in Waterfield 171). Layard wrote to American painter Miner Kellogg that "I think the book will be attractive particularly in America where there are so many scripture readers" (qtd. in Waterfield 182). An American edition duly appeared in 1849. *The Athenæum* even distinguished Layard with the term "Scripture archaeologist" (Rev. of *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh* 858)."

The British, for whom it was "reserved . . . to turn the darkness which had settled on [Nineveh] into something like light" ("Remains of Nineveh" 56), also desired to forge deep-
rooted cultural associations with the impressive Assyrian world Layard had brought to light. The British beheld in the Assyrian monuments the remnants of a once-powerful civilization that had flourished at the dawn of time. Layard's exploits were thus extolled in the periodical press as a mission to locate Assyria in a cultural continuum crowned by Great Britain. This is a second motif in the reviews of *Nineveh and Its Remains*.

The *Quarterly Review*, for example, asks its readership, 
"[w]hat is the result of [Layard's] singular discoveries? what light do they throw on the history of mankind--on the origin, early development, and progress of human civilization?" (Rev. of *Nineveh and Its Remains* 135). *The Athenæum* 's response is that Layard "felt an irresistible desire to penetrate to the regions beyond the Euphrates to which history and tradition point as the birthplace of 'the wisdom of the West'" (Rev. of *Nineveh and Its Remains* 45). *The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* likewise claims that Layard's discovery "promises to lighten up much of the dark annals of ancient Asia, and to present us, though not perhaps with the perfect chain, at least with many of the lost links which connect us with the first rise of civilization" (Rev. of *Nineveh and Its Remains* 290).

The chain is an apposite and revealing image for nineteenth-century archaeology. Indeed, the image itself runs like a chain through the reviews and archaeological literature
of the century. Classical archaeologist Charles Newton, for example, asserts in his 1851 essay, "On the Study of Archaeology," that archaeology can supply a few links in that chain of continuous tradition, which connects the civilised nineteenth century with the race of the primeval world,--which holds together this great brotherhood in bonds of attachment . . . which, traversing the ruins of empires . . . spans the abyss of time, and transmits onward the message of the Past. (26)

Newton's message is clear: archaeology's mission is to trace the thread of historical development connecting past and present. By studying archaeological records--even those of foreign lands--British archaeologists sought to locate their own culture in a stable body of tradition.

The master link in the chain connecting England to Assyria was classical Greece. Already enmeshed in the cultural matrix of Britain (largely through the public school curriculum and classical archaeology itself), Greece was therefore a convenient intermediary between nineteenth-century Britain and ancient Assyria. The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review takes the occasion of Layard's excavations to summarize no less than the entire history of Western civilization, whose birthright, for the nineteenth century, was two millennia of cultural development:

Assyria . . . may be regarded as the nation which,
with Egypt, laid the foundation of that stupendous fabric of the earth's civilization, which, progressively rising and accumulating under the intellect of ages, received, as it were, its next story in the mediæval era of Greece and Italy, and is now raising its superstructure in the tardy enlightenment of Western Europe. . . .

We are dealing . . . with no mere historical question. . . . We are rather tracing to their source the Civilization and Arts which were transmitted from Asia, through Greece and Italy, to the Western nations, and are now spreading beyond the Ocean. (Rev. of Nineveh and Its Remains 332-33)

Such statements—which abound in the reviews—demonstrate the conviction and, moreover, speed, with which the British located and adopted ancient civilizations into their nation's own heritage. James Fergusson, author of The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored (1851), thus asserts that it "is an almost incalculable gain to us at the present stage of our progress, to be able thus to look back to the primary source from which our civilization was derived" (cited in Athenæum review 265; my emphases). The reviewers, no less than the archaeologists themselves, were instrumental in forging the links of continuity with the remote past.

Layard himself promoted British claims to cultural ties with ancient Assyria. In Nineveh and Babylon he poetically
declares that the
great tide of [Assyrian] civilisation had long since
ebbed, leaving these scattered wrecks on the
solitary shore. Are those waters to flow again,
bearing back the seeds of knowledge and of wealth
that they have wafted to the West? We wanderers
were seeking what they had left behind, as children
gather up the coloured shells of the deserted sands.
(1897, 91)

Assyria is here depicted as a distant ancestor, Britain, as
its progeny. Layard's image of gathering, moreover, betrays
the reality that claims to cultural continuity with and
inheritance from Assyria amounted largely to material
possession of artifacts sanctioned by Turkish authorities, who
issued firmans to Layard for their excavation and removal. In
the desert and in England alike, possession remained nine-
tenths of the law.

In the Illustrated London News, which faithfully
chronicled the arrivals of what it revealingly terms
"trophies," the tenor of the reportage becomes decidedly more
laudatory in proportion to the impressiveness (and bulk) of
the antiquities. Its lengthy review of Layard's Nineveh and
Babylon recapitulates the notion of bridging past and present
that winds through its seven-years' coverage of the
evacuations. Rather than a review of the book, it is a
rumination on Britain's place in history as its archaeological
vision peered into the increasingly remote past. The writer tries to imagine the future cultures that will profit from Britain's merits, just as Britain owes its eminence to the great civilizations of antiquity:

Indepenently of the indisputable fact, that our moral and material civilisation is more worthy to be preserved in human remembrance than is the most perfect development ever attained by idolatrous Egypt, or by idolatrous Ashur, there is another fact equally certain--that our times will be thus preserved. . . . It is impossible--and impossible physically, as well as morally--that, after any lapse of ages five times as numerous as those which separate the present era from the era of Ninus, the same shadows should envelop the memory of Victoria. (Rev. of Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon 257)

In this statement, the idea of progress yoked to tradition, a favourite of Victorians, assumes grand moral dimensions. Again, the reviewer employs the theme of memory: as the present is the product of the past, Britain, which has attained the highest culture of the ages, grafts its achievements onto the archaeological record as a legacy to future generations.

Britain's appropriation of a foreign past into its own historical self-image also has colonial and racial overtones.
An implicit celebration of Empire is a third motif in the reviews of *Nineveh and Its Remains*. The British Quarterly Review, for example, manipulates the biblical account of the migrations of Noah's and Abraham's families to account for Britain's own "migrations." The reviewer argues that the Indo-European races began their history by migration from the common family hearth, and are to this hour fulfilling their destiny by taking possession of all quarters of the globe. Represented now by Anglo-Saxon stock, they are spreading themselves, and with themselves civilization and Christianity. (Rev. of *Nineveh and Its Remains* 419)

Imperial and archaeological possession are analogues in the Middle East. Spiritual and cultural claims to the region, sustained by material possession of artifacts, rationalize Britain's colonial presence in the region. Indeed, Layard's fame as a Middle-Eastern archaeologist secured him a career in the colonial service: he served as Undersecretary to the British Embassy at Constantinople during his second expedition and was appointed its Ambassador in 1877.

The frontispieces to the first and second volumes of *Nineveh and Its Remains* are exceptional visual representations of Layard's status amongst the subjugated Arabs. In "Lowering the Great Winged Bull" (fig. 6), Layard, standing atop the mound, directs his Arab labourers who bear the tremendous weight of the bull. As in the illustration of "Shipping the
Bull," the Bedouin--represented as a sleepy people in need of guidance--gaze upon this spectacular scene and add exotic ambience. Layard's regal assistant, Hormuzd Rassam, superintends in the lower foreground, adding a strong vertical line to the composition. Layard's commanding arm mirrors the diagonal lines of tension in the rope. The second, "The Procession of the Bull" (fig. 7), evokes biblical images of Pharaonical mastery over a slave race. Layard directs his parade of workers from a rearing horse, which he effortlessly controls with one hand in a traditional representation of military command. As in "Lowering the Bull," Layard's arm mirrors the tension lines of the ropes.

These visual representations of the English commander piloting the difficult removal of the winged bull aptly reflect the popular, romantic image of Layard as an adventuring archaeologist. The author himself admits that his expedition was the stuff of romance. On leaving Nimrud, he says, "[w]e look around in vain for any traces of the wonderful remains we have just seen, and are half inclined to believe that we have dreamed a dream, or have been listening to some tale of Eastern romance" (2: 114). Such is Edward Robinson's assessment of Nineveh and Its Remains in his preface to the American edition: in "its incidents and descriptions it does indeed remind one continually of an Arabian tale of wonders and genii" (1: iv). Arnold Brackman even credits Layard with creating a new literary genre, "the
book on archaeology, in narrative form, which interwove scholarship, travel, romance, and high adventure" (217). The reviewer of Fraser's Magazine notes that there is something to attract the taste of all classes. Besides the . . . food tough and salted to the ostrich maw of Dryasdust, we have plenty of fanciful speculation for the dainty palate of dilettantism, and plenty of perilous adventure for the sickly digestion of that large portion of the British public which is devoted to light-reading. Indeed, as a mere book of travel Layard's Nineveh will always rank highly. ("Layard's Nineveh" 446-47)

Layard's archaeological "romance" was the model for commercially successful archaeological books such as Heinrich Schliemann's Troy and Its Remains (1875) and Howard Carter's The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen (1923-33). M. E. L. Mallowan, who reopened Layard's site with the help of his wife, Agatha Christie, concedes that the "form and scheme" of his own book, Nimrud and Its Remains (1966), "is in a sense archaic, a continuation of Layard's narrative" (1: 13). The similar titles reflect a similarity in style. Indeed, this romantic image of the adventuring archaeologist--and its colonial overtones--comes down through adventure fiction in Rider Haggard's She, through Agatha Christie's archaeological mysteries, to the contemporary image of Indiana Jones. The romance of Layard's expedition has literary ramifications.
The British presence in the Ottoman Middle East evinced by the illustrations of Layard's removal of the bull merges, moreover, with the religious sentiment in the reviews. Musing on the fall of ancient biblical cities, *The North British Review* presents Britain as the true inheritor of biblical revelation and thus as the saviour of the East in what amounts to a call for missionary work. Acknowledging "recurring cycles of barbarism and civilization," it summons Britain to revive the languorous East through the Christian mission:

The schools and churches of the Armenian people are now laying the foundations of a vast Protestant community, which alone can regenerate the benighted nations of the East. These high expectations will, we trust, be justified by a careful perusal of Mr. Layard's volume. (Rev. of *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* 136-37)

Similarly, the reviewer for *The British Quarterly Review* cites the Book of Genesis to substantiate Layard's and Britain's economic and strategic interests in the region. Prophesying the lineage of Noah's three sons, Gen. 9.27 states that "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem [Semitic]; and Canaan shall be his servant." Genesis 10.5 reports that the Gentiles are descended from Japheth. Thus "Layard's enterprise," to quote the review, and success offer a singular verification of the prophecy . . . . Of a truth [Layard] has dwelt as a
master in those tents. Familiar with the desert he at length became its lord. Employing his sovereign power, he placed his foot on the mound of Nimroud, and with a master's voice called up those old Assyrians to witness in his deeds the triumph of their brother Japheth. ("Nineveh and the Bible" 419)

Scripture, what the reviewer calls "antedated history—an ideal anticipation of actual fact" (419), thus heralds Britain's sacred licence to "place its sovereign foot" on Arab soil. The reviewer even represents Layard as a kind of Messianic figure proclaiming through his excavations God's divine plan for his chosen people in the nineteenth century.

Layard, in the midst of a waste howling wilderness . . . , behold[s] remnants of powerful races, which, in the dim religious light of Biblical history, and under the holy guidance of prophecy proclaimed and prophecy fulfilled, conduct[s] him back to the earliest seats of civilization, and bring[s] him near to the cradle of the human species. . . .

Surely it is a wonderful illustration of Noah's words, as well as a lasting glory for England, that a native of this small and once despised island, should have broken the iron slumbers of thirty centuries and revealed to the world a scene which
shows what art and human life were in the morning and the grey dawn of the world. (400, 419)

By venturing so far afield from factual archaeology to conflate national pride and Old Testament prophecy, such reviews reveal that archaeology indeed held much more than mere antiquarian interest for the British reading public. Britain's expansionist policies, developed more fully after 1850, no less than its cultural and spiritual life, found a solid footing in the past as unearthed by its intrepid representative.

These three responses in periodical literature to Layard's excavations and writing—that is, providing material proof of biblical history, forging continuity with antiquity, and celebrating Britain's colonial destiny—demonstrate that archaeology furnished Britain with a flattering pedigree. The celebratory rhetoric surrounding this mid-century archaeological event suggests that the British exulted in their proud heritage as they commemorated their unbounded future during the world's fair of 1851.  

Issues of continuity and identity raised by the periodical press and the public in response to *Nineveh and Its Remains* are major strains of archaeological discourse throughout the century.
Notes

1. Layard on his first expedition actually mistook the mound at Nimrud for that of Nineveh. The title of his book, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, is, therefore, a misnomer. On the second expedition he excavated the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus opposite Mosul, the actual sites of Nineveh (Kuyunjik was first excavated in 1842 by the French archaeologist, Emile Botta). I shall use "Nineveh" to denote the location of his first excavations.

2. These antiquities were discovered by Claudius James Rich, the first field archaeologist in Mesopotamia. The British Museum bought his collection in 1825 (Daniel 1975, 70-71). The above quotation is taken from *Nineveh and Its Remains* 1: xxv.

3. Layard remarks in *Nineveh and Its Remains* that it "is indeed one of the most remarkable facts in history, that the records of an empire, so renowned for its power and civilisation, should have been entirely lost; and that the site of a city as eminent for its extent as its splendour, should for ages have been a matter of doubt" (1: xx-xxi). Layard refers to Jonah's "three-days'-journey" across the city (Jon. 3.3). Unbeknownst to the archaeologist, its real dimensions were much smaller, however.
4. The sentiments of The Gentleman's Magazine are representative of the public's wish to remunerate Layard's expenditures and to fund a second expedition: "[g]eneral attention was aroused by his publications, and by the specimens of the disinterred sculptures exhibited in a dark cellar of the British Museum. The people appreciated what their governors did not. Unexampled thousands flocked to inspect the relics of a far-off antiquity. . . . [U]ltimately the government was roused (we had almost said shamed) into making a grant for some future excavations" (Rev. of Notes From Nineveh 62).

5. See Gillispie for a discussion of the biblical controversy aroused by geology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

6. Nineveh is referred to in Genesis 10.11-12; 2 Kings 19.36; Isaiah 37.37; Jonah 1.2, 3.2-7, 4.11; Nahum 1.1, 2.8, 3.7; and Zephaniah 2.13.

7. The Illustrated London News similarly celebrates Rawlinson's translations of Assyrian cuneiform, for they revealed "facts which are the more valuable as they refer to Kings, and peoples, and events referred to in the sacred Scriptures, thus proving ever more and more their authority and correctness" ("Shipping the Great Bull from Nineveh" 71).

8. Layard himself correlates his finds with scripture. He draws, for example, connections between the Bible and the
kings depicted in the bas-reliefs (2: 375ff.) and refers to Jonah's three-days'-journey across Nineveh (2: 242-49).

9. Rassam was, "though a Moslawi, an English national" (Daniel 1975, 75).

10. The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review is blatantly racial in its nationalistic praise of the intrepid Layard: "the hostile spirit of the Arab tribes was tamed and softened ... by that mysterious ascendancy which we occasionally find asserted by superior minds over an uncivilized people" (Rev. of Nineveh and Its Remains 293).

11. See Bleiler, Hoyt, and Mackler for lists of archaeology in mystery fiction.

12. That a veritable flood of books appeared in the wake of Nineveh and Its Remains further accentuates the public's deep sympathy with Layard's work. And their subject matter is often attuned to the issues raised in the reviews of Nineveh and Its Remains. Published in 1850 were W. S. W. Vaux's Nineveh and Persepolis: an Historical Sketch of Ancient Assyria and Persia, with an Account of the Recent Researches in Those Countries, "a convenient digest of much valuable information scattered through many scarce and expensive volumes" (Rev. of Nineveh and Persepolis 750); J. P. Fletcher's travel book, Notes From Nineveh; M. Botta's Letters on the
Discoveries at Nineveh; and John Blackburn's *Nineveh: Its Rise and Ruin; as Illustrated by Ancient Sculptures and Modern Discoveries*. . . . The Gentleman's Magazine states that Blackburn's "lectures constitute a commentary upon the passages in Holy Scripture relating to Assyria and Nineveh, founded upon the old commentators, and illustrated and enlarged from the recent discoveries of Botta, Layard, and Rawlinson. . . . The number of biblical illustrations which he derives from the Nineveh sculptures affords a striking proof of their value. They . . . support the scriptural narrative [by] confirming its historical statements" (Rev. of *Nineveh: Its Rise and Ruin* 639).

In 1851 James Fergusson's *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored* appeared. The Athenæum notes that when "all the ruins shall have been explored, and all the inscriptions deciphered, we shall be in a much better position for understanding Scripture, and may hope to learn something of the original condition and gradual dispersion of our race" (Rev. of *The Palaces of Nineveh* 265; my emphasis). This statement sums up the main points dealt with in the reviews of *Nineveh and Its Remains*: notions of religion, race, civilization, continuity.

Children also profited from the biblical lessons inspired by the excavation of Nineveh. Under the
Athenæum's "Books for the Young" section are reviews of The Story of Nineveh and The Prophet of the Lost City, "two small pamphlets the appearance of which has been timed by Mr. Layard's discoveries" ("Books for the Young" 404).
The lively discussion that surrounded *Nineveh and Its Remains* is an important index of the cultural values and ideological assumptions that infused the burgeoning science of archaeology in the Victorian age. Having explored in some detail a single archaeological event, we can understand a number of important mid-century comments by other archaeologists on the state of their profession around mid-century. This chapter further contextualizes issues raised in the wake of Layard's adventures in Mesopotamia, and serves to describe the intellectual climate in which Carlyle, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater, and Haggard composed their archaeologically-based "narratives of continuity."

The year 1851 is unequivocally associated with Victorian notions of progress. Paradoxically, backward-looking archaeology held an esteemed place in "a period," as Prince Albert stated in an address on the Great Exhibition, "of most wonderful transition" (1). While Layard's Nineveh was not to be enshrined in the Crystal Palace until its relocation to Sydenham in 1854, the exhibition in Hyde Park did house a great many collections of antiquities from around the world.¹ Published in and around this year of retrospection and anticipation were several key addresses on archaeology's aims and goals, whose main theme was transition linked to
continuity.

An important statement on the condition of archaeology was made in 1851 by Charles Newton, excavator of Halicarnassus and later the first Yates Professor of Classical Archaeology at University College London (1880). Entitled "On the Study of Archaeology: A Discourse Read at the Oxford Meeting of the Archaeological Institute," it begins with a romantic and rhetorically-charged description of the scope of archaeology's study. The first paragraph touches upon strains that typically occur in these descriptive essays:

The record of the Human Past is not all contained in printed books. Man's history has been graven on the rock of Egypt, stamped on the brick of Assyria, enshrined in the marble of the Parthenon,--it rises before us a majestic Presence in the piled up arches of the Coliseum,--it lurks an unsuspected treasure amid the oblivious dust of archives and monasteries,--it is embodied in all the heir-looms of religions, of races, of families, in the relics which affection and gratitude, personal or national, pride of country or pride of lineage, have preserved for us,--it lingers like an echo on the lips of the peasantry, surviving in their songs and traditions, renewed in their rude customs with the renewal of Nature's seasons,--we trace it in the speech, the manners, the type of living nations, its
associations invest them as with a garb,--we dig it out from the barrow and the Necropolis, and out of the fragments thus found reconstruct in museums of antiquities something like an image of the Past,--we contemplate this image in fairest proportions, in more exact lineaments, as it has been transmitted by endless reflections in the broken mirror of art. (1) Newton's image of the archaeological record as a mirror in which to admire one's own historical "image" emphasizes the importance the archaeologist placed on the present need to study the past. The verbs Newton chooses--rises, lingers, embody, reconstruct, transmit, looms, lurks, survives, trace, preserve, invest, renew--announce that "The Study of Archaeology" weaves the past into the fabric of the present. They declare archaeology's vital role in charting the evolution of culture and nationality. As in the discussions surrounding Nineveh and Its Remains, Newton's vision of archaeology supplies and reconstructs a genealogy for British race, worship, and polity.

Newton's address is also an important indicator of what the term "archaeology" meant to the Victorians. Newton states that the "purpose and function of Archaeology" is "to collect, to classify, and to interpret all the evidence of man's history not already incorporated in Printed Literature" (2), a definition that clearly reveals archaeology's central tenets (c.f. Trigger 1989, 371). Later in the essay, however, he
subordinates archaeology to "an independent witness to the truth of Printed Record" (25), a comment that reflects a lingering antiquarian attitude towards the study of the material past: that the examination of material history is a "ministering and subsidiary study" (25) of history proper.

Attributing non-material remains to the archaeologist's province further betrays Newton's antiquarian leanings. As Phillipa Levine argues, the degree of specialization that in part measures professionalization--here object study--was lacking until the breakthrough into prehistory, made possible by the acceptance of humanity's great antiquity, and the development of analytical classification schemes to make sense of prehistoric remains (132-34). Stuart Piggott argues that the eighteenth-century antiquarian tradition lasts until the 1830s (1976, 101); Levine contends that archaeologists had hardly formed a separate community and could not claim to have a separate institutional identity from history and antiquarianism before the 1870s (91). Indeed, "archaeology" is used casually and often interchangeably with "antiquarian" in the nineteenth century (Levine 90), a semantic conflation that reveals the largely amateur nature of Victorian archaeology and its lingering antiquarian associations.

From Scott's portrayal of antiquarianism in The Antiquary (1816) to Haggard's imaginary exploration of prehistorical civilizations in She (1887), the archaeological trope charts archaeology's gradual evolution from its antiquarian origins.
My discussion of archaeology must therefore consider (and to some extent include) the antiquarian tradition. However, I focus on the activities that eventually distinguished the archaeologist and antiquary: artifact study and excavation (Levine 31).

In the concluding pages of "On the Study of Archaeology," Newton reflects upon the aims of his profession in light of the Great Exhibition. He draws an analogy between the "Exhibition of the Industry of all nations of the present day" and the object of archaeology, which "would achieve if possible, . . . not less than the Exhibition of the Industry of all nations for all time" (24). "[N]ational Archaeology," he concludes,

can supply but a few links in that chain of continuous tradition, which connects the civilised nineteenth century with the races of the primeval world,—which holds together this great brotherhood in bonds of attachment . . . which, traversing the ruins of empires . . . spans the abyss of time, and transmits onward the message of the Past. (26)

The chain—as mentioned in the last chapter—is an important image of archaeology's utility in the nineteenth century. Its signification is simple but pervasive: archaeology is a prime tool for connecting past and present.

In his entry for The Encyclopaedia Britannica of 1853, Scottish archaeologist Daniel Wilson similarly argues that
contemporary civilization crowns a continuous chain of creation, a "wondrous process of development" (419). Archaeology takes up the "narrative at the close of [the] geological chapters" (419), so that the link is supplied by which man takes his place in the unbroken chain of creative existence sweeping backward into so remote a past, the evidences of matured art pertaining to periods unrecorded by history supply the later links of the same chain, and reunite the present with all former ages. (420)

To Daniel, the archaeologist as the forger of chains is also the herald of the present age. Discussing the advances in prehistoric archaeology, he assures his reader that the past is valuable because it progressed "creatively" and unswervingly to the present. Indeed, he implies that an archaeological imagination "invariably marks every epoch of great progress" (419). Newton's and Wilson's essays suggest that in the shadow of the Great Exhibition, archaeology served as a counterpoint to British technological accomplishments. By showing that their own progress represented a continuation of processes occurring throughout history, archaeology "offered evidence that bolstered the confidence and self-esteem of the British middle class. It also strengthened their pride in the leading role that their country was playing in a world historic process" (Trigger 1981, 141-42).³

Owing in part to its substantiation of English cultural,
moral, and intellectual ascendancy, archaeology became popular reading by mid-century. Articles of archaeological interest were on the rise between 1840 and 1870 in such journals as The Athenæum, The Gentleman's Magazine, and The Spectator (Daniel 1975, 112). The translator of Worsaae's The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark (in 1849), W. J. Thom, began a popular series of articles on antiquities for The Athenæum. As a result of the interest generated by them, he started up a special journal in November 1849. Its character has changed but it retains its name today: Notes and Queries (Daniel 1975, 112).

Another archaeological milestone in the Great Exhibition year was the founding of the first professorship of archaeology: the Disney Chair of Archaeology at Cambridge. Its founder was the dilettante and collector John Disney, who donated his collections to the university on the provision that the holder of the seat "'deliver in the course of each academic year . . . six lectures at least on the subject of Classical, Medieval and other Antiquities'" (qtd. in Daniel 1981, 83). Despite the range of scholarship set forth in Disney's statement, the post in practice was geared toward classical archaeology, which had then become institutionalized with the rise of public museums and the nationalization of art treasures in the later part of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth century (Rothenberg 58). The first Disney Professor was the antiquary Rev. John Marsden. In his
introductory lectures in 1852 he stated, like Newton, that the archaeologist's task was to "collect, analyse and classify . . . relics of the past" (cited in P. Levine 89). It was another twenty years, however, before these techniques were applied with any authority or rigour. He claims, moreover, a "close connexion between the antiquary and the poet" (cited in P. Levine 90), a strong indication of his largely amateur, antiquarian sensibilities. Indeed, archaeology lacked recognition in the university curriculum until the end of the century. As Levine states,

chairs of archaeology began to be created and--more importantly--towards the close of the century to be filled by those worthy of the title. It is inconceivable that the first Disney Professor of Archaeology . . . could have filled that or any other academic post in archaeology at the end of the century. (36)

Classical archaeology did provide Victorians with important and tangible links in the chain of cultural evolution. As late as 1911, The Americana, for instance, confidently claimed that "[a]ll modern Western civilization" is directly descended "through Greek and Roman periods, so that in studying it we are studying our own ultimate intellectual and even religious pedigree" ("Archaeology" n. pag.). Daniel Wilson's 1853 entry in the Encyclopædia Britannica likewise recognizes that "[w]here any attempt has
been made to assign precise limits" to the study of archaeology, "it has most frequently been reserved as the exclusive designation of Greek and Roman antiquities" (419). Levine argues that the "dominance of the classical tradition in the educational curriculum" (97) heavily influenced archaeology throughout the century: for "men who alluded as easily to Greek mythology as the English past, or indeed the Bible, the classical tradition retained its significance" (97). For this reason, Marsden was induced "to restrict the duties of his Professor[ship] to the study and illustration of one branch,--that branch being the archaeology of Greece and Rome; a branch more immediately connected than any other with the classical studies pursued in our University" (Marsden 3).

As Levine indicates, religion as well as education played an important role in shaping archaeology. In Newton's quotation with which this chapter opens, the archaeologist states that the "record of the Human Past . . . lurks an unsuspected treasure amid the oblivious dust of archives and monasteries . . . [and] is embodied in all the heir-looms of religions" (1). Religion cannot be dissociated from the way Victorians viewed and studied the past. The establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1866, for example, is reminiscent of the enthusiastic, pious response to Layard's work. William Thompson, the archbishop of York, outlined the goals of the new society in his capacity as president. He clearly states the impetus and future directions of the work:
This country of Palestine belongs to you and to me, it is essentially ours. . . . It was given to the father of Israel in the words 'Walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it, for I will give it unto ye.' We mean to walk through Palestine, in the length and breadth of it, because that land has been given unto us. It is the land from which comes news of our Redemption. It is the land to which we turn as the foundation of all our hopes; it is the land to which we look with as true a patriotism as we do this dear old England. (qtd. in Silberman 86)

The archbishop later reaffirmed these high goals at the tenth annual meeting of the P.E.F. "'Our reason for turning to Palestine,'" he states, "'is that Palestine is our country'" (qtd. in Silberman 99). As in the Layard phenomenon, archaeologists were bent on justifying their excavations in foreign countries with a prominent use of first-person plural and possessive pronouns.

The English public rallied around the excavations carried out by the Royal Engineers under the command of Captain Charles Wilson. Queen Victoria gave £150, more than any other individual donor (Silberman 87). Local chapters of the Palestine Exploration Society sprang up all over England (Silberman 88), and a Palestine Museum at the Dudley Gallery in London opened in 1869 (Silberman 98). The Illustrated

Issues raised in this survey of archaeological activity at mid-century determined the literary expression of archaeology throughout the rest of the century. A similar rhetoric surrounded the Great Exhibition and statements made by archaeologists such as Charles Newton and Daniel Wilson on the nature of their profession: British identity, achievements, and institutions represented the culmination of historical processes. The archaeological record was itself a "text" that chronicled Britain's cultural pedigree. Narratives of continuity in the prose of Carlyle, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater, and Haggard could thus find in archaeology their material authority.
Notes

1. See Tallis and the **Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue** for inventories of the Exhibition.

2. The rival Archaeological Association, from which split the Archaeological Institute over a petty squabble in 1843 (Levine 14), issued in 1851 what might be considered a sister essay. T. J. Pettigrew's "On the Study of Archaeology" likewise sets forth the multifarious nature of the "archaeologist's" study: heraldry, numismatics, history, and manners and customs, combining "knowledge in different departments of science and art" (164).

3. The Danish archaeologist Christian Jurgensen Thomsen and his pupil J. J. A. Worsaae pioneered the three-Age classification system of stone, bronze, and iron periods, laying the foundations of the scientific archaeology that was eventually to supersede antiquarianism throughout Europe. Worsaae set out his views on the three-age classification system in his *Danmarks oldtid oplyst ved Oldsager og Gravhøie* (1842), which was translated into English by W. J. Thoms in 1849 under the title *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark* (Daniel 1975, 41). Scottish archaeologist Daniel Wilson was responsible for introducing the term "prehistoric" into the English language with his book *The Archaeology and the Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (1851; Daniel 1967, 13).
He notes in his contribution to *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* of 1853 that prehistoric archaeology was beginning to separate "the desultory and often misdirected labours of the antiquary" from the "researches characterized by a scientific accuracy in no degree inferior to that of the most careful palaeontologist" (419). For studies of Wilson's contribution to the development of prehistoric archaeology see Ash and Trigger (1966; 1981, 141-42).

4. For histories of antiquarianism and the progress of archaeology see Daniel (1975), Hudson, P. Levine (13-23 and 70-75), Malina (24-32), B. M. Marsden, Momigliano (1-39), Piggott (1973), Rothenberg (54-73), and Walters.

5. See Trigger (1978, 74-84) for a discussion of theories of progress in archaeological thought in the nineteenth century.

6. For histories of dilettantism and collecting of classical antiquities see Constantine; Daniel 1981, 15-19; St. Clair 166-79; Rothenberg 54-73; Stoneman 110-36; and F. H. Taylor 450-64 and 479-87.

7. See Ben-Arieh, Silberman, and H. Thompson for accounts of English archaeological exploration in Palestine.
CHAPTER 3

From Archaeology to Archaeological Trope: The Rhetoric of Retrieval in Past and Present

Despairing of the "condition of England" (7) in the "hungry 'forties," Thomas Carlyle yearns, in the Proem to Past and Present, for the "awakening of the Nation's soul from its asphyxia, and the return of blessed life to us" (39). Seeking a restorative recovery of the past is a central motif of Past and Present. By locating a "rhetoric of retrieval" in mid-century archaeological thought, Carlyle adapts the study of material history into a literary trope for the investigation and elucidation of the past--and present. This text is paradigmatic of the archaeologically-sustained rhetoric of retrieval in the writings of Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater, and Haggard.

Carlyle's 1830 essay "On History" is in many respects a progenitor of the comparative approach developed in Past and Present. Its thesis is the need to reconstitute the living past in the present. He implores us to search more and more into the Past; let all men explore it, as the true fountain of knowledge; by whose light alone, consciously or unconsciously employed, can the Present and the Future be interpreted or guessed at. For though the whole meaning lies beyond our ken; yet in that complex Manuscript, covered over with formless inextricably-
Carlyle's image of the past as text is a provocative one. The "once prophetic writing" is reminiscent of the Clio figure in the Stothards' frontispiece rising from the dark crypt with the sibylline scroll of recorded history, which raises the "dimly legible" past into the narrative present. The past is, then, ground for recovery of narrative as well as material artifacts. Excavating stratified history provides a model for writing the past. To Carlyle, history is a palimpsest of layered voices.

Carlyle insists that this palimpsest effect joins the historical epochs into a vast continuum. As Rosemary Jann asserts, for "Carlyle . . . human identity was sustained by its connectedness to a palpable past; 'man was still man' only so long as he could identify a continuous and vital history with which to refute the Everlasting No" (37). She continues, quoting Carlyle's biographer J. A. Froude, "[i]f the historian could not make the past 'melodious'--resonant with a deep organic unity--'it must be forgotten, as good as annihilated; and we rove like aimless exiles that have no ancestors, whose world began only yesterday'". (Jann 37-38, citing Froude 1: 333). Emphasizing the interconnectedness of past and present, Jann and Froude offer Kipling's warning "lest we forget" as an
imperative in Carlyle's thought.

In "On History," Carlyle turns to archaeological modes of studying history. He says,

History has been written with quipo-threads, with feather-pictures, with wampum-belts; still oftener with earth-mounds and monumental stone-heaps, whether as pyramid or cairn: for the Celt and the Copt, the Red man as well as the White, lives between two eternities, and warring against Oblivion, he would fain unite himself in clear conscious relation, as in dim unconscious relation he is already united, with the whole Future and the whole Past. (495)

Carlyle links the material remains of the past to the spiritual conditions under which they arose. To the archaeologist and, in Carlyle's view, to the spiritual historian, places of interment—"whether as pyramid or cairn"—represent fecund ground for the meeting of past and present. Carlyle's apprehension of the monuments of the past in this sense foreshadows the biblical overtones of Layard's excavation of the palaces of Nineveh.

Carlyle emphasizes the interconnectedness of history and spirituality in the 1830 essay. He asserts that foremost among historians is the "Ecclesiastical Historian," for "it concerns us more to understand how man's moral well-being had been and might be promoted, than to understand in the like
sort his physical well-being" (502). He even declares that "Church history . . . in its highest degrees . . . [is] a sort of continued Holy Writ; our Sacred Books being, indeed, only a History of the primeval Church, as it first arose in man's soul, and symbolically embodied itself in his external life" (503). Carlyle here draws upon the archetypal religious dichotomy of the physical and spiritual condition of humanity, the body as the house of the soul. Church history is, thus, an "archaeology" or an excavation of "man's soul" buried in humanity's institutions and works. And exploring the condition of the soul through history, the spiritual archaeologist forges vital links binding the ages each to each.

Past and Present emerges from Carlyle's desire to compare the physical and spiritual inanition of 1840s England with a superior, even heroic, twelfth century; it must be examined in light of its antiquarian underpinnings. Two events are central: Carlyle's 1842 journey to Suffolk in search of Cromwelliana, and the printing of Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda by the Camden Society in 1840.1

While researching a biography of Oliver Cromwell, Carlyle felt obliged to seek correlations between Cromwell's age and his own. Carlyle writes to Ralph Waldo Emerson of the difficulties and necessity of so doing:

my heart is sick and sore in behalf of my own poor generation; nay, I feel withal as if the one hope of
help for it consisted in the possibility of new
Cromwells, and new Puritans: thus do the two
centuries stand related to me, the seventeenth
worthless except precisely in so far as it can be
made the nineteenth. (Collected Letters 15: 57;
dated 29 August 1842)

The emphasis on connecting the seventeenth and nineteenth
centuries strikingly forecasts his ultimate plan for Past and
Present. Indeed, Carlyle found physical evidence for joining
past and present. Two days after writing this letter, he went
on a three-day riding tour into "Cromwell's Country,"
travelling to St. Ives to see the land "where Cromwell first
took to farming" (Collected Letters 15: 83, 75). Here he saw
the St. Ives Workhouse, the "Dante's Hell" he so vividly
describes in the first chapter of the proem of Past and
Present (8). Juxtaposed to this scene are the ruins of the
monastery of St. Edmundsbury (fig. 8), to which he made
several visits (Calder 6).' His historical journey becomes,
in essence, an antiquarian expedition. Past and Present
emerges out of the disparity between the vibrant monastic life
of medieval St. Edmundsbury and Carlyle's impoverished
contemporaries at St. Ives.

Carlyle devotes chapter 2, "St. Edmundsbury," to
establishing the ruins as a "fact," a tangible manifestation
of a once dynamic life. He penetrates to the "soul" of the
monastery through its physical remains. At Bury St. Edmund's,
stranger or townsman, sauntering at his leisure amid these vast grim venerable ruins, may persuade himself that an Abbey of St. Edmundsbury did once exist; nay there is no doubt of it: see here the ancient massive Gateway, of architecture interesting to the eye of Dilettantism; and farther on, that other ancient Gateway, now about to tumble, unless Dilettantism, in these very months, can subscribe money to cramp it and prop it! (52)

Carlyle here spurns the soulless superficiality of both dilettantism and Dryasdust antiquarianism. He cites Sir William Dugdale's history of English monasteries, Monasticon Anglicanum (1655-73), as an example of what "assiduous Pedantry dig[s] up from the Past Time, and name[s] it History . . . till the Past Time seems all one infinite incredible grey void" (53). The object of such interest and study, the ruins themselves, was nonetheless crucial for the inception of Past and Present, for they represented a physical and conceptual "gateway" to the past.

The "Heaven's Watch Tower" is in fact the Norman gateway tower (fig. 9) that had been surveyed in 1842 by Lewis Nockolds Cottingham to determine how it was best to be restored (Calder 40; R. Yates pt. 2: 22-25). Carlyle's Past and Present is an analogue of church restoration carried out by ecclesiological groups such as the Cambridge Camden Society. Ecclesiology was a branch of antiquarianism devoted
to the study of church building and decoration (the Cambridge Camden Society was renamed the Ecclesiological Society in 1846). Restoration provides a fundamental metaphor for Carlyle's study of St. Edmundsbury. He fuses a language of penetration with images of resurrection and refurbishment. The ruins are extant, above ground, yet the historical imagination must delve into the essence of these outward symbols. In Carlyle's own words, this is akin to exhumation: "this black ruin looks out, not yet covered with soil; still indicating what a once gigantic Life lies buried there" (54). Carlyle entreats the reader, "[d]oes it never give thee pause . . . that men then had a soul?" (53). Restoring the soul to the imagination of the modern reader is the heart of the "Past" section of Past and Present. The text itself performs the task of rebuilding and, moreover, substantiating the past.

Carlyle invokes the other Camden Society--the London printing club, not the Cambridge ecclesiological society--to help illustrate his belief that this "present poor distressed world might get some profit by looking wisely . . . instead of foolishly" (54) into the life of twelfth-century St. Edmundsbury. Carlyle exhumes a voice of one of the ruin's long-dead inmates, Jocelin de Brakelond, whose chronicle was published by the Camden Society in 1840. In one of the most haunting and evocative passages of Past and Present, Carlyle invites the reader to peer with him through the lens of Jocelin's Chronica into the distant past, to witness, however
obscurely, a world some seven hundred years old. Carlyle employs abundant sensory imagery to entice the reader to dissolve the temporal barrier between past and present that hinders the realization that these "old St. Edmundsbury walls . . . were not peopled with fantasms; but with men of flesh and blood, made altogether as we are" (54):

Readers who please to go along with us into this poor Jocelini Chronica shall wander inconveniently enough, as in wintry twilight, through some poor stript hazel-grove, rustling with foolish noises, and perpetually hindering the eyesight; but across which, here and there, some real human figure is seen moving: very strange; whom we could hail if he would answer;--and we look into a pair of eyes deep as our own, imaging our own, but all unconscious of us; to whom we for the time are become as spirits and invisible! (55)

Although quick to attach the terms "dilettante" and "Dryasdust" to antiquarianism, Carlyle owes the inception of Past and Present to the antiquarian labours of the Camden Society, through which we may "look into a pair of eyes deep as our own." Unlike Dorothea in Middlemarch, who feels alienated by the impenetrably reified past in statuary, Carlyle finds in the ruins and chronicle food for a "binding theory" with which to bring his age into accord with Jocelin's. His textual excavations dramatize the medieval
past by resurrecting historical actors.

The Camden Society (named after famous antiquary William Camden [1551-1623], the author of *Britannia*, the first general guide to British antiquities [Daniel 1967, 24]) was founded in 1838 to "perpetuate, and render accessible, whatever is valuable, but at present little known, amongst the materials for the Civil, Ecclesiastical, or Literary History of the United Kingdom" ("The Camden Society" 407). Among the many printing clubs established in the 'thirties and 'forties to publish manuscripts of historical interest, the Camden Society was one of the "most successful and tenacious" (Levine 2): the *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda* was the thirteenth volume published in less than two years (Calder 28). Carlyle applauds the efforts of editor John Gage Rokewode in bringing to light this important primary document, dubbing him a "just Historian" (48) of this "Boswellean Notebook" (46). Carlyle praises this "Boswellizing" instinct to perpetuate the life of great historical figures--the "heroes" of culture--as exemplars to their age and objects of "hero-worship." Carlyle writes in a complimentary letter to Rokewode, "[y]our Camden-Society Book was about the most entertaining piece of Antiquarianism I remember to have read" (15: 129).

Indeed, Carlyle himself assumes the role of "Editor" in *Past and Present* (20 et seq.) and uses scholarly paraphernalia such as historical notes in his discussion of Jocelin's text. *Past and Present* is, says Calder, "virtually a reviewer's
notice of Jocelin's record" (28). Hirsch similarly appreciates Carlyle's text as "part-book review, part-translation, part-summary for his contemporary readers of Jocelin's Chronicle": the "'past' sections of Carlyle's work become a kind of interpretive rewriting of the Chronicle" (225). This editorial posture is employed by each author in this study to garner material and historical verisimilitude for their archaeological reconstructions.

Carlyle's main rhetorical tactic is deft movement between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries. He familiarizes Jocelin and his world to the reader by explaining that the "centuries . . . are all lineal children of one another; and often, in the portrait of early grandfathers, this and the other enigmatic feature of the newest grandson shall disclose itself, to mutual elucidation" (45). Genealogical images serve to implicate the reader in unearthing the buried life of St. Edmundsbury. In its overall conception, Carlyle's restorative project in Past and Present is, like the Camden Society's publishing ventures, antiquarian in nature. Yet antiquarianism provided Carlyle with decidedly archaeological imagery and metaphors. The layered narratives--or palimpsests of historical voices ranging from the twelfth to the nineteenth century--describe an archaeological site from which to exhume the buried past. Indeed, images of burial and retrieval pervade Book 2. The editor Carlyle, for example, muses,
But fancy a deep-buried Mastodon, some fossil Megatherion, Ichthyosaurus, were to begin to speak from amid its rock-swathings, never so indistinctly! The most extinct fossil species of Men or Monks can do, and does, this miracle,—thanks to the Letters of the Alphabet, good for so many things. (49)

The language in which Carlyle describes Jocelin's text is comparable: "the Chronicle of Jocelin is, as it professes to be, unwrapped from its thick cerements, and fairly brought forth into the common daylight" (48). Language itself is both a site and a tool for deep exploration, or penetration: Jocelin's text is rendered as an archaeological site, whose meaning is buried deep under "Monk-Latin" (48) and the dust of "these six hundred and fifty years" (49), "covered deeper than Pompeii with the lava-ashes and inarticulate wreck of seven hundred years" (46). The reference to Pompeii (under excavation since the 1740s) invites comparison between Carlyle's brand of historical writing (and reading) and archaeological practice.

The past lies buried beneath layers of narrative as well as the debris of time. History is filtered through the narrative presence of the nineteenth-century editor, which overlies that of the twelfth-century Jocelin, who, himself an historian and interpretive presence of the monastic life, is a parallel narrator. Narrative strata manifest archaeological content. The reader of Past and Present must likewise be an
archaeologist to sift through the complex nexus of mediating voices and reconstruct the past. Directed by the editor, the reader is the inheritor of the past: "Read . . . here," urges Carlyle, "with ancient yet with modern eyes" (110). The archaeological trope is a metaphorical spade with which writer and reader "excavate" the past from obscurity.

A key scene in Carlyle's penetrative narrative is the exhumation/excavation of St. Edmund's body by Jocelin's "Johnson," Abbot Samson. "St. Edmund" is the final chapter devoted to Samson's industrious and pious life as leader of the monastery. In Carlyle's words, Samson himself "penetrates . . . to all nooks, and of the chaos makes a kosmos or ordered world" (95). Samson "built many useful, many pious edifices," and in so doing changed "material, still more, moral wreck into rain-tight order" (121). "St. Edmund" focuses on Samson's exhumation of the founder, Saint Edmund, when rebuilding the central altar in AD 1198 (fig. 10), the spiritual locus of the monastery. In light of Carlyle's "gospel of work" expounded in Sartor Resartus, these material renovations manifest spiritual renewal, a kind of inner restoration. Carlyle praises this venture as the "culminating moment of Abbot Samson's life," to which "Bozzy Jocelin himself rises into a kind of Psalmist solemnity on this occasion" (122). Exhumed with the body, through the Chronicle, is yet another temporal level, one contemporaneous with Edmund's life, AD 840-70 (56-62). Shifting from present
to past, Carlyle moves from ruins to the twelfth-century monastery, from modern tourists and dilettantes to the Monks, from tomb through cerements to the body around which St. Edmunds bury was constructed.

Carlyle again employs ocular images to re-create for the reader the physical--and thereby spiritual--reality of the past. He exhorts, "[l]et the modern eye look earnestly on that old midnight hour in St. Edmunds bury Church, shining yet on us, ruddy-bright, through the depths of seven hundred years; and consider mournfully what our Hero-Worship once was, and what it now is" (122). Carlyle quotes directly from Jocelin's description of this crucial scene. Jocelin's own tactile imagery establishes for Carlyle the ruins and the life held within as a fact:

the Abbot, looking close, found now a silk cloth veiling the whole Body, and then a linen cloth of wondrous whiteness; and upon the head was spread a small linen cloth, and then another small and most fine silk cloth, as if it were the veil of a nun. These coverings being lifted off, they found now the Sacred Body all wrapt in linen; and so at length the lineaments of the same appeared. But here the Abbot stopped; saying he durst not proceed farther, or look at the sacred flesh naked. Taking the head between his hands, he thus spake groaning: 'Glorious martyr, holy Edmund, blessed be the hour when thou
wert born. Glorious martyr, turn it not to my perdition that I have so dared to touch thee, I miserable and sinful; thou knowest my devout love, and the intention of my mind.' And proceeding, he touched the eyes; and the nose, which was very massive and prominent . . . ; and then he touched the breast and arms; and raising the left arm he touched the fingers, and placed his own fingers between the sacred fingers. And proceeding he found the feet standing stiff up, like the feet of a man dead yesterday; and he touched the toes, and counted them. (124)

Rich with sensory stimuli, this passage effects a deliberate materialization of the past (Bann 104). Moving from the visual to the tactile, Samson peels away the successive layers of cerement to uncover the body. Samson's touching--a description saved from grotesquity or comedy by the solemnity created by Carlyle's framing narrative--is Carlyle's most provocative and successful image of past meeting present, of historical retrieval. The reverent laying of hands upon the corpse represents communion and continuity with the spirit of the past, and a resurrection of that past through the miracle of Edmund's uncorrupted flesh. This tangible heart of the monastery represents the locus of values that have passed on to the twelfth century through Samson's touch, been preserved by Jocelin's stylus, and "resurrected"
into the nineteenth through the labours of Carlyle and the Camden Society. By penetrating down through the antiquarian material to this central historical event, exhumation is an archaeological excavation. In archaeological prose, excavating the past as a concrete and literary exercise combines the meeting of past and present with the sense of personal or cultural discovery latent in Carlyle's handling of the exhumation of St. Edmund through the intermediary of Jocelin's chronicle.

To the modern reader, the event recorded in the chronicle is, as Rosenberg puts it, a double miracle, the one palpable to Abbot Samson's touch, the other performed by Carlyle, through the medium of Jocelin, of bringing 'that deep-buried Time' back to effulgent life. A 'laying of hands' takes place on the page, Samson touching the long-buried Edmund, Carlyle touching us through the freshly unearthed words of Jocelin. (124)

Just as Samson lays hands upon the corpse in a gesture of reverence and continuity, Carlyle participates in the resurrection of St. Edmund and his coterie by peeling away the layers of "linguistic strata" (Rosenberg 124) in Jocelin's text. Indeed, Carlyle champions the spirit of the pious book-Jocelin's "remains"--that he, likewise, has "in hand." The book is itself a relic of the past resurrected from the silent grave of time, first by the Camden society and John Rokewode,
and then by Carlyle through his own translation and interpretation.

"Eternity laid open" (126), the chapter ends and the "real-phantasmagory" of Jocelin's world fades again to reveal the "mutilated black Ruin" (127). The sense of circularity is intimated in the title of the final chapter, "The Beginnings," in which Carlyle uses the events of Jocelin's chronicle as the basis for a contemporary "Tract for the Times" (Collected Letters 16: 40). While Carlyle is most critical of the present--which is the impetus behind Past and Present and the tenor of book three, "The Modern Worker"--he lauds the English traditions that the monks of Bury St. Edmunds exemplify. Industry is a key term in this chapter: contrasted to the "enchanted" men languishing in St. Ives Workhouse is the pious work of the monks, which is a measure of English greatness in history, for the "crumbled dust" of men such as Samson "makes up the soil our life-fruit grows on" (131). Carlyle reiterates in the closing paragraphs his belief that a culture's underground life must be tapped from time to time. Life-affirming labour has its own subterranean vitality:

This English Land, here and now, is the summary of what was found of wise, and noble, and accordant with God's truth, in all generations of English men.

... Work? The quantity of done and forgotten work that lies silent under my feet in this world, and
escorts and attends me, and supports and keeps me alive, wheresoever I walk or stand, whatsoever I think or do, gives rise to reflections. (134-35)

So it is on this note that Book Two ends: "Work, and despair not" (136; quoting Goethe's poem "Symbolum" 30). Carlyle's message is that the religious idea buried with St. Edmundsbury can be exhumed by reviving Samson's buried gospel of work, for "'blessed is he who has found his work; let him ask no other blessedness. . . . 'Doubt, of whatever kind, can be ended by Action alone'" (197-98, citing Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship).

In Past and Present the antiquarian activity surrounding the publication of Jocelin's chronicle--ecclesiology, interest in medievalism, and the rise of the printing societies--yields a metaphorical framework for Carlyle's creative reworking of the chronicle. The shared antiquarian and archaeological practice of excavation is a prime linguistic and rhetorical model for Carlyle's retrieval of the past and its comparison with the present. The materiality of Carlyle's narrative, emphasized by persistent visual and tactile imagery in Jocelin's chronicle, further accentuates Carlyle's archaeological method of penetrating the material, "bodily" past, to its "soul." Archaeology and exhumation provided rhetorical tools for exposing, interpreting, and re-creating this vanished world for present edification.

The composition of Past and Present not only illustrates
the evolution of practical archaeology into a literary trope for investigating the past, but reveals how archaeology and its attendant literature were often generated from the Victorians' need to define their changing present with a view to a verifiable past by emphasizing their continuity with religious traditions. Such were the enthusiastic response to Layard's "scriptural" finds, the interest in ecclesiology exemplified by the Cambridge Camden Society, and, in the domain of literature, Carlyle's treatment of material history as, to borrow Jann's phrase, "secular prophecy" (33). The sense of justifying, explaining, or accounting for the present by comparison with a physically and, as the century progressed, scientifically authenticated past is a central motif in both archaeological and literary writing in the nineteenth century. Like Layard's unearthed Nineveh, the past intimated by physical remains is a locus of decidedly nineteenth-century values, or, from Carlyle's perspective, English values in need of restoration in the active life of the present.

Born of archaeological practice, the archaeological trope also engendered an archaeological form. The sense in which Carlyle uses the ruins of St. Edmundsbury and Jocelin's chronicle to "peel away," exhume, and reconstruct the past generates temporal layers in the text that translate into narrative layers. Each text examined in the following chapters has this palimpsest structure. The highly "textured"
text is an archaeological site that can be "unearthed" by the reader-archaeologist.
Notes

1. See Altick and Calder for details of this excursion and the publication of the chronicle. See also Froude (1: 274-78) and Kaplan (293-95).

2. The Abbey grew up around the burial place of Saint Edmund the Martyr, King of East Anglia (AD 840-870). Biographical information about Edmund and a history of the Abbey and its antiquities can be found in R. Yates, which Carlyle read in its first edition (1805). The second edition was published in 1843, the same year as Past and Present. See also Arnold and Mackinlay for biographies of Edmund.

3. See Gentleman's Magazine n.s. 18 (1842, 302-03); 19 (1843 42-43, 521-22), and 20 (1843, 74) for details of subscription and restoration carried out at St. Edmundsbury under the auspices of Cottingham.


5. Cf. the similar sensory imagery of a passage from book 2, chapter 5, "Twelfth Century": "Dim, as through a long vista of Seven Centuries, dim and very strange looks that monk-life to us; the ever-surprising circumstance this, That it is a fact and no dream, that we see it there, and gaze into the very eyes of it!" (68).

6. For studies of Carlyle's role, or guise, as editor and
his use of Jocelin's text see Georgianna, who points out Carlyle's free use of the chronicle. Revisions, for example, "transform Jocelin's changing and unresolved portrait of Abbot Samson into a straightforward lesson in the causes and effects of hero-worship" (107). See also Calder (21-105), G. Levine, and Edwards.
PART II

The Archaeological Trope from Scott to Haggard
CHAPTER 4

Walter Scott's "New Old" Entrance Hall: Antiquarianism and Genealogy in Abbotsford and The Antiquary

In the postscript to Waverley, Walter Scott meditates on what would become a dominant theme of his historical novels: change. He states that there "is no European nation which, within the course of a half a century, or little more, has undergone so complete a change as this kingdom of Scotland" (340). As ballad collector, poet, and novelist, Scott devoted his literary career to charting and negotiating the historical course of his country, of "the ancient manners of which," he says, "I have witnessed the almost total extinction" (340). In an age of industrialization, commercialization, and cultural assimilation with England, Scott reconstitutes the Scottish past for a people who, as his popularity attests, were hungry to learn about themselves.

Scott's restorative project in prose was grounded in his antiquarian ventures. Andrew Lang, who hails Scott as "the greatest antiquary among poets" (xxii), states in his introduction to the 1893 Border Edition of The Antiquary that the author "had entered literature through the ruined gateway of archaeology" (xxi). I want to test Lang's assertion by investigating ways in which Scott locates his reconstructive fiction in the material past: like Carlyle's use of St. Edmundsbury's ruins and Jocelin's chronicle as vehicles for historical reconstruction, the ruins, relics, and remains of
Scottish history represent a "gateway" for Scott to raise the past into the present through narrative. As its title suggests, the third of the Waverley Novels is a metahistorical text that documents Scott's method of, and impetus for, historical composition through antiquarian study.

Lang's conflation of "antiquary" and "archaeology" raises questions of definition that are important for my investigation of the archaeological trope. Scott's multifarious activities as a collector of antiquities, editor of manuscripts and writer of history, combined with the prevailing localism of these interests (P. Levine 13-14, 38), place the historical novelist firmly within the antiquarian tradition of interpreting material history in the light of written or oral sources. Indeed, Lang had really meant what we today consider "antiquarian": Lang gives as examples of the "ruined gateway of archaeology" Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-02) and his "last project," an "edition of Perrault's 'Contes de Ma Mère l'Oie'" (xxi). Depicting a broad range of antiquarian interests, the novel, which takes as its title the occupation of its protagonist Jonathan Oldbuck, represents an early manifestation of the archaeological trope. This chapter accounts for Lang's semantic ambiguity by exploring *The Antiquary*’s antiquarianism and its "archaeological" elements--namely excavation and the analysis of material artifacts--in the novel.

In his 1884 essay "The Past, Present, and Future of
Archaeology," J. Romilly Allen declares that scientific developments in archaeology at the end of the century were "preceded by Sir Walter Scott's novels, which by the description of old buildings contained in them tended to popularise national architecture" (234). Scottish archaeologist and anthropologist Daniel Wilson locates Scott at the origins of scientific archaeology. He opens The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland (1851) with the assertion that

The zeal for Archaeological investigation which has recently manifested itself in nearly every country in Europe, has been traced, not without reason, to the impulse which proceeded from Abbotsford. Though such is not exactly the source which we might expect to give birth to the transition from profitless dilettantism to the intelligent spirit of scientific investigation, yet it is unquestionable that Sir Walter Scott was the first of modern writers "to teach all men this truth, which looks like a truism, and yet was as good as unknown to writers of history and others, till so taught,--that the bygone ages of the world were actually filled with living men."

(xi, quoting Carlyle's "Sir Walter Scott")

By claiming that Scott gave impetus to the development of archaeology, these statements reveal that early archaeologists were themselves seeking a pedigree for their fledgling
profession.

Allen's reference to Scott's popularizing "national architecture" and Wilson's allusion to the archaeological "impulse" arising from Abbotsford suggest a theoretical avenue along which to explore the relationship between antiquarianism and historical fiction in The Antiquary. Scott's most ambitious antiquarian project, the building of Abbotsford from 1811 to 1825, is an analogue to antiquarian composition in The Antiquary. Scott seemed to have this in mind when he dubbed Abbotsford a "romance of a house" (Letters 7: 100, 111, 282; 8: 129): he incorporated into his "old Scottish manor-house" (7: 111) building materials and ornaments foraged from ruined edifices in the district (fig. 11). Abbotsford is an architectural correlative to Scott's fiction, which preserves in a narrative frame the scattered fragments of Scottish history. An examination of Abbotsford's construction will illuminate the antiquarian/archaeological structures of The Antiquary.

I. Antiquarianism and Abbotsford

Abbotsford and The Antiquary share some architectonic features. Scott built Abbotsford in the Tweed valley adjacent to his ancestral lands of Dryburgh (see Bann 110), and incorporated into its structure "fragments of ancient splendour" (4: 543) taken from sites redolent with historical association. By weaving together the materials of past and
present, Scott thereby forged tangible continuity with his own ancestry. He remarked in 1823 that building Abbotsford and buying up the surrounding land was "the surest way of settling a family if one can do [it] without borrowing money or receiving interest" (8: 129). "Settling a family" is, by his admission, more a matter of capital than land-holding. The Waverley and Abbotsford projects are symbiotic, for writing finances the construction of an "old" building, and the building in turn reflects the antiquarian tenor of the novels. The antiquarian action of the novel, furthermore, is fundamentally concerned with the genealogical issue of "settling a family" in times of social change: the main action is the resolution of the lost heir plot through the recovery of Lovel's identity and his reinstatement as Lord Glenallan. The antiquarian constructions of Abbotsford and The Antiquary testify that for Scott the present is itself an historical construction.¹

Scott's correspondence during construction reveals his insatiable appetite for antique building materials. As early as 1815, four years after his initial purchase of the "Old Cottage" or "Mother Redford," the nucleus of Abbotsford (Mother Redford was demolished in 1822), Scott drily comments that from "broken stones found in the rubbish of Melrose Abbey" he "built a well about 400 years old" (3: 174, 233). The well is a microcosm of Abbotsford. Constructed from the scattered middens of Melrose Abbey, it is a "modern" form that
nonetheless bears the mark of antiquity by preserving connotations and connections that the Abbey held for Scott.

Melrose Abbey was a prime excavation site both for Scott's novels and his house. Recounting a visit to Abbotsford in August 1817, Washington Irving comments upon Scott's attachment to the ruin. He remarks that the "Abbey was evidently a pile that called up all Scott's poetic and romantic feelings; and one to which he was enthusiastically attached by the most fanciful and delightful of his early associations" (230-31). In addition to the well-stones, Scott rescued a "cloister arch of Melrose" and a "chimney-grate, which belonged to the old persecutor Archbishop Sharpe" (7: 300). Scott also writes that "I have now got I know not how many casts, from Melrose and other places, of pure Gothic antiquity" (5: 133). Scott thus quarried Melrose for materials that supplied both structural and historical integrity to Abbotsford. Even the name "Abbot's Ford" intimates associations with Melrose. Situated on the banks of the Tweed, the lands surrounding Abbotsford were once owned by the Abbey (Lockhart 3: 340). Scott writes in 1811 to his brother-in-law, Charles Carpenter, that "we are not a little proud of being greeted as laird and lady of Abbotsford" (Lockhart 3: 342). By building and acquiring land, Scott contrived a pedigree for himself that garnered authority from his proximity to--and raiding of--Melrose Abbey.

By relocating the material past in its modern framework,
Abbotsford assumed the air of a museum. Indeed, housed within its "battlement and bartisan" (5: 421) and "its turrets and queer old fashioned architecture" (7: 297) is a museum within a museum (that we can visit today). Scott relates that he was "quite feverish" (5: 63) about his armoury, which he decked out to display curios of Scottish history. Lockhart dubs Scott the "founder of Abbotsford Museum" (4: 12) and Scott himself seems to have had museum associations in mind, for during the armoury's construction he writes, "I should like to have had recesses for curiosities" (7: 280), which "should be arranged tastefully for antiquities, &c., like the inside of an antique cabinet, with drawers and shotles, and funny little arches" (7: 280). The room is a reliquary containing miscellaneous bits and pieces from the body of Scottish history he collected throughout his life. Displayed is, for example, the broadsword of Montrose (3: 69, 99-100, 312; 7: 215, 260), a cast of Robert the Bruce's Skull (7: 280), Rob Roy's gun and sporran (3: 39, 45, 69, 99-100; 4: 540, 540-1), and the "Key said to have been once turnd [sic] on the lovely Queen Mary when she was prisoner in Lochleven Castle" (12: 22). Scott jokes with the Scottish genealogist Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, "I have persuaded myself that you will find [yourself] quite at home in my new Flibbertigibbet of a house because it will suit none but an antiquary" (4: 539).

The armoury's antechamber, the great entrance hall, houses clues to Scott's overarching plan for the Abbotsford
Museum (fig. 12). Scott writes in 1823 that the interior of the hall is finished with scutcheons, sixteen of which, running along [the rooftree], I intend to paint with my own quarterings. . . . The scutcheons on the cornice I propose to charge with the blazonry of all the Border clans, eighteen in number, and so many of the great families, not clans, as will occupy the others. The windows are to be painted with the different bearings of different families of the clan of Scott, which, with their quarterings and impalings, will make a pretty display. (8: 112-13)

Scott's "new old entrance hall" (8: 271, my emphasis) is a threshold to a reclaimed past. The Scott pedigree and the pedigree of the Borderers—"Kith, Kin, and Ally" (8: 271)—greet the visitor to Abbotsford. Scott's letters are filled with excited investigations of his family tree (e.g. 8: 6-9, 9n, 233-34). His genealogy displayed as heraldry, Scott thus advertises himself as the "Laird of Abbotsford," the inheritor of an independent and decidedly medieval Scotland.¹

While Scott endeavoured to consolidate materially his lineage by creating an anachronistic mansion, his genealogical presentation was incomplete, which is itself a telling reflection of the limitations of reconstructing the past. Two quarterings were lost on his mother's side (8: 6-9, 112, 233-34), which, in heraldic terms, approximates illegitimacy as
sixteen quarterings distinguish a pure bloodline. Scott painted the two irrecoverable fields with clouds; clouds of forgetfulness mar genealogical integrity (8: 112, 234). Indeed, Scott admits to his publisher, Archibald Constable, that these "things are trifles when correct but very absurd and contemptible if otherwise" (8: 234). Abbotsford as a museum of Scottish history and display case for his incomplete quarterings emphasizes that Scott the professional lawyer and novelist is actually a latecomer to the aristocratic world he seeks to preserve, perpetuate, and identify with.

II. The Antiquary and Antiquarianism

Scott's description of Abbotsford as "a sort of pic-nic dwelling[,] for its ornaments have been pillaged from all sorts of old buildings" (5: 91), aptly characterizes The Antiquary itself. Like Abbotsford, the novel is a kind of antiquarian museum or, to borrow Peter Conrad's image, a "Victorian treasure house" of detail. The material remains of the past are the foundation stones and decoration of the novel. And as Scott built Abbotsford as a familial home and gallery to display his quarterings, The Antiquary, set in the 1790s, is centrally concerned with founding or stabilizing identity at a time when the system of feudal obligation had given way to a market economy, which fundamentally changed and redefined the social order in Scotland. The antiquarian investigation of the past in The Antiquary reaffirms and
perpetuates the foundation of an independent, medieval Scotland by reconciling it with the rapidly modernizing present: a conflation of past and present that resurfaces with a vengeance in the year of the Great Exhibition. That Scott counted *The Antiquary* "his chief favourite among all his novels" (Lockhart 5: 143) is a good indication of the important relationship between antiquarianism and genealogy in his "constructions." The genealogical overtones guiding Scott's recovery and ordering of memorials of Scottish heritage infuse the novel. Digging up his own history from Melrose Abbey mirrors the exhumation of Lovel's heritage from the ruins of St. Ruth's Priory, a resurrection of his ancestry from the material remains of the past.

*The Antiquary* is, then, a metahistorical study of historical processes and the ways historical knowledge is obtained. On one level, the novel is a portrait of late eighteenth-century antiquarianism. Scott based the amateur antiquary Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns on, among others, John Constable, an "old friend of [the author's] youth (The *Antiquary* 1865, 5:3), and John Clerk of Penicuik (Piggott 1976, 134)." Although Scott denies these associations in the preface to the Magnum Opus edition, he does confirm in a letter to Basil Hall the identification of Constable and Oldbuck (12: 36-37). Scott himself certainly had an affinity with his protagonist, an association he delineated through the playful title of his unfinished catalogue of books and
antiquities, Reliquiae Trottcosienses, or the Gabions of Jonathan Oldbuck (Lockhart 9: 356).

Chapter 3 is instrumental in establishing the novel's antiquarian tenor. Here we are privy to the inmost recess of Oldbuck's house, his sanctum sanctorum (19). Oldbuck's and Lovel's descent "through a labyrinth of inconvenient and dark passages" (20) represents a descent into the antiquary's world. The room is a veritable museum of Roman, ancient British, and Scottish antiquities, including armour, swords, busts, pottery, and bronzes, as well as a wealth of printed material from which Scott derives the Antiquary's name: that is, "Old Buch" or "Old Book." Books, broadsides, ballads, and assorted printed ephemera and relics litter the room. The correlations between Oldbuck's sanctum and the "pic nic" quality of the Abbotsford armoury, great hall, and library are obvious.

The outward trappings of antiquarianism established in the early chapters of The Antiquary foreshadow Carlyle's treatment of antiquarianism in Past and Present. Relics are metaphorical "gateways" into the past that allow the author (and characters) to venture backward in history. Yet historical appropriation in The Antiquary is a double-edged sword. Scott's humorous portrayal of the pedantic Oldbuck, with his "pettifogging intimacy with dates, names, and trifling matters of fact" (41), emphasizes the triviality of the past when cut off from the life of the present. The thick
covering of dust in Oldbuck's sanctum (which his sister Griselda and the maid are vigorously chided for disturbing) alludes to his Dryasdust obfuscation of the past: the Antiquary's disorderly hodge-podge of collectibles stymies the visitor Lovel, much as Dorothea feels disengaged from the classical statuary in Rome.

Indeed, shades of Casaubon colour Oldbuck. The follies and limitations of Oldbuck's antiquarianism are thrown into relief on the Kaim of Kinprunes with the chance meeting of the Antiquary and another historical actor in the novel, the King's Bedesman, the mendicant Edie Olchitree. Oldbuck has traded, acre for acre, good corn land for sterile ground, believing that he has secured the "local situation of the final conflict between [the Roman general Julius] Agricola and the Caledonians" (28). Excavating what he takes for Agricola's encampment site (29), he has actually exposed the foundation of a building that had been erected for a bachelor party. The scene is based on a real incident involving Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, who mistook a modern foundation for a Roman camp (Piggott 1976, 162).

Edie appears seemingly from nowhere to interrupt the discoursing Oldbuck by disclaiming "'Praetorian here, Praetorian there, I mind the bigging [building] o't'" (30). On the Kaim the reader is introduced to two levels or modes of historical knowledge in the novel: antiquarian and folk, representing ancient and living history. While Edie
discredits Oldbuck's hypothesis, the antiquary nonetheless acknowledges the mendicant's time-honoured station as the "news-carrier, the minstrel, and sometimes the historian of the district" (33). Oldbuck later points out that Edie is the "oracle of the district through which he travels--their genealogist, their newsman, their master of the revels, their doctor at a pinch, or their divine" (290). Himself an analogue to Abbotsford, Edie is a treasure house of living history that offers continuity with the past. As a medium of historical knowledge, Edie is to the Antiquary as Jocelin is to Carlyle. The mendicant is a rectifier of false history and, as genealogist, a preserver of historical identity. As such, he is instrumental in orchestrating affairs by which the disinherited Lovel--the hero of the lost heir plot in The Antiquary--eventually discovers the secret of his birth.

In the preface to the Magnum Opus edition of The Antiquary, Scott emphasizes the historical conditions under which Edie assumes his position as the indisputable authority on historical matters. The preface is a narrative stratum that underscores the historical nature of the novel and the agents of historical investigation within it. Scott writes that Edie's rank as King's Bedesman--about to become extinct at the time of the novel's setting--is "descended from the ancient bards" (1865 5: 5). Scott employs a battery of sources to bolster Edie's credibility, from Burns's poetry to a description of a mendicant whom Scott met in his youth,
Andrew Gemmells (1865 5: 11), as well as an actual Treasurer's report of the annual charity bestowed upon the Bedesmen (included for "those whose taste is akin to that of Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns" [1865 5: 9]). In the preface and in the novel, Scott treats the king's servant as a relic of feudal Scotland. Established as an object of antiquarian study--and who by virtue of his service as genealogist and bard is an antiquary in his own right--Edie is a major vehicle for historical inquiry within the novel.

The Antiquary displaces the redemptive capacity of the romance hero from the realm of action to antiquarian study. The plot focuses on redeeming Lovel's guilty past, his re-inheritance that secures the Glenallan line and delivers the Wardour estate from imminent bankruptcy. Fittingly, most of the determining action has taken place before the period covered by the novel. Very little actually happens: history is itself a subject for debate and investigation rather than--as in Waverley--the field of action. Lovel is aptly dubbed "phoenix" by Oldbuck (65), for he is figuratively dead--cut off from history much like Darsie Latimer in Redgauntlet--then reborn from the ashes of obscurity with a name and pedigree. As Millgate states, "Lovel's predicament, like that of other lost heirs of romance, requires past and present to be brought together so that his two identities can merge and he can enter on his proper role" (95). Lovel's character is a construction. He is, like Abbotsford, both an archaeological
and a building--or rather Bildung--site.

Lovel's role as the phoenix-redeemer of history is foreshadowed in a ballad he overhears upon awakening the morning after he rescues Sir Arthur and Isabella from the crags of Halket Head. Balladry as an object of antiquarian study is an authenticating medium for plot. Lamenting the fall of great houses, the song concludes with an exhortation to redeem time:

"Why sit'st thou by that ruin'd hall,
Thou aged carle so stern and grey?"

"Before my breath, like blazing flax,
Man and his marvels pass away;
And changing empires wane and wax,
Are founded, flourish, and decay.

"Redeem mine hours--the space is brief--
While in my glass the sand-grains shiver,
And measureless thy joy or grief,
When TIME and thou shalt part for ever!"  (80)

Reinstated and legitimized as the lost heir of Glenallan, Lovel can marry and thus reinstate the other disinherited heir, Isabella. The reference to the "ruin'd hall" also points to a major archaeological site in the novel, the ruined Priory of St. Ruth. To redeem the stain of illegitimacy Lovel
must resurrect the secret history of Lady Glenallan, interred with her in the priory ruins. "Resurrecting" the truth of Lovel's birth from this literal grave carries the association in medieval bestiaries of the phoenix with Christ's death and resurrection. The fallen and resurrected hero redeems the sins of Lady Glenallan and saves the languishing Wardours.

Like Scott scouring Melrose for building material, discovering Lovel's lineage assumes the character of both an antiquarian exercise and a treasure hunt. A crucial scene is the excavation at St. Ruth's. Misguided by the Rosicrucian fakeries of the German adept Herman Dousterswivel, Sir Arthur seeks a legendary fortune supposedly buried in the kirkyard in a desperate effort to salvage his indebted estate. Edie relates that the treasure was accumulated in the twelfth century by the bastard Malcolm Misticot ("Misbegot" by two first cousins), a vanquished contender for the Wardour estate who was banished to St. Ruth's. Legend records that Malcolm stashed a treasure in the priory in the hope of using it to "secure the succession of [his] house in the lands of Knockwinnock" (278). Thus the "prophecy gat abread in the country," says Edie, "that whenever Misticot's grave was fund out, the estate of Knockwinnock should be lost and won" (200). From Malcolm Sir Arthur traces, he says, "that horror and antipathy to defiled blood and illegitimacy, which has been handed down to me from my respected ancestry" (199): Sir Arthur's historically based fears deny Lovel's suit for
Isabella.

The treasure with which Knockwinnock is "lost and won" is not Malcolm's, but a quantity of silver bullion stashed in the priory by Edie and Lovel for Sir Arthur to dig up and with which to ward off his creditors. The silver is actually Lovel's patrimony, a quantity of silver plate reduced to bullion by Lovel's guardian to erase the Glenallan arms (496) and, thereby, Lovel's true identity. The prophecy that the lands of Knockwinnock will be "lost and won" is fulfilled through the tampering of Edie and Lovel, who "salt," says Wilt, the grave with Lovel's silver (156). Ironically, the inheritance of the disinherited bastard Lovel saves Knockwinnock from the immediate danger of the Sheriff's men. Digging thus carries the implications of a redemptive resurrection or exhumation of history. Similar to the exhumation scene in Past and Present (and "The Monumental Effigies rescued from Time"), the antiquaries literally dig up at St. Ruth's the body of the past in the form of the effigy of Malcolm. Past and present thus converge at this gravesite, for Lovel is, says Wilt,

the very image of Malcolm the Misbegot, resurrected and cleansed, just in the nick of time, of the bar sinister. . . . History is the progress of the consciousness of our freedom to dig up and act upon the massively accumulated, already assembled, meaning of the day. (160-61; my emphasis)
The ruin of St. Ruth's is a palimpsest of layered history upon which is inscribed—as in Abbotsford's entrance hall—past and present battles of succession and identity.

Recent history is buried, furthermore, in the priory ruins with the interment of the Countess Glenallan on the same night that Edie and Steenie Mucklebackit trick Dousterswivel into returning to hunt for a second treasure. Her burial introduces a veritable gothic element to the story, which contrasts with Edie's false haunting of the ruins in comic revenge for Dousterswivel's mystical chicanery. Her entombment offers, moreover, a key to recovering the past, for the "underground" history of the Glenallan family can now be exhumed and redeemed. Their moribund Havishamesque existence in the crypt-like rooms of Glenallan House—ornamented with sombre Rembrandt portraiture and gloomy Catholic iconography—is the result of Lady Glenallan's tampering with history and genealogy by convincing her son that his new wife, Eveline Neville, is his half-sister. Falsifying history sets off a series of tragedies, resulting in the suicide of Eveline Neville, the unmitigated despair and hermitic existence of Glenallan, and the estrangement of their son (Lovel) from his father's family and estate. Overcome by culpability, the Glenallan family is suspended within a crippling historical moment. They are living ruins of long-faded glory.

The spell is broken only with the resurrection of Lady Glenallan's secret history, which arises in the speech of her
servant, Elspeth Mucklebackit. She, too, is a relic of a former age, isolated from the community and her family because of the guilty past she shares with her mistress. Indeed, Edie describes old Elspeth in terms of gothic architecture, comparing her to some "ancient ruined strengths and castles," for there "are mony parts of her mind that appear . . . laid waste and decayed, but then there's parts that look the steeper [firmer], and the stronger, and the grander, because they are rising just like to fragments amang the ruins o' the rest" (228). Edie describes Elspeth in architectural and archaeological terms reminiscent of Scott's characterization of Abbotsford in his letters. Identified with the spindle she twirls in the seclusion of the Mucklebackit cottage, she is a sibylline figure (262), who, moreover, is described in Egyptological terms: "like a mummy animated by some wandering spirit into a temporary resurrection" (218), she spins her tale of the crime to Edie. The images of an underground life rising from the ruin of her memory are important for the resolution of the story, for the salvation of the houses of the ancient Celtic Glenallans and the Norman Wardours depends upon the successful investigation of Lovel's true birth, buried among the bones and legends of ancient and recent history of the priory ruins. The novel's concluding action is thus set in physical and mental graves.

In *The Antiquary* and Abbotsford, then, gothic stories within stories are archaeological sites that house
genealogical information necessary for the understanding and redemption of the present. Dredging history from guilt-stained silence to the healing light of narrative conquers forgetfulness and disinheritance. The Glenallan tale must be remembered, drawn from buried sources: with Lady Glenallan's interment, real, not "salted," history is buried and awaits a resurrection through Elspeth and Edie. The image of the reanimated mummy Elspeth as an agent of historical narrative emphasizes Lovel's identification with the phoenix. *The Antiquary* is about metamorphosis of the present based on exhumation of the past.

Claiming his distinguished pedigree, Lovel can marry Isabella and completely secure the Wardour estate from economic ruin. This act holds wider implications for the community and for Scotland itself. A new age is symbolically ushered in with the marriage. In the vicinity of Fairport, which is arguably a microcosm of late eighteenth-century Scotland, the Catholic past gives way to, but remains a vital part of, its dominant Protestant religion and Protestant commercial ethic. The novel concludes with a vision of social harmony symbolised by the general muster at the false alarm of the French invasion. Harmony is also symbolized in Oldbuck's present of the wedding ring, inscribed with his ancestral motto "Kunst macht Gunst" ("skill wins favour," 355). Joined with the ring are the two strands of Scottish history, "the one Catholic, Jacobite, and aristocratic and the other
Protestant, Whiggish, and professional--one emphasizing hereditary right and continuity and the other individual ability and change" (Elbers 419-20). Like Darcey Latimer in Redgauntlet, the Protestant Lovel, as Robertson asserts, is "a legitimate representative but an ideological opponent of the dead past which he alone can revitalize" (205). The "new old" Abbotsford attests that this wedding reflects Scott's own vision of, and loyalties in, modern Scotland.

While The Antiquary is an important literary indicator of the antiquarian nature of archaeology at the end of the eighteenth century, its real aim, like Carlyle's Past and Present, is to delve below outward manifestations of Dryasdust antiquarianism to the essences that bind the ages each to each. Just as Carlyle's study of the medieval past is motivated by the shift to an industrial economy that created a need for a St. Ives Workhouse, Scott's antiquarianism and antiquarian fiction likewise strive to make Scottish history live in the mind and social fabric of his readership by digging up, preserving, and recontextualizing the past in a time of economic and social upheaval. The Antiquary and Scott's entrance hall are testaments to the genealogical authority of history dug up from the silent past and reconstructed for present identification and edification.
Notes

1. Several Scott critics have correlated Abbotsford and the Waverley novels (see Daiches 95, Millgate 86, and Piggott 1976, 140). The most compelling is Stephen Bann's discussion of the genealogical implications of Abbotsford. He argues that Scott's "maternal inheritance, concretised in the new Abbotsford, was also the inheritance of history, reestablished in its continuity through the massive effort of reconstruction which was to be Scott's whole creative life" (110). Employing a psychoanalytic reading, Bann concludes that in constructing an inheritance at Abbotsford Scott was "enabled . . . to explore the whole domain of history as a beneficent mother" (111). My discussion builds upon Bann's by showing more fully how Abbotsford's construction is a product of Scott's antiquarianism, and by comparing the antiquarian "frameworks" of Abbotsford and The Antiquary.

2. "All around the cornice of this noble room there runs a continued series of blazoned shields . . . . There are thirty to forty shields thus distinguished,—Douglas, Soulis, Buccleugh, Maxwell, Johnstoune, Glendoning, Herries, Rutherford, Kerr, Elliott, Pringle, Home, and all the other heroes of the Border Minstrelsy" (Lockhart 7: 399-400).
3. Scott even pledges liegeship to the Duke of Buccleugh, the "chieftain" of the Scott clan. He writes that he "rejoice[s] that since the whole water of the Thames cannot wash the Scotch blood or the Scott-blood either out of your Lordship's veins that you still continue to bear the insignia of your tribe" (8: 3).

4. Piggott examines in detail the "climate of antiquarian thought in which Scott had been brought up and how it is reflected in his work" (1976, 133). While Piggott touches upon Scott's "romantic antiquarianism" (158), the strength of the article is his discussion of the antiquaries invoked in The Antiquary, men such as Alexander Gordon, John Clerk of Penicuik, Robert Sibbald, and Major-General William Roy. See also Ash's discussions of Scott's antiquarianism and its influence on and place in the development of archaeology.

5. "Trottocosiana" is derived from Oldbuck's association with the Abbot of Trotcosey, an former inhabitant of what is now Oldbuck's estate. Oldbuck's ancestor bought the "Monk-barns" after the dissolution of the monasteries. Abbas Trottocosiensis is inscribed in the lintel in the doorway to Oldbuck's "sanctum sanctorum" (19). The Bannatyne Club published the catalogue of Scott's library in 1838.

6. For a description of Scott's library and sanctum see Lockhart 7: 405-08.
CHAPTER 5

"To Wake to a Second Existence": The Archaeology of Religion in Edward Bulwer-Lytton's The Last Days of Pompeii

I stood within the city disinterred
--P. B. Shelley, "Ode to Naples"

Go, seek Pompeii now:--with pensive tread
Roam through the silent city of the dead
--Macaulay, "Pompeii"

In the last year of his life, a palsied and apoplectic Sir Walter Scott left Abbotsford in search of health in Italy. Sojourning from December 1831 to April 1832 in Naples, he was befriended by Sir William Gell, correspondent for the London Society of Dilettanti and author of Pompeiana, a popular description of the remains of Pompeii. Scott's host and constant companion introduced the novelist to Neapolitan society and showed him the excavations at Pompeii. At the request of Scott's daughter, Anne, Gell composed an account of these last days of Scott, which appeared in Lockhart's Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott. On the ninth of February Gell took Scott to Pompeii. Himself in physical (and financial) ruin (see Journal 659-60), the novelist was borne upon a litter through the excavated streets, apparently insensible to Gell's commentary, "viewing the whole and not the parts . . . and exclaiming frequently 'The City of the Dead,' without any other remark" (Gell 1832, 8). Traversing Pompeii's forlorn streets, Scott was no doubt overcome by intimations of his own mortality. Yet his
sympathetic response to the ruined city of the dead seems an apposite denouement to a life devoted to preserving the past as an antiquarian and historical novelist.

In the same year, Gell led another British historical novelist through Pompeii, Edward Bulwer-Lytton. The writer was so moved by the sense of daily life arrested and preserved by the catastrophe that he immediately set to work composing The Last Days of Pompeii, which he finished over the winter of 1832-33 and dedicated to Gell. Like Scott's Abbotsford, Bulwer-Lytton's fictional Pompeii is, then, very much a "romance in stone." The author relates that he "laboured . . . in the art to revive and to create" (v), striving "to repair those graceful ruins, to reanimate the bones which were yet spared to his survey; to traverse the gulf of eighteen centuries, and to wake to a second existence--the City of the Dead!" (v). This epithet, according to Richard Brilliant, "runs like some melancholic refrain in those nineteenth-century minds gifted with a strong historical imagination" (168). The similar reactions of these historical novelists to Pompeii suggest that Bulwer-Lytton, at the start of his writing career, takes up the literary torch from the declining Scott. Bulwer-Lytton's re-creation of "The City of the Dead" perpetuates Scott's tradition and vision of historical fiction founded upon the investigation of the material past.

The spectre of Pompeii and its sister city Herculaneum had haunted the European imagination for a century before
Bulwer-Lytton's visit (Herculaneum was first excavated in 1709, Pompeii in the 1740s). By 1832 the ancient city had become a mecca for scholars, tourists, dilettanti, and artists alike. The widespread interest in "Pompeiana"—disseminated through archaeological reports and artistic reproductions—raised the material existence of antiquity into the modern consciousness, paving the way for Bulwer-Lytton's immensely popular novel (see Appendix A for a summary of archaeological and artistic events preceding—and influencing—Bulwer-Lytton's novel). As sales of *Nineveh and Its Remains* demonstrated some fifteen years later, archaeology and ancient civilizations were highly esteemed subjects amongst Victorian readers.

I. Excavation and Literary Form: Bulwer-Lytton's Archaeological Romance

Is there life in the abyss?—
Hath a new race (concealed to now) its home
Under the lava?—Doth the Past Return?—
O, Greeks—O, Romans!—Come!—Behold, again
Rises the old Pompeii, and rebuilt
The long lost town of Dorian Hercules!

--Schiller, "Pompeii and Herculaneum"
(Trans. Edward Bulwer-Lytton)

The *Last Days of Pompeii* is prefaced with a treatise on literary excavation. The author argues that the novel is a natural extension of his research into the site, its museum in nearby Portici, and Pompeian scholarship. Archaeology provided raw materials for the setting; the setting, in turn,
the characters. Foregrounding the tale's artifice, the author, like his predecessor Scott, heaps "artifactual" material before the reader to mediate between substantive fact and narrative. Like the Editor's role in *Past and Present*, the narrative voice in *The Last Days of Pompeii* negotiates between ancient and modern eras by transposing material relics into an authenticating discourse.

The narrator is, like Gell, an archaeologist and tour-guide who directs the reader's attention here and there to the text's "Pompeiana." Cosmopolitan associations yield a cosmopolitan cast: the "half-Grecian colony" (vii) suggested the nationality of the Greek protagonists, Glaucus and Ione; the Temple of Isis furnished the Egyptian High-Priest Arbaces, his acolyte Apæcides, and the priest Calenus. Excavated estates supplied the aristocratic class represented by Sallust, Diomedes, and Julia, while the lower ranks are populated by the gladiators Lyndon, Sporus, and Burbo, who animate skeletal remains preserved in the amphitheatre's barracks. The author emphasizes that the "characters, therefore, are the natural offspring of the scene and time" (vii-viii). Gell praised the novel for this reason. The archaeologist states in a letter,

I was highly flattered in my old age by Bulwers [sic] dedication of his Pompeii to me & think the Book itself is as well fitted to the place as circumstances permitted. I own I consider the
Tragic Poets [sic] house since I read the novel, as that of Glaucus & have peopled the other places with Bulwers [sic] inhabitants in my own mind which I believe is a proof that his Tale is judiciously applied to the locality. (dated 10 March 1835; Clay, 155)

Sanctioning Bulwer-Lytton's "judicious" correlation of the material and the imaginative accents a central aim of archaeological literature. The author appeals to science to lend integrity to historical fiction, while simultaneously seeking to satisfy the reader's desire to view archaeological antiquity through fiction.

The preface is, then, a theoretical layer that serves to introduce the reader to a kind of literature whose form imitates its archaeological origins. Bulwer-Lytton's archaeological romance is a synthesis of the dialectical tensions between material history and literary invention: the novel couples the romance with the guide book. The Last Days of Pompeii is, as it were, a narrative version of Pompeiana. With text in hand, the visitor (or armchair tourist) could find informative descriptions of sites that appear in the story: the Temple of Isis, Diomedes's Villa, the Forum, the "House of the Tragic Poet," the baths, and the amphitheatre. Keeping the artifice of the tale continually before the reader-tourist thus fosters narrative credibility, which is to say stability, by fostering the reader's expectation of "true"
history while simultaneously satisfying the conventions of the romance novel. This generic conflation is reminiscent of the Editor’s double role as antiquarian and social critic in *Past and Present*, through whose voice Jocelin’s text and the ruins buttress Carlyle’s subjective vision of the buried life of St. Edmundsbury.

Mary Shelley’s visit to Pompeii in 1843 was enhanced thus by *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Significantly, she relates that on her second tour the "city of the dead" became more alive and accessible to her imagination because of the novel. She writes,

Bulwer has peopled its silence. I have been reading his book, and I have felt on visiting the place much as if really it had once been full of stirring life, now that he has attributed names and possessors to its houses, passengers to its streets. Such is the power of imagination. It can not only give 'a local habitation and a name' to the airy creations of fancy, and the abstract ideas of the mind, but it can put a soul into stones, and hang the vivid interest of our passions and our hope upon objects otherwise vacant of name or sympathy . . . . [T]he account of its 'Last Days' has cast over it a more familiar garb, and peopled its deserted streets with associations that greatly add to their interest.

(qtd. in Dahl 1956, 191)
For Shelley, Pompeii assumes both a material and a narrative vitality through bonds of common "sympathy" forged between observer and observed. Just as Carlyle's criticism in *Past and Present* is grounded upon the physical "remains" of St. Edmundsbury—the ruins, the book, the corpse—Bulwer-Lytton's fidelity to the past as it remains before the traveller is a product of his desire to penetrate imaginatively to the "soul" latent within "stones." For Shelley, at least, Bulwer-Lytton gives Pompeii a local habitation and a name. Gell's and Shelley's assessments suggest the range of interest Bulwer-Lytton's novel held for the Victorians. For Gell, the tale succeeds because of its fidelity to the site, whereas for Shelley, the site is a springboard for the story. To "people its silence" the novelist encompasses both Gell's art of archaeological and architectural reconstruction and Shelley's ideal of imaginative characterization.

Carlyle's and Bulwer-Lytton's historical forays are indebted to Scott for teaching the maxim "that the bygone ages of the world were actually filled with living men." Carlyle argues in his 1838 essay on Scott that the romance in the hands of a Walter Scott can credibly restore the past from the sick-bed of Dryasdust antiquarianism to the living present. Standing on the shoulders of Scott, who had negotiated the spheres of science, history, and narrative, Bulwer-Lytton claims that his own historical romance elevates the past above the "'repulsive dryness of mere antiquity'" (ix; he quotes the
1817 dedicatory epistle to *Ivanhoe* [1: 24]). In Bulwer-Lytton's own words,

We understand any epoch of the world but ill if we do not examine its romance. There is as much truth in the poetry of life as in its prose . . . .

The intuitive spirit which infuses antiquity into ancient images is, perhaps, the true learning which a work of this nature requires (viii).

Indeed, he sees the romance form as a vehicle for raising the living past into present consciousness because it, according to Jenkyns, "humanized history" while "clothing it in history's seriousness and dignity" (1990, 83). As the novelist himself asserts,

No man who is thoroughly aware of what Prose Fiction has now become . . . can so far forget its connection with History, with Philosophy, with Politics--its utter harmony with Poetry and obedience to Truth--as to debase its nature to the level of scholastic frivolities: he raises scholarship to the creative, and does not bow the creative to the scholastic. (viii)

This statement--with its overtones of Ladislaw and Casaubon--certainly betrays defensiveness in the face of scholarly criticism, yet the novelist's authenticating paraphernalia also claims its uneasy allegiance.

Riding the coat-tails of Scott's pioneering work in
Waverley, Bulwer-Lytton in effect familiarizes archaeology through his characters and the romance narrative. Tempering scholarship with creativity, the archaeological romance form edifies through entertainment. According to Bulwer-Lytton, authors have failed to stimulate interest in classical times because "they have rather sought occasion to display erudition, than to show how the human heart beats the same, whether under the Grecian tunic or the Roman toga" (xi).³ Bulwer-Lytton applies the Scott touchstone to his own writing. Later in the novel he declares,

THE AFFECTIONS ARE IMMORTAL!--they are the sympathies which unite the ceaseless generations. The past lives again, when we look upon its emotions--it lives in our own! That which was, ever is! The magician's gift, that revives the dead--that animates the dust of forgotten graves, is not in the author's skill--it is in the heart of the reader! (169)

The author furthermore situates his novel within a tradition antedating Scott's romances. He furnishes an "archaeology" of literary forms: "romance itself, as we take it from the Middle Ages, owes much to Grecian fable. Many of the adventures of knight-errantry are borrowed either from the trials of Ulysses, or the achievements of Theseus" (xi-xii). Medieval literature is a convenient intermediary to the classical past, for with
the men and customs of the feudal time we have a natural sympathy and bond of alliance; those men were our own ancestors--from these customs we received our own--the creed of our chivalric fathers is still ours--their tombs yet consecrate our churches--the ruins of their castles yet frown over our valleys. We trace in their struggles for liberty and for justice our present institutions; and in the elements of their social state we behold the origin of our own. (v-vi)

Like Carlyle and Scott, Bulwer-Lytton emphasizes the bonds of sympathy between medieval and modern times through material objects lingering from the past. Whereas extant tombs and castles represent milestones in the development of present institutions and culture, "with the classical age," the author asserts, "we have no household and familiar associations" (vi). "Yet," he continues,

the enterprise . . . seemed to me worth attempting; and in the time and the scene I have chosen, much may be found to arouse the curiosity of the reader, and enlist his interest in the description of the author. It was the first century of our religion; it was the most civilised period of Rome; the conduct of the story lies amidst places whose relics we yet trace. (vi; my emphasis)

Bulwer-Lytton here shifts his focus from the material links
connecting present institutions and medieval edifices to those prefigured in classical antiquity. Like the reviewers responding to Layard, Bulwer-Lytton derives decidedly modern institutions from classical remains. Christian associations lie amongst the ruins of the Roman world. Indeed, resurrecting the "underground" Christian life "buried" under Roman art and architecture of the first century AD is the central subject of the book.

The author's use of "our" denotes deep-seated religious connections with the remote, archaeological past. Reading, too, is an act of excavation. The author states that from the ample materials before me, my endeavour has been to select those which would be most attractive to a modern reader;--the customs and superstitions least unfamiliar to him--the shadows that, when reanimated, would present to him such images as, while they represented the past, might be least uninteresting to the speculations of the present.

(vi)

The aesthetic and historical demands of both Gell and Scott are served here. Artifacts supply the atmospheric details that had initially begotten a taste for Pompeian rooms, interior decoration, vases and painting, while the motif of excavation--of digging into the ground of culture--promotes religious sympathies that unite the first and nineteenth centuries.
II. The Archaeology of Religion

Six worlds may lie under a sod, but to the common eye they are but six layers of stone. . .

[ ] Parable . . . takes the thought below the surface of the understanding to the deeper intelligence which the world rarely tasks. It is not sunlight on the water, it is a hymn chanted to the Nymph who harkens and wakes below.

--Bulwer-Lytton's *Zanoni* (405-06)

In *Past and Present*, the midnight exhumation and retrieval of St. Edmund by the twelve most worthy friars has decidedly ritualistic overtones. To Carlyle, the monks' commitment to celibacy, silence, and mortification of the flesh is a preparation for this one act, this healing communion with St. Edmund's uncorrupted body. In *The Last Days of Pompeii* the resurrection of Pompeii's religious life shares the ritualistic and doctrinal "undertones" of the Brothers' exhumation of their founder. Bulwer-Lytton's excavation of "the first century of our religion" buried along with Pompeii, represents a salubrious communion with and affirmation of the historical and doctrinal origins of Christianity. Indeed, archaeology and Christianity share basic aims: the paradoxical--or, in religious terms, mystical--affirmation of life through its resurrection from death. Bulwer-Lytton's archaeological and narrative resurrection of the first century of Christianity is a means at once of drawing (like Layard) on his reader's religious sympathies
and, at a deeper level, of penetrating back through the ages to a source of esoteric wisdom associated with the central tenet of Christianity itself: the mystery of life over death symbolized by the resurrection of Christ. It is in this sense that The Last Days of Pompeii enacts an archaeology of religion.

Bulwer-Lytton strives to re-create the rich, complex religious mosaic of the Hellenic world. In the novel the cult of Isis occupies the apex of Pompeii's state-sanctioned religious culture. The impressive temple ruins in Pompeii reflect the prominence of the cult of Isis in the Roman world. Its discovery aroused much interest for excavators and tourists alike. English Consul to Naples and art collector Sir William Hamilton was on hand during its initial excavation in 1765 (Fothergill 47; see Appendix A); his description in the 1786 report in Archaeologia (fig. 13) was a major source for Bulwer-Lytton's depiction of the temple, its mysterious rites, and the dynamic character of Arbaces, its high priest. Bulwer-Lytton incorporates into the novel Hamilton's description of the pedimental reliefs and arabesques displaying Egyptian religious symbols, sacrificial altars with carbonized remains of votive offerings, basalts inscribed with hieroglyphics, the central statue of Isis, and the intriguing statue of a figure with her forefinger to her lips, probably denoting the initiates' vow of silence and the silence associated with the mystical state. The word "mystical"
derives from the Greek root μείβειν, meaning "to close (the lips or eyes)" (Oxford English Dictionary 1933 ed.). Bulwer-Lytton also bases the character of the wicked priest Calenus on the ambassador's report. Hamilton notes finding a skeleton of a priest trying to escape the temple by hacking through a wall with an iron crowbar (167-68): Bulwer-Lytton metes out the same fate to his character.

The widespread appeal of Isis and other mystery cults in Pompeii is well documented in its extant paintings. Among the best known are the Dionysian rites of initiation depicted in the Villa of the Mysteries, which date from the first century (Godwin 1981, 37), and the sacrifices to Isis (figs. 14 and 15). Becoming one of the most widely disseminated Oriental religions of late antiquity, "Isis became the great thousand-named, universal goddess (panthea)" (Rudolph 235). That a temple of Isis was established in London at the end of the first century AD attests to the popularity of the cult in the Roman Empire (Griffiths 253).

Appendix B traces briefly the obscure and tangled history of mysticism and occultism as it bears on the novel. Egyptian philosophy, religion, and magic—as expressed in the cult of Isis and in Hermeticism—are crucial to Bulwer-Lytton's depiction of the religious life from which Christianity emerges. Furthermore, interest in and knowledge of ancient Egyptian religions were raised and fostered through archaeology itself. In the novel, Bulwer-Lytton, himself a
student of occultism (see Appendix B), uses it to complement the archaeological focus on ruins and remains: the occultist origin of Christianity is, as it were, the novel's sub-text. In fact, the word "occult" itself bears etymological connections to archaeology. Its Latin root occulere, "to cover over, hide, conceal" (Oxford English Dictionary 1933 ed.) carries the sense of archaeological "mystery": the search beneath the surface for a source of buried meaning. Here, in a famous archaeological site, we have an archaeological metaphor: arcane religion. The novel's occultist undercurrent is central to Bulwer-Lytton's archaeologically based representation of Pompeii's historical and religious climate and its emergent Christian subculture.

Arbaces is explicitly identified with Hermeticism: the Saga (or witch) of Vesuvius recognizes him by his "rightful appellation" as "Hermes of the Burning Girdle" (228). From "the cultivators of magic," the narrator relates, he received the "mystic appellation, and was long remembered in Magna Graecia and the Eastern plains by the name of 'Hermes, the Lord of the Flaming Belt'" (145). In an appendix to the novel, Bulwer-Lytton states that his previous designs were to have "initiated the reader into the various sorceries of the period" (425; my emphasis); yet the author leaves the "subtler magic [Arbaces] possesses to rest in mystery and shadow" (425). Though couched in a thin veil of secrecy, these rhetorical asides are nonetheless keys that unlock the deep
meaning of the text. The novel, despite Bulwer-Lytton's disclaimer, is indeed an "initiation" of the reader into the hidden life below the ruins, the ancient mysteries of the Hellenic world and their close association with early Christianity.

The principle of initiation is important for Bulwer-Lytton's depiction of religion and occultism in *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Central to both theosophical teaching and Christianity, initiation into secret wisdom symbolizes a return to origins through a *gnosis* of the transcendant principle (or God). In mystery religions such as those of Isis and Eleusis the desired end of ritual initiation is palingenesis, a spiritual metamorphosis into a state of salvation. The physical act of initiation usually takes place underground after a symbolic journey and search for wisdom hidden beneath the "surface" of mundane life. The Eleusinian mysteries, for example, enact the story of Demeter searching for the abducted Persephone; the aspiring neophyte descends to a dark, underground chamber (*katabasis*), where he or she wanders in a state of confusion (*dromena*), before achieving theophanic illumination (*epopteia*) through a symbolic resurrection from the grave. The Isis initiation similarly re-enacts the story of Isis searching for her disembodied brother/husband Osiris, who, like Persephone, is associated with the seasons, the dead, and agriculture; Mozart's *Magic Flute*, whose mixture of Egyptian and Masonic symbolism is
analogous to Bulwer-Lytton's novel, also enacts this pattern of ritual initiation. As in Carlyle's ritualistic forays into the past hidden below the ruins of St. Edmundsbury with the aid of Jocelin's lost and recovered text, archaeological digging--both into the ground and into the life hidden in ruins and relics--conveys the sense of initiation. In the archaeological text, characters literally or figuratively descend to the underworld.

There are several initiates in the novel. Arbaces introduces his young neophyte, Ione's brother Apaecides, into the true hermetic mysteries of Isis that lie beyond the pale of its unenlightened and superstitious worshippers, who are attracted merely to its public ceremonies and oracles. As Arbaces says, "for those like you, whose higher natures demand higher pursuit, religion opens more godlike secrets" (64). Ultimately, "he led the young priest ... to those of his mysterious wisdom. He bared to his amazed eyes the initiatory secrets of the sombre philosophy of the Nile--those secrets plucked from the stars" (117).

Arbaces's creeds carry political overtones as well. Through arcane philosophy and magic, Arbaces seeks to revive the political might of Egypt, of which only a shadow of its wisdom survives, disseminated and mingled with Hellenic religions throughout the Roman Empire. Disdainful of the Roman world, Arbaces naturally champions Egypt as the cradle of all learning and civilization. As he says to his acolyte,
From Egypt came all the knowledge of the world; from Egypt came the lore of Athens, and the profound policy of Crete; from Egypt came those early and mysterious tribes which . . . possessed all the arts of wisdom and the graces of intellectual life. From Egypt came the rites and the grandeur of that solemn Caere, whose inhabitants taught their iron vanquishers of Rome all they yet know of elevated in religion and sublime in worship. . . . Your modern nations owe their greatness to Egypt--Egypt her greatness to her priests. (61-62)

The anxieties arising from perceived disparities between a noble past and a debased present (which also pervade the writings of Carlyle and Scott) infuse the Egyptian's own sense of identity. And through these disparities--articulated in his "layered" rhetoric of cultural evolution--Bulwer-Lytton creates conditions under which the even remoter antiquity of Egypt bears on the present world of the novel. He manipulates the notion of arcane knowledge handed down through the centuries to create a historically dynamic character in Arbaces. His character emerges from the rich spiritual and political forms manifested in edifices such as the Temple of Isis. In each of the texts discussed in this thesis, levels or strata of history rather than a single historical reality have a bearing on the characters' sense of identity. Major characters are archaeological sites whose explorations of the
past are also excavations of their composite historical identities.

Like Bulwer-Lytton the archaeological novelist, Arbaces the theosophist wishes to restore the underground and dead life of Egypt. He couples religious revivalism with schemes for political resurrection: the Egyptian "loved to keep alive the worship of Egypt, because he thus maintained the shadow and the recollection of her power" (147). Arbaces's "heart's Isis" (49) is Ione, the Neapolitan of Greek ancestry whom the Egyptian desires as a fitting mate to found his "new old" empire. Like Arbaces's character, Ione's "stratified" heritage reaches into the depths of Pompeii's composite historical identity. To both Arbaces and Bulwer-Lytton, Ione is a vehicle for bringing to bear the undertextures of Pompeii's deep-rooted culture.

Arbaces's search for origins is not realised by reviving the creeds of ancient Egypt. The occultist quest for truth is fulfilled, rather, by the emergent Christians who are themselves on the verge of founding their own empire based on the tenets of Scripture. The archaeological foundation of Bulwer-Lytton's Pompeii lends historical authority to the narrative and a conceptual framework through which the author searches for first principles amongst the ruins of Pompeii: the origins of Christianity in the rich and multifarious religious climate of the Hellenic period.

Arbaces himself is an unwitting but articulate medium
connecting Hellenic religion, and its Egyptian correlativest to Christianity. He says to Apæcides that Christianity
"is but a borrowed plagiarism from one of the many allegories invented by our priests of old. Observe," he added, pointing to a hieroglyphical scroll,—"observe in these ancient figures the origin of the Christian's Trinity. Here are also three gods--the Deity, the Spirit, and the Son."
(118)

To the Egyptian, Christianity is merely one outgrowth from Egyptian lore, bastardized through its diffusion in the Mediterranean and Middle East. Egyptian learning has, he continues,

furnished to credulous nations the materials of many creeds. They have travelled to the vast plains of India; they have mixed themselves up in the visionary speculations of the Greek: becoming more and more gross and embodied, as they emerge farther from the shadows of their antique origin, they have assumed a human and palpable form in this novel faith; and the believers of Galilee are but the unconscious repeaters of one of the superstitions of the Nile! (118-19)

The narrator adds, however, that the "believer will draw from this vague coincidence a very different corollary from that of the Egyptian" (118). Yet the diffusion of Egyptian culture
and learning was a serious theory accounting for the origins and growth of western civilization (see chapter 7). Despite Bulwer-Lytton's disclaimer, in *The Last Days of Pompeii* the new "cult" arises from old forms related to Arbaces's theosophical vision, thus linking at a deep level the lore of ancient Egypt with "the first century of our religion." Arbaces's reference to the tripartite divinity attests that Egyptian religion adumbrates or prefigures Christianity.

Arbaces's acolyte Apæcides, an initiate into both the worlds of Isis and of Christianity, bridges the outward disparities of both communities. He is attracted to the Egyptian mysticism of Isis and, likewise, to the mystical Christian doctrine of salvation through the death and the resurrection of Christ. Like Arbaces, the young initiate is an instrument through which the novelist presents the early pagan roots of Christianity. Both are cults of death, whose initiates claim association with the divine force which lies beyond the grave, as ritualized in the mysteries of Isis, Eleusis, and Christianity.

In "The Congregation," an important chapter describing the creeds and practices of the early Christians, Apæcides muses upon the Christian trope of death and rebirth familiar to the pagan mind:

Had not the great Dorian Apollo expiated a mystic sin by descending to the grave? . . . It seemed therefore, to the heathen, a doctrine neither new
nor strange, that Christ had been sent from heaven, that an immortal had induced mortality, and tasted the bitterness of death. (175)

In effect, Apæcides sees in the Christian faith the actualization of Arbaces's mysticism:

the deities of old had visited the nether world, and passed through the gates of death! Was it not worthy of a God to descend to these dim valleys, in order to clear up the clouds gathered over the dark mount beyond--to satisfy the doubts of sages--to convert speculation into certainty--by example to point out the rules of life--by revelation to solve the enigma of the grave--and to prove that the soul did not yearn in vain when it dreamed of an immortality? (175-76, my emphasis)

Similar imagery and signification surround Apæcides's conversion to Christianity. He is led to the gathering place by Olinthus, the main expositor of Christianity in the novel. They reach through a "labyrinth of lanes" (178) a house secreted away from Pompeii's bustling life. There Olinthus "knocked thrice" upon the door, whereupon "Apæcides followed his guide across the threshold" (178). The symbolism of Apæcides's journey symbolizes the tripartite structure of an initiation rite: the descent, wandering, and emergence into communion with the divine. He "descends" physically through the labyrinthine passages of Pompeii's Dickensian underworld
of poverty and crime, a symbolic reenactment of the vegetation deity's underworld descent; crossing the threshold is a trope for stepping beyond the familiar and conventional to the higher mysteries. Apæcides emerges from the gathering an initiate into the Christian mysteries. He is figuratively reborn, experiencing a metamorphosis of spirit akin to the death and resurrection of Christ. Physical death is to the archaeologist and the Christian the medium of resurrection. As Olinthus entreats Glaucus, "we can trample down the darkness of the grave, and what is death to a criminal is eternity to the Christian" (179).

Apæcides's conversion is sanctioned by a member of the congregation who has dwelt with Christ and has, moreover, firsthand experience of the grave, namely Lazarus. The presence of the aged biblical figure draws together Bulwer-Lytton's handling of the twin motifs of archaeology and religion in his animation of the "city of the dead." Lazarus experiences the mystery of life over death both in a physical and a spiritual sense. Having drawn "a new being from the grave" (274), he is the physical witness of the verity of Olinthus's sermons, much as Pompeii's ruins are to the archaeologist the physical witness to the spirit of the Hellenic past.

Arbaces's mystical creeds and his plans for empire-founding shift to the nascent Christians, "these lowly men destined to convert the earth" (176). The eruption of
Vesuvius signals political and religious revolution: the destructive yet cleansing underground force wells to the surface, ushering in the new faith. Olinthus is an apocalyptic figure, "one of those hardy, vigorous, and enthusiastic men, by whom God in all times has worked the revolutions of the earth" (81). At the novel's climax two distinct views or images of history coalesce. The archaeological timeframe, represented by the sense of deep continuity stretching over the ages between the modern world and an antiquity extending to the Hellenic world and beyond to ancient Egypt, fuses with a revolutionary, spontaneous, alchemical reaction that precipitates Christianity.

While the kind of intransigent Christianity espoused by Olinthus and his followers is a necessary catalyst in the conversion of pagans into Christians, the zealots nevertheless perish in the post-revolutionary calm. A gentler vision of Christianity prevails, incarnate in Glaucus and Ione, who convert after their successful escape from Pompeii. Theirs is a decidedly nineteenth-century version of Christianity, one which eschews the "zeal of the early Christians" (242), for whom it "was necessary to scorn, to loathe, to abhor the creeds of other men, in order to conquer the temptations which they presented" (242). Bulwer-Lytton distinguishes thus between Olinthus and the aged Lazarus, "snatched from the grave to become the living witness of [Christ's] mercy," as well as "His power" (181).
The balanced Hellenic temperament--celebrated in the nineteenth century by Pater and Arnold--infuses the Greeks' new worship. As Glaucus says, "some mixture of the soft Greek blood still mingles with my faith. I can share not the zeal of those who see crime and eternal wrath in men who cannot believe as they" (419). The Hellenizing vigour of Athens--"mother of the Poetry and the Wisdom of the World" (418)--tempers their religious beliefs. And Ione in a sense does fulfil her role as the mother of a new race, one which mingle Greek humanism with the creeds of salvation through Christ. The eruption of Vesuvius washes away the sinister implications of the past--both Arbaces's black magic and Olinthus's bigotry--while preserving the best of the ages that culminate in (as Bulwer-Lytton would have it) the best of all possible cultural and spiritual worlds, the legacy to the nineteenth century.

In The Last Days of Pompeii Bulwer-Lytton develops a myth of history based on the paradigm of cyclic death and rebirth to resurrect the spiritual life hidden amidst the ruins of Pompeii. In 1834, this literary historical treatment of Pompeii represented a decidedly Victorian understanding of archaeology. Re-creators and dilettantes before him viewed Pompeii through the lens of contemporary taste; Bulwer-Lytton's novel appeals directly to his readers' desire to wander with the characters through the ancient city or, likewise, to experience something of the grandeur in ruin
itself. Yet the novelist also sought the historical life the ruins and relics housed (much like Winckelmann before him; see Appendix A). He reclaimed the material past out of a literary need to make familiar Pompeii's vanished life for his readership: writing for a market for whom Scott was staple reading, Bulwer-Lytton endeavoured to depict the everyday life of the ancients and, moreover, their own sense of historical identity. On one level, The Last Days of Pompeii is a romance constructed upon the popularity of the archaeological site among tourists, artists, and antiquarians and archaeologists, but its "hidden" narrative is the retrieval of contemporary forms of worship that took their first breath amidst the rich syncretic landscape of the Hellenic world. The ruins are a medium--in the archaeological and spiritualist sense--through which the living contact the dead.

* * *

The publication of Nineveh and Its Remains in 1849 falls roughly between The Last Days of Pompeii and Pater's 1867 essay, "Winckelmann." A touchstone for the archaeological trope, Layard's text illumines fundamental similarities of, and essential differences between, Bulwer-Lytton's and Pater's archaeological forays into the Hellenic world. The religious tenor of Layard's excavations is central to both texts. Just as Layard and the British public located a body of Scriptural reference in the monuments of ancient Assyria, Bulwer-Lytton
and Pater evoke deep-seated religious associations from the remains of the classical world. As in *Past and Present*, ruins house a hidden life, the spiritual conditions of humanity in former ages. To these Victorian writers, excavation is tantamount to revivalism.

In animating the "city of the dead," Bulwer-Lytton dramatizes a distinctly modern form of worship. In the concluding action of *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Christianity rises triumphant from the ashes of Ione's and Glaucus's pagan world. Pater likewise unearths a nexus of spiritual value from the classical age. He, however, embraces paganism manifest in the aesthetic forms of Greek material culture. Ancient art is for Pater a touchstone of, to use Wilde's term, modernity. The periodic "return" to Greece (as in the Renaissance) is an excavation of the latent humanism that ministers to and corrects the aesthetic and thereby moral sensibilities of subsequent ages. Pater promotes for his age the pre-Christian paganism Bulwer-Lytton's characters leave behind. That archaeology is a vehicle for both positions emphasizes the present-mindedness of archaeological interpretation typified by the response to *Nineveh and Its Remains* by its Victorian readership.
1. *Pompeiana* ran into many editions (1817-19, 1821, 1824, and 1852). Gell was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Society, and a member of the Royal Academy of Berlin and of the Institute of France (Clay vii). For biographical information on Gell see Clay (1-36) and for a history of the Society of Dilettanti, Cust and Stoneman (110-35).

2. Roughly two-thirds of the account was printed by Lockhart. The *Reminiscences* are published in full by Needler from Gell's copy.

3. In his preface to the 1850 edition Bulwer-Lytton is ready, however, to claim solidarity with scholars in order to consolidate the historical validity of his novel. He invokes the German classicists: the "profound scholarship of German criticism, which has given so minute an attention to the domestic life of the ancients, has sufficiently testified to the general fidelity with which the manners, habits, and customs, of the inhabitants of Pompeii have been described in these pages" (xi).

5. Bulwer-Lytton comments on the sense of continuity between the pagan gods, cult life, and Christianity: "[s]o abundant was belief with them, that . . . at this hour, idolatry has never thoroughly been out rooted: it changes but its objects of worship; it appeals to innumerable saints where once it resorted to divinities; and it pours its crowds, in listening reverence, to oracles at the shrines of St. Januarius or St. Stephen, instead of to those of Isis or Apollo" (195).

6. The "essence of . . . initiatory rites . . . consist in a simulation of death and resurrection" (Frazer 692).
CHAPTER 6

Exhuming Hellenic Graves: Archaeology and Renascence in Walter Pater's The Renaissance and Greek Studies

Over and over again the world has been surprised by the heroism, the insight, the passion, of [the Diaphaneitê's] clear crystal nature. Poetry and political history have dreamed of a crisis, where it must needs be that some human victim be sent down into the grave.

--"Diaphaneitê" (Miscellaneous Studies 258)

Walter Pater states that his inspiration for The Renaissance was in part his fascination with the compelling renascence of Hellenic vitality that distinguished the work and lives of his subjects. While his emphasis lies in the "solemn fifteenth century" (xxiii), his study of the poetry of thirteenth-century Provençal troubadours and the writings of eighteenth-century German art historian and "Father of Archaeology" Johann Joachim Winckelmann demonstrates that for him the Renaissance ranges temporally and geographically beyond quattrocento Italy. Pater appreciates the revival of classical antiquity as both historical phenomenon and aesthetic ideal: Hellenism is a substratum that has been tapped from time to time to stimulate minds and rejuvenate culture. A central motif of The Renaissance is the resurrection of the Greek spirit from its shadowy netherworld. Pater's Renaissance men have ventured forth into the realms of the dead, as it were, and returned to give material and intellectual substance to this Greek spirit through their art
and thought. For the figures of the Renaissance and for Pater himself, the access to the spirit of a past age is through its aesthetic revival.

Seen in this way, Pater's notion of renascence is the periodic revival of forms associated with ancient Greece, of which the Renaissance is one instance. As in the historical narratives of Carlyle, Scott, and Bulwer-Lytton, archaeology provided Pater with both a hermeneutic tool and a nexus of metaphors for exploring and articulating the underground agents of culture. Classical archaeology is an authenticating vehicle for Pater's "elegant materialism," as Margaret Oliphant phrased it in her review of *The Renaissance* (91). Through the aesthetic evocation of the "buried fire of ancient art" (*Renaissance* 146), Pater aspired to rekindle the Renaissance celebration of the Hellenic world. As Oliphant observed, the practical aim of *The Renaissance* was to show "what Greek--not the language but the tone of mind and condition of thought, taken up a thousand years or so too late, on the top of a long heritage of other thoughts and conditions--may bring Oxford to" (90).

Over the thirteen years separating the publication in 1867 of "Winckelmann" in *The Westminster Review* (reprinted in *The Renaissance* in 1873) and the two *Fortnightly Review* essays of 1880, "The Beginnings of Greek Sculpture" and "The Marbles of Ægina" (reprinted posthumously in *Greek Studies* in 1895), Pater found in archaeology a medium for articulating the
Hellenic legacy to the modern world.

I. Biographical Archaeology in "Winckelmann"

Since the first tentative excavations at Herculaneum in 1709, sculpture had been prized by eighteenth and nineteenth-century dilettantes as the quintessential expression of Greek material culture. Early classical archaeology grew largely out of the European taste and quest for statuary. As outlined in Appendix A, however, the writings of Johann Joachim Winckelmann initiated a new era of archaeological thought based on historical appreciation of the monuments of the Hellenic world, seemingly "reserved," as the anonymous English translator of Winckelmann's letters on Herculaneum stated in 1770, "by the Omnipotent Disposer of all things, for the instruction and improvement of the present century" (qtd. in Hawkes 2: 211). A century later, one of Winckelmann's chief expositors, Walter Pater, delivered a series of six lectures on archaic Greek art at Oxford (Michaelmas Term, 1878) for the instruction and improvement of his students. Lewis Farnell, an Oxford classicist with interests in archaeology (Farnell 77ff), records in his memoirs that Pater was the first lecturer at Oxford to combine classical literature with the study of Greek artifacts themselves:

This itself was an epoch in the history of Oxford studies; for he was the first to give . . . practical expression to the idea that Greek art was
a fitting lecture-subject for a classical teacher.

To this extent . . . we may call him the father of archaeological teaching in Oxford. (76-77)

Pater revised and published the lectures in 1880 as "The Beginnings of Greek Sculpture" and "The Marbles of Ægina."

Farnell continues to say that "these lectures were wholly 'unscientific'--in the German sense" (77). This echo of Will Ladislaw's criticism of Casaubon's "Key to All Mythologies" is a revealing statement for Pater's understanding and use of archaeology. While Pater was, according to Farnell, the "father" of archaeological teaching, his lectures, as they come down in Greek Studies, are highly impressionistic and subjective in contrast to the scholarly, scientific classicism typified by the linguists, philologists, mythographers, and archaeologists such as Karl Ottfried Müller, Barthold Niebuhr, and Ludwig Preller. Pater's writings on Greek art are an aesthete's response to the breakthrough into Greek prehistory inaugurated by Schliemann's excavations at Troy (1870-73) and Mycenae (1874-76) and to the excavations of early Greek sites by Charles Newton at Cnidus (1857) and by English and German expeditions at Ægina and Olympia. Though decidedly impressionistic, Pater's lectures are rooted in artifact study of the remains of Greece in its pre- and early historic manifestations.

The foundation of Pater's archaeological impressionism is his 1867 essay on the "father of archaeology" himself,
Winckelmann. Winckelmann's own aesthetically charged "rhetoric of retrieval" in his groundbreaking *History of Ancient Art* (1764-67) is the cornerstone of Pater's *The Renaissance* and his subsequent writings on Greek art. Winckelmann's *History*, like *The Renaissance*, combined history and aesthetics. In its four volumes he charts the origins, rise, flourishing, and eventual decay of Greek art; through his descriptions of ancient artworks within this taxonomy he sought to penetrate and elucidate the very "cause" (1: 108) of ancient beauty. Pater's similar object in *The Renaissance* is to "define beauty, not in the most abstract but in the most concrete terms possible" (xix). In "Winckelmann" Pater elicits the Hellenic sensibilities incarnate in the German, who, as the first classical archaeologist, discussed in concrete terms the achievements of the ancients. In his biography, Pater adopts Winckelmann's brand of aesthetic archaeology. Pater asserts that the "key to the understanding of the Greek spirit, Winckelmann possessed in his own nature, itself like a relic of classical antiquity, laid open by accident to our alien, modern atmosphere" (175). Winckelmann thus becomes in Pater's hands an excavation site; aesthetic biography, a tool for digging up the Greek legacy to the modern world.

Winckelmann's letters on the excavations at Herculaneum (see Appendix A) and his dreams of excavating at Olympia reveal a strong interest in the excavational side of
archaeology. His lasting contribution to the field was, however, to systematize archaeology within the field of art history, thus transforming the treasure hunt for classical art into a study of art as historical artifact. Classifying artworks into historical epochs, he created a "system," as he says in the preface (1: 106). From the materials collected chiefly in Rome he inquired into the material and aesthetic causes generating the art of Greece, Etruria, and Egypt. He pursued, he says, the "essential of art ... its interior" (1: 106). Evoking this interiority, Winckelmann tracked the material expression of Greek beauty and temperament.

While classical archaeology, relates Philippa Levine, "remained primarily aesthetic in method, and excavations lay largely dormant until late in the century" (97), Winckelmann's aestheticism nevertheless liberated the artifact from biographical criticism (a precedent set by Giorgio Vasari's The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects [1550]) and from the study of iconographical motifs and textual sources (Potts 1994, 14). He conceived of a history of art in which classical sculpture was classified historically within four "style" periods: ancient, grand, beautiful, and imitative (2: 115-170). Winckelmann thus pioneered both a language and an historical scheme that allowed scholars and archaeologists to apprehend classical sculpture as a product of historical forces, for he attributed "style" to the cultural and political climate of its
producers. Winckelmann, as Malina aptly relates, by focusing on the potential information contained in the artefacts of material culture (on this basis he created the notion of style and described its evolution), was responsible for the birth of modern classical archaeology. This practice helped to establish the status of material culture as a valuable and effective form of evidence, which can be used not only to support written records, but in its own right. (27)

Central to Pater's thought, Winckelmann's system was cyclic, postulating, in Paterean terms, "renascence" as an historical/aesthetic law. Winckelmann's "over-all historical review," states Howard, "recalled cyclic and ontological schemes of antiquity descended from Hesiod and Plato, then being revived by Vico, Scaliger, Gibbon, and, subsequently, Herder" (30). In this respect, Winckelmann's history was a major stimulus of eighteenth-century neoclassicism, which strove like the artists of the Renaissance to resurrect in art the Greek mood in the modern world. In the wake of The History of Ancient Art, a form of high Neoclassicism was institutionalized that picked up on Winckelmann's representation of the 'Baroque' and 'Rococo' art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as fundamentally corrupt, the product of a tradition in decline. The purer
classicism of the late eighteenth century, represented by artists such as Canova and David, was hailed in Winckelmannic terms as a radical renovation or revival of art based on a return to a true classical ideal. Winckelmann's elaborately conceived picture of the rise and decline of the Greek ideal in the ancient world acquired a whole new resonance as it came to be linked in this way to an understanding of art in the present. (Potts 1994, 21)

Winckelmann's ability to effect as well as theorize upon Hellenic renascence as a touchstone of Western culture made him in Pater's eyes the "last fruit of the Renaissance" (xxv).

To elucidate his theory of stylistic periodicity, Winckelmann also developed a new kind of art history that relied on the aesthetic description of the object under scrutiny (Malina 24). His aesthetic impressionism aimed to liberate the "indwelling soul" (49) of great art as a living and vital force in the life and consciousness of the observer. Winckelmann proposes in his "Essay on the Beautiful" (1763) that the "capacity of perceiving beauty in art is a concept which combines both the person and the object, the containing and the contained" (89), for the "true feeling for beauty is like a liquid plaster cast which is poured over the head of Apollo, touching every single part and enclosing it" (93). The transformative effect of studying art aesthetically ushers
in, in Paterean terms, personal renascence through a life of sensation. As Goethe remarked to Johann Peter Eckermann, "we learn nothing by reading Winckelmann, but we become something" (qtd. in Honour 58; Pater also cites this part of Goethe's essay [147]).

As the title of Winckelmann's early essay "On the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks" (1755) suggests, art and art criticism are media for the transformative meeting of past and present. Winckelmann asserts unequivocally that "[f]or us, the only way to become great and even, if possible, inimitable, is by imitation of the ancients" (qtd. in Honour 61). This paradoxical statement is the core of Winckelmann's treatment of ancient Greece as the bedrock of Western culture. Greece is inimitable and is, therefore, worthy of imitation; only through imitation of Greece can the modern age itself become "inimitable." Greek art was particular to Greek history, yet, as Potts states, Winckelmann "was quite explicit that his overriding purpose in defining a new history of ancient art was to prepare the way for a true revival of the Greek ideal in the present" (1994, 23). Or as Fried puts it, "a desire not only to locate but actually to renew a lost origin is everywhere in play in 'Reflections on the Imitation of the Poetry and Sculpture of the Ancient Greeks'" (87).

Winckelmann argues that the impulse to imitate antiquity is itself a mark of cultural excellence. To Winckelmann and
Pater the great age of imitation was the Italian Renaissance. As Winckelmann says, "[w]ith such eyes Michelangelo [and] Raphael . . . considered the performances of the ancients. They imbied taste at its source" ("Imitation" 61). In Fried's words, the artists of the Renaissance "pursued to a triumphant conclusion the Winckelmannian project of imitating the ancient Greeks and so made themselves inimitable, hence deserving of imitation, in their own right" (92). Imitation of Greece is, in this view, an historical, cyclic phenomenon that can occur under proper aesthetic conditions. Winckelmann's vision of late eighteenth-century archaeology picked up where the Renaissance artists left off. Excavation provided physical materials; Winckelmann, an interpretive system that encouraged the evocation of antiquity for the edification of the modern world.

The rich visual dimension of Winckelmann's historical scheme, moreover, bequeathed a stylistic legacy to Pater's own impressionistic criticism in The Renaissance. Winckelmann's famous set pieces on the great works of Greek sculpture—especially the Vatican's Apollo Belvedere and Torso, Laocoön, and Niobe and her Daughter—are surely models for Pater's own lyrical historicism. As Haskell states, it "was Winckelmann's great poetic passages . . . which made the most immediate impact and which were soon imitated, plagiarized (and eventually derided) in numerous guidebooks and travel diaries" (100).
mystical response to—and union with—the Apollo Belvedere (fig. 16), which to him consummated the high Greek love of physical beauty:

This Apollo exceeds all other figures of him as much as the Apollo of Homer excels him whom later poets paint. . . . An eternal spring . . . clothes with the charms of youth the graceful manliness of ripened years, and plays with softness and tenderness about the proud shape of his limbs. Let thy spirit penetrate into the kingdom of incorporeal beauties, and strive to become a creator of a heavenly nature. . . . In the presence of this miracle of art I forget all else, and I myself take a lofty position for the purpose of looking upon it in a worthy manner. (2: 312-13)

For Pater, such "lofty," poetic passages "opened the door to subjective criticism and impressionistic verbal evocations" (Honour 61). Winckelmann is the father of aesthetic criticism as well as of archaeology: for Pater, the German art historian is himself an object of imitation. Pater's famous "prose poem" occasioned by La Gioconda is, for example, an aesthetic masterpiece in the Winckelmannian mode. And like Winckelmann, Pater was convinced that the full appreciation of great art must waken the same beauty and nobility in the soul of the beholder. In his celebration of aestheticism in the (in)famous "Conclusion" to The Renaissance, he submits that
"art comes to you proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake" (190).

Like Goethe, Pater "classes [Winckelmann] with certain works of art, possessing an inexhaustible gift of suggestion" (141). Winckelmann is an intermediary to the Greek world, a stratum in the accumulation of culture. Embodying Paterean continuities connecting the modern world to the aesthetic domain of classical times, he is a "peak" standing in relief against the general ground of culture, whose base lies in the ideal topography of antiquity (159). Unlike the other figures of the quattrocento Renaissance, whose works of art participate in, continue, and affirm Greek sensibilities, Winckelmann was a critic and scholar. For this reason Winckelmann has a special affinity with Pater, for whom aesthetic criticism calls up the spirit of the past. By aesthetically reconstituting the German art historian—a "relic" from the eighteenth century—for the nineteenth-century reader, Pater himself seeks, as Hegel had earlier maintained of Winckelmann, "'to initiate a new organ for the human spirit'" (141).10

In his biographical treatment of the German, Pater records in archaeological terms the formation of Winckelmann's stratified nature. The essay rarely strays from material concerns. Pater emphasizes Winckelmann's "eagerness actually to handle the antique" (143): so "we hear of Winckelmann's
boyish antiquarian wanderings among the ugly Brandenburg sandhills" (143). Pater notes that "in born antiquaries, like Winckelmann, a constant handling of the antique . . . maintains that limitation [to the concrete] as effectually as a critical philosophy" (145). Pater further observes the "native tendency of Winckelmann to escape from abstract theory to intuition, to the exercise of sight and touch" (147). Having at length arrived in Rome under the patronage of collector Cardinal Albani,11

Suddenly he is in contact with that life, still fervent in the relics of plastic art. Filled as our culture is with the classical spirit, we can hardly imagine how deeply the human mind was moved, when, at the Renaissance, in the midst of a frozen world, the buried fire of ancient art rose up from under the soil. Winckelmann . . . reproduces for us the earlier sentiment of the Renaissance. On a sudden the imagination feels itself free. How facile and direct, it seems to say, is this life of the senses and the understanding, when once we have apprehended it! (146; my emphases)

Winckelmann's life and work are examples of Pater's famous aesthetic dictum that "to burn always with this hard, gem-like flame" (189) is to engage, resurrect, and perpetuate the aesthetic formation of culture from its underground sources. Pater invokes the underground strata of cultural
experience that Winckelmann seemingly absorbs into his being. For the archaeologist, "from a few stray antiquarianisms, a few faces cast up sharply from the waves, Winckelmann . . . divines the temperament of the antique world" (166). Winckelmann bears witness to the archaeological proximity of the modern world to all the ages. As in the Stothards' engraving and Past and Present, penetrating to the underground effects exhumation and resurrection. Pater asserts that the spiritual forces of the past, which have prompted and informed the culture of a succeeding age, live, indeed, within that culture, but with an absorbed, underground life. The Hellenic element alone has not been so absorbed, or content with this underground life; from time to time it has started to the surface; culture has been drawn back to its sources to be clarified and corrected. Hellenism is not merely an absorbed element in our intellectual life; it is a conscious tradition in it. (158)

In The Renaissance, Winckelmann assumes an almost mythical role as the interpreter and articulator of culture's subterranean life. Pater sought through Winckelmann to initiate a spirit of inquiry that would broaden and lighten the mind through a cultivation and perpetuation of the Greek ideal. "Renascence" is really a trope for the affirmation of culture as an historically "layered" entity reaching back to
the classical world. For Pater illustrates through
Winckelmann that there is
an element of permanence, a standard of taste, which
genius confesses. . . . The supreme artistic
products of succeeding generations . . . form a
series of elevated points, taking each from each the
reflection of a strange light, the source of which is
not in the atmosphere around and above them, but in
a stage of society remote from ours. The standard
of taste, then, was fixed in Greece, at a definite
historical period. A tradition for all succeeding
generations, it originates in a spontaneous growth
out of the influences of Greek society. (159)
In "Winckelmann" Pater treats aesthetic forms as historical
forms: each is a link in the chain of human and humanistic
development connecting us with the liberal and liberating
celebration of humanity in Greek culture.

Greek sculpture in particular incarnates this humanism.
Harking back to Winckelmann's History, Pater asserts that the
"art of sculpture records the first naive, unperplexed
recognition of man by himself" (170), for it exhibits
"[e]verywhere . . . the effect of an awakening, of a child's
sleep just disturbed. . . . Fresh, unperplexed, it is the
image of man as he springs first from the sleep of nature, his
white light taking no colour from any one-sided experience"
(174-75). The emergence of Greek humanity incarnate in Greek
sculpture has an archaeological analogue for Pater in the modern exhumation of these interred, white, human forms from the earth. Antique sculpture has, states Pater, "a touch of the corpse about it" (179). The marbles "wander as the spectres of the middle age" (179), for at the onset of the Renaissance "there came . . . an aspiration towards that lost antique art, some relics of which Christian art had buried in itself, ready to work wonders when their day came" (180). Reminiscent of exhumations in Past and Present, The Antiquary, and The Last Days of Pompeii, sepulchral language haunts Pater's archaeological strategy. In The Renaissance, Pater invokes Renaissance men to flesh out his theory of renascence, for their art gave corporeal substance to the cultural continuum.

II. Sculpture and Vampirism in "Michelangelo" and "Leonardo da Vinci"

Looking backward through the lens of Winckelmann's eighteenth-century art history, Pater focuses upon the achievements of the Italian Renaissance proper. While the poetry of Michelangelo and paintings of Georgione and Leonardo embody the Renaissance "outbreak of the human spirit" (xxii), sculpture retains for Pater the freshness and humanity that Winckelmann worshipped in Greek statuary, the "unperplexed youth of humanity . . . still red with life in the grave" (167). The "Greek ideal expressed itself preeminently in
sculpture" (167), which, Pater argues, "deals immediately with man" (168). Pater explores how this sculptural "store for the spirit" (167) was tapped in particular by Michelangelo.

Pater views the process of sculpting itself as a metaphor for the creation of human form from the raw elements, the stone and the clay. Renaissance "sculpture shares with the paintings of Botticelli and the churches of Brunelleschi that profound expressiveness, that intimate impress of an indwelling soul, which is the peculiar fascination of the art of Italy in [the fifteenth] century" (49). As Winckelmann had eschewed contemporary dilettantism to locate a source of morality in Greek art, Pater, in studying a life, an object, an historical epoch, also delved "below the surface" to "bring up the supposed secondary, or still more remote meaning" (26). For example, to Michelangelo, "lover and student of Greek sculpture as he was," Pater says, "work which did not bring what was inward to the surface, which was not concerned with individual expression, with individual character and feeling, the special history of the special soul, was not worth doing at all" (52). Sculpting, like excavating, is a digging and releasing of the life buried in the earth.

This dual sense of penetration and emergence is manifest in the peculiar style of Michelangelo's sculpting, his "puzzling sort of incompleteness" (53). Pater parallels this trait to the form of the Venus de Melos. The ravages of time and burial "fraying its surface and softening its lines, so
that some spirit in the thing seems always on the point of breaking out" (52-53), are conscious elements of Michelangelo's sculpture, his leaving a suggestive incompleteness that "trusts to the spectator to complete the half-emergent form" (59). These "half-emergent" forms are symbolic of renascence. "With him," says Pater, "the beginning of life has all the characteristics of resurrection" (59). Creation is commensurate with resurrection:

This creation of life--life coming always as relief or recovery, and always in strong contrast with the rough-hewn mass in which it is kindled--is in various ways the motive of all his work . . . ; and this, although at least one-half of his work was designed for the adornment of tombs--the tomb of Julius [which, fittingly, was never finished], the tombs of the Medici [we think of the rough, incomplete visage of "Day"]. Not the Judgement but the Resurrection is the real subject of his last work in the Sistine Chapel; and his favourite pagan subject is the legend of Leda, the delight of the world breaking from the egg of a bird. (59)

As Pater says, "like Dante and all the nobler souls of Italy, [Michelangelo] is much occupied with thoughts of the grave, and his true mistress is death" (69). Michelangelo's sculptural forms emerging from the earth elucidate the revival of the past, the triumph of life over death, the resurrection
of the beautiful body in a celebration of the human spirit. In *The Renaissance*, gravesites are fecund territory for artist, archaeologist, and art historian.

Pater's paradigm of resurrection is perhaps most eloquently phrased in his hymn to Leonardo's *La Gioconda*. Pater describes Leonardo's art repeatedly in subterranean terms. Words and phrases such as "plunged," "hidden virtue," "art of going deep," (81) are leitmotifs. Pater presents the Renaissance artist as an occultist, for among Leonardo's gifts is "double sight, divining the sources of springs beneath the earth or of expression beneath the human countenance" (84). As T. M. Greene states in his study of Renaissance poetry, in the Renaissance period "the role of the antiquary . . . did not lack a touch of the necromantic" (222):

The image that propelled the humanist Renaissance, and that still determines our perception of it, was the archaeological, necromantic metaphor of disinterment, a digging up that was also a resuscitation or a reincarnation or a rebirth. The discovery of the past led men literally to dig in the ground, and the recovery from it of a precious object needed only a touch of fancy to be regarded as a resurrection. (92)

Pater's most famous purple passage is couched thus in occultist and charnel metaphors:

Set *[La Gioconda]* for a moment beside one of those
white Greek goddesses or beautiful women of antiquity, and how would they be troubled by this beauty, into which the soul with all its maladies has passed! All the thoughts and experience of the world have etched and moulded there, in that which they have of power to refine and make expressive the outward form, the animalism of Greece, the lust of Rome, the mysticism of the middle age with its spiritual ambition and imaginative loves, the return of the Pagan world, the sins of the Borgias. She is older than the rocks among which she sits; like the vampire, she has been dead many times, and learned the secrets of the grave. . . . The fancy of a perpetual life, sweeping together ten thousand experiences, is an old one; and modern philosophy has conceived the idea of humanity as wrought upon by, and summing up in itself, all modes of thought and life. Certainly Lady Lisa might itself stand as the embodiment of the old fancy, the symbol of the modern idea. (98-99; my emphases)

Described here in terms such as mystery, exhumation, and resurrection, her famous countenance subliminates the underground forces of culture, whose aesthetic and intellectual vigour has, in Pater's view, its roots in charnel houses and gravesites. La Gioconda is, then, an aesthetic archaeological site embodying the cultural continuities Pater
celebrates in the historical Renaissance.

Through aesthetic archaeology, Pater elicits the subliminal forces underlying cultural continuity—or renascence—in history. The high Greek culture that presented itself to Winckelmann is, in fact, the topmost layer of Greek culture, and therefore only the surface of classical Greece's legacy to the ages. Beneath Winckelmann's humanism lurks a subterranean psychic realm that, like the vampiric La Gioconda, harbours the darker experiences of the ages. The juxtaposition of the Renaissance construction of La Gioconda with the "white Greek goddesses" of antiquity in part represents Pater's rupture with Winckelmann's view of the "noble simplicity and calm grandeur" of Greek statuary and, hence, Greek sensibility. The "animalism of Greece," as Pater says of La Gioconda, is as much a part of the "return of the Pagan world" as is Winckelmann's celebration of purity and whiteness.

This underside of cultural experience expresses itself pre-eminently in religion, or, for Pater, in religious thought manifest in art. Greek art arises from out of the religious belief systems of Greek culture: that is, from agriculture as the defining element of culture and the focus of religious sentiment. Greek cult life—the worship of death and rebirth projected onto agricultural deities like Demeter, Persephone, and Dionysus—lay at the origins of Greek art. Pater argues that out "of Greek religion, under happy conditions, arises
Greek art, to minister to human culture. It was the privilege of Greek religion to be able to transform itself into an artistic ideal" (162-63). Through the archaeological retrieval of Greek sculpture--and the Winckelmannian extraction of its inborn life--Pater examines material culture as a symbolic legend from which to divine the original conditions of culture itself. For Pater, archaeological "renascence" is a modern reiteration of the actual digging into the earth as the first stage in the evolution of (agri)culture.

III. Greek Studies

Temporally, the collection of essays in Greek Studies represents a backward shift from The Renaissance to the primitive belief systems underlying high Greek culture. As Friedrich Nietzsche argued in The Birth of Tragedy (1872), the sorrowful Dionysian impulse linked to the death and rebirth of the vegetation deities has an artistic expression as dynamic as Winckelmann's Apollonian "happiness" incarnate in the Apollo Belvedere, the Antinous, and the Parthenon Frieze. While the Apollonian mode is, says Pater in "Winckelmann," the "aspiring element . . . of which Greek religion sublimes itself" (162), the eye "fixed on the sharp, bright edge of high Hellenic culture . . . loses sight of the sombre world across which it strikes" (159). In Greek Studies Pater further explores the plastic artistic tradition that emerges
from the religious chthonic (i.e. underworld) figures such as Adonis, Dionysus, and Demeter and Persephone: a tradition that Pater sees continuing in Medieval religious art and its celebration of renascence in the figure of Christ. Chthonic paganism is, says Pater, a "root" penetrating "deep in the earth of man's nature" (Renaissance 160).

**Greek Studies** in part investigates the Dionysian element of Greek religion manifest in art and myth. Chthonic religion holds archaeological implications for Pater: digging into the earth for artifacts reiterates culture's agri-cultural origins celebrated by the worship of vegetation deities. In *Greek Studies* Pater thus identifies renascence itself as the original (and permanent) condition of humanity's religious and cultural life. In much the same way that the British celebrated their own religious heritage in the recovery of the monuments of Assyria, Pater's excavation of the pagan spirit in art is an act of self-discovery.

In "Walter Pater and Archaeology: The Reconciliation with Earth," Linda Dowling provides a thorough and seminal discussion of archaeological and anthropological thought in Pater's 1875 essay "The Myth of Demeter and Persephone" (reprinted in *Greek Studies*). Dowling argues that Pater "turns to archaeology itself as the science that will open the actual earth and array it for the imagination" in an attempt to "domesticate and dignify death" (221). Analyzing Pater's reading of Charles Newton's report of his excavations of a
cave sanctuary devoted to Demeter in *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* (1862-63), Dowling suggests that by returning to first principles of culture incarnate in the chthonic cults of Demeter, Pater attempted to "'bring the every-day aspect of Greek religion home to us' so that 'this glance into an actual religious place dedicated to [Demeter], and with the air of her worship still about it' will seem to be merely 'a quiet, twilight place'" (228, quoting "The Myth of Demeter and Persephone"). Pater sought "to purify and reenclose this space, 'with the air of her worship still about it'" (228). Dowling's discussion of the religious roots of Greek material culture is the cornerstone of my present argument on *Greek Studies*.

Because of Demeter's underworld wanderings and recovery of her daughter from Hades, the fertility goddess is herself a medium or agent of renascence. Pater asserts that the cave sanctuary at Cnidus offers, as Dowling states, "evidence of material immortality and the ever-resurrected life of culture" (231). Pater views the myth of Demeter and Persephone as a "relic of the earlier inhabitants of Greece" (80). Becoming "the central and most popular subject of [Greek] national worship" (80), the myth evolves historically, aesthetically, and religiously across Greek culture. "Following its changes," therefore, "we come across various phases of Greek culture, which are not without their likenesses in the modern mind" (80). From this mythical "gravesite," Pater exhumes the
physical survivals of the myth of Demeter and Persephone to reconstitute its cultural legacy to the ages.

At the structural heart of the essay is Pater's taxonomy of the development of myth through its "mystical," "poetic," and "ethical" stages. These phases chart a culture's evolution in aesthetic sensibility. An oral culture's mystical apprehension of seasonal change gives way to a literary period "in which the poets become the depositaries of the vague instinctive product of the popular imagination" (91), then, finally, to an ethical phase wherein characters become "abstract symbols . . . of moral or spiritual conditions" (91). Dowling has shown that while Pater's schema derives from contemporary comparative anthropologists and mythographers Edward Taylor, Andrew Lang, J.G. Frazer, and Ludwig Preller, it charts new territory by attributing the ethical phase of Greek myth to sculpture rather than to literature (93; see Dowling 212-17). In the ethical phase, Demeter assumes aesthetic proportions, assumes—and here we see the lingering influences of "Winckelmann"—the subliminal qualities of Greek sculpture. By virtue of her mythical/religious tie to cyclic death and rebirth—like the vampiric La Gioconda—Demeter subliminates into her physical, sculptural being the origin of culture.

To the aesthetic historian, Pater says, the myths of the Greek religion become parts of an ideal, visible embodiments of the susceptibilities
and intuitions of the nobler kind of souls; and it is to this latest phase of mythological development that the highest Greek sculpture allies itself. Its function is to give aesthetic expression to the constituent parts of that ideal. (140)

The ethical phase of the myth is sculpted into human form. In writing "Demeter and Persephone" Pater shifts his attention from Winckelmann's aesthetic paganism evoked through art criticism to the realm of contemporary archaeology and comparative anthropology, for he delves below high Greek culture to its sources in an effort to recuperate a "stock" of "poetical impressions" (81) of early Greek life for the modern reader. Aesthetic engagement with material survivals of the past, Pater argues, initiates in "the nobler kind of souls" a renascence or, in other words, connection with the origins of culture.

The "student of origins," however, "must be content to follow faint traces" (112-13). In contemplating the story of Demeter and Persephone,

what we actually possess is some actual fragments of poetry, some actual fragments of sculpture; and with a curiosity, justified by the direct aesthetic beauty of these fragments, we feel our way backwards to that engaging picture of the poet-people, with which the ingenuity of modern theory has filled the void in our knowledge. (113)
As in *The Renaissance*, Pater in this essay promotes continuity through history at an aesthetic level. Discussing the religious and aesthetic manifestations of the myth of Demeter and Persephone, Pater invites the reader to negotiate the faint pathways marked by material remains and, significantly, "modern theory." Pater asserts that by stooping to examine these remains we may piece together the past--and the path of historical development--in a journey towards recovering our own deep-seated humanity as it first arose out of the soil of culture.

Archaeology offers a ready means to fill in the "void" of our knowledge of "the poet-people." Pater employs Newton's discovery at Cnidus as "an illustration of the myth in its artistic phase" (144), that is, in its sculptural/ethical expression. I quote Pater's description of the site at length to show how his encyclopedic use of Newton's text (see Dowling 223ff.) strives to elucidate and reconstruct the material conditions underlying and representing Greek religious and mythological thought:

With the help of the description and plans of Mr. Newton's book, we can form ... a clear idea of the place where these marbles--three statues of the best style of Greek sculpture, now in the British Museum--were found. Occupying a ledge of rock, looking towards the sea, at the base of a cliff of upheaved limestone, of singular steepness and regularity of
surface, the spot presents indications of volcanic disturbance, as if a chasm in the earth had opened there. It was this character, suggesting the belief in an actual connexion with the interior of the earth, (local tradition claiming it as the scene of the stealing of Persephone,) which probably gave rise, as in other cases where the landscape presented some peculiar feature in harmony with the story, to the dedication upon it of a house and an image of Demeter, with whom were associated Kore [i.e. Persephone] and 'the gods with Demeter' .... Aidoneus, and the mystical or Chthonian Dionysus.

(144-45)

Mingling archaeological and geological imagery, Pater locates his exploration of culture in a local habitation. Newton's archaeology is an intermediate, authenticating medium that enables Pater to equate material remains with the ethical phase of Greek culture. In the statues of Demeter and Persephone, Pater witnesses "the higher side of the Greek religion, thus humanized and refined by art, and elevated by it to the sense of beauty" (148). Pater celebrates in the sculpted figure of Demeter the emergence of humanity from culture's chthonic roots. In her humanized form, then, Demeter has about her "no trace of the primitive cosmical import of the myth" (150), having evolved into the "mater dolorosa of the Greeks" (148), a "glorified mother of all
things" (151). By exhuming the earth goddess from her interment at Cnidus, Pater examines the Greek worship of humanity itself as the subject of art. For this reason, Cnidus "is one of the graves of that old religion, but with much still fresh in it" (146).

Through Newton, Pater's "elegant materialism" acquires an air of scientific authority (Dowling 209). Establishing material and cultural continuities with the pagan world through archaeological aestheticism, Pater concludes the essay by asking the reader, "[w]hat is there in this [ethical] phase of ancient religion for us, at the present day?" (155). Greek religion "arose naturally out of the spirit of man, and embodied, in adequate symbols, his deepest thoughts concerning the conditions of his physical and spiritual life" (155-56). The myth of Demeter and Persephone maintains its "solemnising power even for the modern mind, . . . abiding thus for the elevation and purifying of our sentiments, long after the earlier and simpler races of their worshippers passed away" (156; my emphasis). As in the archaeological discourses of Bulwer-Lytton and Layard, the appearance of the first person plural possessive ("our sentiments") denotes materially-forged ties with the remote past.

Pater's 1880 essays on Greek statuary, "The Beginnings of Greek Sculpture" and "The Marbles of the Ægina," reveal the author's continuing interest in locating origins of the distant past as they linger in the modern world. In these
works, Pater further explores the "ethical" phase of Greek religion evinced by sculpture.

In the first part of "The Beginnings of Greek Sculpture," "The Heroic Age of Greek Art," Pater focuses on Winckelmann's "archaic" stage of Greek art contemporaneous with Homer. As in "Demeter and Persephone," archaeology provides Pater with physical materials and a conceptual vocabulary for criticism and art history: in short, with a substantive and substantiating medium for discourses upon culture past and present. Delivered as a lecture in 1878, this essay followed closely on the heels of Schliemann's archaeological forays into Homeric prehistory (George Grote in History of Greece [1846-56] divides Grecian "prehistory" and classical times at the first Olympic Games of 776 BC). Schliemann excavated the hitherto unknown Greek Bronze Age (Daniel 1975, 140) in Troy in four seasons, 1870-73, and in Mycenae, the birthplace of Agamemnon, 1874-76. Pater discovers in prehistoric Greece a vibrant material culture antedating the calm refinement of high Greek sculpture. As in "Demeter and Persephone," Pater, the "student of origins," seeks with the aid of modern science the beginnings of the Greek legacy in the cultural continuum.

Pater catalogues the "buried treasure discovered in dead men's graves" (221), alighting here and there upon objects that illustrate the prehistoric Greeks' appreciation of beauty in the hand-crafted arts. Pater concentrates on the domestic aspects of early Greek art in forming a picture of Greek life
handed down by Homer: to "have [a] really Greek sense of Greek sculpture, it is necessary to connect it . . . with the minor works . . . , intaglios, coins, vases; with that whole system of material refinement and beauty in the outer Greek life, which these minor works represent to us" (199), these "stray relics, accidentally reserved, of a world . . . of such wide and varied activity" (210-11). In a largely expository essay, Pater's goal is, "in a somewhat visionary manner, to fill up the empty spaces" (215) in the chain of Greek art in order to reconstruct the Bronze Age.

Archaeology furnishes a material foundation for Pater's "visionary" or aesthetic evocation of Greek humanism, which proves to be latent in the material artifacts of the archaic Bronze age. Pater's thesis is that the "tectonic" arts--the pottery, jewellery, and forged metals found in, for example, the grave shafts of Mycenae--represent the first inclinations of Greek humanism, a "starting-ground for [the Greek's] imaginative presentment of man, moral and inspired" (234). Viewed collectively, Pater's studies of Greek artifacts represent a retrospective inspection of the monuments of culture, an aesthetic summation of the Greek preoccupation with its own humanity from the moment when the Homeric smith forged the first bracelet to the full flowering of humanism in the sculptures of Phidias, the creator of the Parthenon marbles.

Harking back to the ethical properties of material
culture in "Demeter and Persephone," Pater argues that these humble arts likewise carry traces of humanity's earliest religious sentiments and, thereby, the origins of Greek humanism. Humanism is inseparable from religious sentiment. As in the cave-sanctuary at Cnidus, the graves of Agamemnon contained artifacts of the earth-centred, mystical religion of the Greeks. Describing a gold cast representing Hera (222-23), Pater launches into a discussion of the chthonic strains underlying prehistoric art:

Out of the visible, physical energies of the earth and its system of annual change, the old Pelasgian mind developed the person of Demeter, mystical and profoundly aweful, yet profoundly pathetic, also, in her appeal to human sympathies. Out of the same original elements, the civilisation of Argos, on the other hand, develops the religion of Queen Here. . . . Homer . . . allow[s] us to detect . . . some traces of the mystical person of the earth. (223)

Here again the study of material remains is tantamount to a "reconciliation with earth," a gaze into the mystical "home" in which Greek humanism defines itself. Graves allow Pater to return to the earth, to the first seedbeds of culture. As would an archaeologist, Pater explores prehistoric Greece through its unearthed funerary remains: remains which represent the earth itself as a source of perpetuation, through its association with the earth deities Hera and
In "The Marbles of the Ἐγίνα" (1880), Pater further probes this cultural bedrock of early Greek sculpture. The sculptures comprise two pedimental groupings excavated from the site of what was then thought the Temple of Zeus Panhellenios (later identified as that of Aphaia, a Cretan goddess [Stoneman 183]) in 1811 by the English and German team of Charles Cockerell and Baron Haller von Hallerstein. The figures depict two scenes from The Iliad, the battle of the Greeks and Trojans over the body of Patroclus and Hercules, and Telamon leading forces against Laomedon, King of Troy (Stoneman 186; fig. 17).

Pater identifies in their style, composition, and subject two artistic traditions in early Greek art: the Ionian, or "centrifugal" eastern influence, with its unbounded energy and imagination, and the Dorian, or European "centripetal" tendency, whose calm and order are manifest in the intellectual tradition of Greek sculpture in the age of Phidias. "In undergoing the action of these two opposing influences," Pater claims, "and by harmonising in itself their antagonism, Greek sculpture does but reflect the larger movements of more general Greek history" (267). For the Marbles of Ἐγίνα mark the historical moment when Greek art arose from the craft of the heroic age: they represent a Greek renascence (indeed Pater explicitly compares them to the earliest phase of the Italian Renaissance [284]). By virtue
of their subject—the battle between Greeks and Ionian Trojans—the marbles symbolically and bodily enact the break from the Ionian impulse of early Greek art, "as in Etrurian design, in the early sculpture of Cyprus, and in the earlier Greek vases" (285).

Created between the sixtieth and the seventieth Olympiad, "in the period of the Ionian revolt against Persia, and a few years earlier than the battle of Marathon" (276), the marbles are evocative of the heroic "temper which made the victories of Marathon and Salamis possible, of the true spirit of Greek chivalry as displayed in the Persian war" (276). Pater thus sets the marbles in a decisive historical moment in the march of Western culture. Incarnating the "full expression of . . . humanism" (272), they mark the birth of high Greek sculpture and, moreover, high culture. Touched "with the freshest sense of that new-found, inward value," Pater suggests,

[w]e have reached an extant work, real and visible, of an importance out of all proportion to anything actually remaining of earlier art, and justifying, by its direct interest and charm, our long prelude on the beginnings of Greek sculpture, while there was still almost nothing actually to see. (272-73; referring to "The Beginnings of Greek Sculpture")

Pater's study of Greek pre-historic art and religion as it connects the earlier art of Greece with the high Hellenic culture celebrated by Winckelmann, culminates in "The Marbles
of Ægina."

The historic and aesthetic threads binding the ages each to each guide Pater like a Theseus through an underworld labyrinth of cultural archaeology. Pater affirms his faith in ameliorative connections--periodic "renascences" arising from the ground of humanity's aesthetic, moral, and religious life--in an archaeological essay written in the last year of his life, "The Age of Athletic Prizemen" (1894). Of the Vatican's Discobolus at Rest (which Pater attributes to Alcamenes), Pater urges the reader to "[t]ake him, to lead you forth quite out of the narrow limits of the Greek world. You have pure humanity there, with a glowing, yet restrained joy and delight in itself, but without vanity; and it is pure" (318). Pater in 1894 completes his tracing of the conditions prefacing the creeping progress of, as "the archaeologist will inform you rightly," the "old Greek influence northwards" (287). Unlike Scott in Pompeii, Pater, in the last year of his life, found comfort in the gravesites of the Hellenic world.
Notes

1. Greek architecture also attracted the eye of the Society of Dilettanti, who sponsored the first comprehensive survey of Greek architecture (rather than Roman imitations). James Stuart and the architect Nicholas Revett travelled in Greece from 1749-1753 and published a four volume series of folio drawings under the title *Antiquities of Athens* (1762-1816). Stoneman and Clarke discuss their venture.

2. Oxford did not establish a chair of classical archaeology until 1885.

3. For studies of German classical scholarship and its influence on classicism in England see Ashton, Butler, Hatfield, Last, Wiesenfarth, and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

4. See Stoneman for a history of archaeological expeditions to Greece.


6. The title of Charles Newton's 1880 *Essays on Art and Archaeology* is indicative of lingering aestheticism in classical archaeology.

7. See Honour (57-62) and Praz (40-69) on Winckelmann's role
in the eighteenth-century neoclassical revival.

8. Honour lauds David's Oath of the Horatii as the central expression of the "true" neoclassicism of the late eighteenth century (32-37).

9. See Williams (153-67) for an excellent discussion of Pater's "Senses of Relief."

10. Inman argues that Hegel's Äesthetik is central to Pater's reading of art history (49-58).

11. See Howard for a discussion of Albani's and Winckelmann's role in what he considers the professionalization of classical archaeology.

12. Associations of an underground life are prevalent in Pater's Marius the Epicurean, which is in many respects a fictional corollary to the recovery of the past in The Renaissance. Marius, moreover, shares Bulwer-Lytton's and Carlyle's attempts to recover past systems of thought by delineating them as parts--or strata--of a continuum stretching from the far distant past to the living present. Through Marius's life of sensation (from which spring his "ideas"), he absorbs the philosophical systems of all ages. Like Winckelmann, Marius is a palimpsest of experiences. For example, the Epicurean's "receptive powers" are as "the scattered fragments of a poetry . . . taken up into the text of a lost epic" (347). His conversion to Christianity at the end of his life symbolizes the interconnectedness of past and present at
a deep psychic and spiritual level. He is "modern" in both Wilde's and Pater's sense of the word. In its construction, however, *Marius the Epicurean* does not satisfy the conditions of inclusion for this thesis, namely that each text treat as a basis for narrative the unearthing and analysis of the material remains of the past. The novel evinces images of cultural accretion similar to those expressed in each of the texts of this study, but is not sufficiently archaeological to warrant full discussion here.

13. See Stoneman (179-98) for a history of Cockerell's excavations and the purchase of the Ægina marbles by King Ludwig I of Bavaria in 1814.

14. For a discussion of the centripetal and centrifugal in Pater's writing see Keefe 110-17.
In the interim between the British Museum's purchase of the Elgin marbles in 1816 and the publication of Heinrich Schliemann's *Troy and Its Remains* in 1875, archaeology evolved from its origins in amateur antiquarianism and collecting towards the empirical study of material history. Armed with scientific methods of excavation and classification, archaeologists in the last quarter of the nineteenth century began to re-construct remote prehistoric civilizations from their material remains. The six decades dividing Elgin and Schliemann fall within the interval separating the publications of Walter Scott's *The Antiquary* (1816) and H. Rider Haggard's *She* (1887). These novels, moreover, represent poles in the literary conception of knowing the past in the nineteenth century: the eighteenth-century brand of amateur, local antiquarianism depicted in Scott's work is the ancestor of Holly's and Leo's expedition to the lost proto-Egyptian world of Kōr. In the evolution of the archaeological trope, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater, and Haggard pressed their search for cultural origins successively backward in time.

I. The Scientific Background of *She*: Charles Darwin, E. B. Tylor, Andrew Lang and the Search for Origins

By the time of *She*'s publication the geological and
biological revolutions precipitated by Lyell and Darwin had effected a fundamental change in the study of the archaeological record. The challenge of studying human development within the new cosmogony encouraged the shift from collecting and displaying artifacts as art objects to the systematic study of remains for their intrinsic archaeological information. The Great Exhibition of 1851 had no prehistorical exhibits. The Paris Exposition of 1867, which ran concurrent with the second Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique (Daniel 1950, 116), featured prehistoric collections. The year of this second international congress was a watershed date in the acceptance of the word "prehistory" to denote the vast period of human life antedating recorded history and its material culture. Daniel Wilson introduced the term to the English language in the Great Exhibition year in his The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland. John Lubbock popularized it in his best-selling Prehistoric Times of 1865 (Daniel 1975, 79),1 which refined the prehistoric Stone-Age epoch of Christian J. Thomsen's and J. J. A. Worsaae's three-age classification of Stone, Bronze, and Iron into Palaeolithic and Neolithic eras. The first and second international exhibitions mark, in the first instance, the celebration of industry and, in the second, the active search for the origins of industry.2

Increasingly sophisticated archaeological methods evolved
to extract meaning from the remains of prehistoric civilizations. Archaeologists such as Heinrich Schliemann, General Augustus Pitt-Rivers, and Flinders Petrie improved field techniques by adapting stratigraphy to excavation: the geological law of superposition—that in undisturbed strata older layers underlie more recent deposits—became a tool for establishing a relative chronology of unearthed artifacts. These archaeologists also recognized the importance of recording the location and occurrence of ordinary objects. Pitt-Rivers's 1887 *Excavations in Cranborne Chase* transformed stratigraphic excavation into an exact science. According to Daniel, it "set and achieved the very highest standard of archaeological publication" (1950, 173). With the same spirit of accuracy in the field and in publication, Petrie began excavations in Egypt in 1880 (from 1883 under the aegis of the Egyptian Exploration Fund [Daniel 1975, 174-77]). Pitt-Rivers and Petrie, moreover, transposed the theory of biological evolution to their classification schemes (Charles Lyell's theory of uniformitarianism, which illustrated geological "continuity," was the cornerstone of Darwinism). As Pitt-Rivers states in his 1875 essay "On the Evolution of Culture," the "principles of variation and natural selection have established a bond of union between the physical and culture sciences which can never be broken. History is but another term for evolution" (24). Evolutionary sequence depicted in artifacts told a story of material continuity down
Pitt-Rivers states explicitly that the archaeological record represents a traceable continuum with the past: there are huge gaps in our knowledge of the history of the human race...; but surely, if slowly, science will open up these desert places, and prove to us that, so far as the finite mind of man can reach, there is nothing but unbroken continuity to be seen in the present and in the past. (1875, 44; my emphasis)

In the hands of Pitt-Rivers, Carlyle's philosophic grafting of past and present in the 1840s gained scientific credence by the 1870s. Daniel points out that while Darwin provided an organic and philosophical model for the doctrine of evolution, archaeology provided its material proof. "Thereafter, once this proof was widely understood, archaeology became part of the general study of man and his culture, not merely an antiquarian hobby" (1975, 121). Evolutionary theory, which fundamentally changed all branches of the study of humankind and its origins, provided an imaginative stage upon which novelists such as Haggard could explore the "origin" of their own species.

Central to Haggard's literary engagement with scientific thought of the last quarter of the nineteenth century is his relationship with anthropologist, folklorist, and critic Andrew Lang, to whom She is dedicated. Lang read the
manuscript after it had been accepted for serial publication in *The Graphic* and offered substantial critical and editorial advice before book publication in 1887 (Etherington 1991, xix-xxiii). Lang's theories and interest in anthropology, archaeology, and cultural evolution shed light on Haggard's own depiction of the study of ancient civilizations in *She*. Two important anthropological and archaeological theories stemming from evolution and espoused by Lang recur as themes and motifs in *She*, namely "diffusion" and "survivals."

Theories of diffusion represented attempts to trace the origins and development of civilization through time and space via social and commercial contact between different societies; survivals are the physical, linguistic, religious, and ritualistic traces of such diffusion. Diffusionism and survivalism were theoretical avenues through which nineteenth-century scholars studied the past in relation to the present.

The idea of studying survivals from ancient civilizations lingering in modern culture was first put forward in 1883 by Lang's mentor, Edward Burnett Tylor (appointed in 1896 as the first Professor of Anthropology at Oxford), in his 1871 study of comparative anthropology, *Primitive Culture*, which made Tylor the foremost English anthropologist of his time (Penniman 138). He distinguished two kinds of survivals, fossil and functioning, the material remains and the cultural codes lingering in the religious systems, folk traditions and mythology of modern life (Daniel 1975, 184). Tylor was an
important figure in the nineteenth-century quest for the origins of culture. In fact, volume one of the two-volume *Primitive Culture* is entitled *The Origins of Culture*. In *Primitive Culture*, Tylor uses the model of diffusion and survivals to trace both cultural inheritance and cultural evolution. To the student of survivals, it "needs but a glance into the trivial details of our own daily life to set us thinking how far we are really its originators, and how far but the transmitters and modifiers of the results of long past ages" (1: 17). Like Pitt-Rivers, Tylor links development with continuity. He asserts that the "notion of the continuity of civilization . . . is no barren philosophic principle" (1: 19). Indeed, Tylor continues, "[s]urvival in Culture . . . places all along the course of advancing civilization way-marks full of meaning to those who can decipher their signs" (1: 21). Following "way-marks" to their source is another tangible mode of cultural recovery.

Tylor explicitly aligns anthropology with archaeology, professing that the "master-key to the investigation of man's primaeval condition is held by Prehistoric Archaeology" (1: 58). Archaeology supplies the physical evidence--the material "way-marks"--of the development of culture through time. For Tylor, the recovery of long-extinct or otherwise forgotten stages in human development is founded upon Darwinian principles of natural selection applied to the progress of civilization as a kind of cultural selection (which accounts,
moreover, for periods of decline, or, in biological terms, extinction). Being a cultural Darwinist, Tylor states, so far as history is to be our criterion, progression is primary and degradation secondary. 

[I]t must be borne in mind how powerfully the diffusion of culture acts in preserving the results of progress from the attacks of degeneration. A progressive movement in culture spreads, and becomes independent of the fate of its originators. . . . Thus it is even possible for the habits and inventions of races long extinct to remain as the common property of surviving nations; and the destructive actions which make such havoc with the civilizations of particular districts fail to destroy the civilizations of the world. (1: 38)

Lang applied Tylor's theories to the field of folklore. To Lang, contemporary folklore represented a great repository of folk memory (a progenitor of Jung's notion of the collective unconscious), which contains survivals of early stages of cultural development. In 1887, the year of She's publication, Lang published his most influential anthropological book, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*. Like his mentor, Lang was obsessed with the search for origins of culture. He writes,

Our object . . . is to prove that the 'silly, savage, and irrational' element in the myths of
civilised peoples is, as a rule, either a survival from the period of savagery, or has been borrowed from savage neighbours by a cultivated people, or, lastly, is an imitation by later poets of old savage data. (1: 33)

This is the gist of Tylor's system of diffusion and survivals applied to mythology and folk literature, which, in keeping with general scientific and ideological trends, "naturally attaches itself to the general system of Evolution" (1: 36). As Tylor states in his Researches into the Early History of Mankind (1865), "[c]ivilization being a process of long and complex growth, can only be thoroughly understood when studied throughout its entire range; . . . the past is continually needed to explain the present" (1).

For Tylor and Lang, archaeology and anthropology meet in the study of human development through survivals, which provide both the physical evidence of humanity's past and its mental, moral, and spiritual development. As Andrew Duff-Cooper points out, anthropology for Lang was a kind of cultural archaeology: the folklorist was like the archaeologist in that while archaeology "collects and compares the similar but material relics of old races, the axes and the arrow-heads . . . [folklore] collects and compares the similar but immaterial relics of old races, the surviving superstitions and stories, the ideas which are in
Scientific archaeology and anthropology emerged from the common desire to find cultural origins and to forge continuity with the past by studying traces of its legacies to the present. This is the central pursuit of the protagonists in She.

II. From Science to the Archaeology of Adventure

The dedicatory page of She heralds a close affinity between Lang's thought and Haggard's novel. Haggard writes, "I inscribe this history to Andrew Lang in token of personal regard and of my sincere admiration for his learning and his works" (xiv). At a stroke Haggard publicly claims personal and scholarly kinship with Lang. Lang's "learning" and "works" are enmeshed in Haggard's "history of adventure," to cite the novel's subtitle. Lang provided Haggard, who did not have a university education, with the scholarly credentials necessary to make Holly into a credible scientist and academic. In this science fiction novel, science, on one level, is a device to secure acceptance of the adventure, yet on another it provides concepts through which Haggard imaginatively explores the implications of the new geology, archaeology, and anthropology in his fiction.

Theories of survival and diffusion in Lang and Tylor resonate in Haggard's imaginative rendering of ancient and
lost civilizations in his most popular novels: *King Solomon's Mines*, *Allan Quatermain*, and *She*. These theories provide a scientific medium for contact between his modern protagonists and the "savage" and ancient civilizations in which they find themselves. In Haggard's adventure novels, distances travelled in space represent voyages in time to remote corners within the human mind and culture; physical exploration is a trope for the examination of the temporal, psychic, and cultural layers that underlie modern civilization. The theory of physical and cultural survivals in Lang's thought and Haggard's fiction participates, then, in the theme of historical continuity running throughout archaeological and anthropological fiction and thought in the nineteenth century.

In *She*, Haggard treats archaeological remains as survivals, "way-marks" from which to reconstruct the lost civilization of Kôr. The adventure itself is spurred by Holly's and Leo's examination of such a physical survival, the "Sherd of Amenartas," a relic in the possession of Leo's family for over 2000 years (fig. 18). The nested chests that house the sherd represent the first archaeological site in the novel. Indeed, the retrieval of the ancient sherd from within the centre casket is reminiscent of the exhumation scenes in *Past and Present* and *The Antiquary*. Holly and Leo successively open chests of increasing age: iron, ebony ("Its antiquity must have been extreme" [24]), and, finally, a silver "casket" that "appeared to be of Egyptian workmanship"
The excavation continues as Holly removes layers of an unknown fibrous paper to reveal yellowed linen: "slowly and carefully we unrolled the linen, exposing to view a very large but undoubtedly ancient potsherd of a dirty yellow colour" (25).

The uncial Greek inscription written thereupon imparts a 2000-year-old story that connects Leo's family directly to ancient Egypt. According to Leo's father, Leo "will be the only representative of one of the most ancient families in the world. . . . [M]y sixty-fifth or sixty-sixth lineal ancestor, was an Egyptian priest of Isis, though he was himself of Grecian extraction, and was called Kallikrates" (10).

Intrigued by Amenartas's plea for Kallikrates's progeny to revenge his murder at the hands of Ayesha, Leo and Holly mount an expedition to search for the origins of the Vincey family in the interior of southeastern Africa.

The images of layering--of chests within chests, each more elaborate and antique, and of the sherd wrapped in a yellowed, shroud-like linen--set the archaeological tenor of the expedition that is to follow. The sherd represents an enclosed text, a nested narrative that interconnects past and present for the reader, just as Jocelin's text recalls twelfth-century St. Edmundsbury. The motif of boxes within boxes, of stories within stories, of history buried under history, takes many forms as the party ventures toward the sherd's provenance. Like other archaeological prose in this
study, a stratified narrative reflects the archaeological content. As in *Past and Present*, the topmost stratum comprises a disinterested editorial "layer" in the form of an unnamed man of letters to whom Holly entrusts his "history" and the sherd. The editor publishes Holly's narrative and provides a preface relating the facts behind the manuscript's origin. He also provides footnotes, generally of an historical nature, supplying details on dynastic Egypt and ancient Greece, which clarify and support Holly's field observations. The editor is, thus, instrumental in creating the novel's scholarly tone. Haggard employs the authenticating voice of the editor in rather the same way that he implicates Lang in the dedication.

Haggard photographically reproduces on the frontispiece the sherd itself, which he had constructed in the likeness of Egyptian amphoras. He proudly relates in his autobiography that Sir John Evans (president of the Egyptian Exploration Fund and father of the renowned Minoan archaeologist Sir Arthur) examined the sherd and declared: "'All I can say is that it might possibly have been forged,'" which Haggard considered "great testimony to the excellency of the sherd" (1926, 1: 248). Much in the spirit of Carlyle, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, and Pater, who evoke the spirit of the past through reference to extant remains, Haggard's fabricated sherd substantiates the adventure into the past.

By tracing Leo's family to an advanced, very civilized
empire, which Holly conjectures is the progenitor of ancient Egypt, the sherd relates a history of diffusion, linking Leo, and by implication England, to Kôr. Composed first on the sherd in Uncial Greek, Amenartas's tale, as it passed through the Vincey family, was translated into medieval Black Letter Latin and then into modern English by Leo's father.

Reproduced with care in the text, these inscriptions represent a linguistic layering that emphasizes continuity with the past. Again, these physical survivals serve both to authenticate the fantastic story and, through Holly's informed study and transcriptions of each of the manuscripts ("For general convenience in reading" [33]), to depict Holly as a Cambridge scholar and learned antiquarian. In She, the tale of Amenartas, transcribed by the Vincey family as it passed through the generations, is a palimpsest and treasure map that lead Holly and Leo back through 2000 years of history and beyond, to the civilization of Kôr, extinct for some 6000 years.

Engraved on the reverse side of the sherd is a chronicle of Leo's ancestors ("made by different hands and in many different ages" [26]) who successively resided in Egypt, Greece, Rome, France, and, ultimately, England (10-12). The name "Vincey" itself embodies these migrations: from the Greek "Tisisthenes," meaning "the Avenger," came the Roman Vindex, the French de Vincey, and the English Vincey (11, 37). Contemplating these cognates, Holly muses that it "is very
curious to observe how the idea of revenge, inspired by an Egyptian before the time of Christ, is thus, as it were, embalmed in an English family name" (37). Haggard interweaves philology with images of Egyptology to forge continuity with great epochs in history. Holly's first name, Horace, bears a similar identification. As it turns out, Leo is the spitting image—as we later learn the actual reincarnation—of his Egyptian progenitor, dead some 2000 years. Like Layard locating origins of modern worship in the ruins of ancient Assyria, the study of the past for these Englishmen is a profound act of self-discovery. In Leo's blood flows, as it were, the experiences of much of Western culture.

The sherd itself bears witness to the waves of invasions—and the rise and fall of empires described in Kipling's "Recessional"—that constitute English history and culture: from the speculative Egyptian and Greek influences to the concrete legacy of the Roman occupation and Norman invasion. By inscribing this particular evolution on the sherd, Haggard re-creates the evolution of civilization through time and space. The sherd is a kind of Rosetta Stone, a linguistic roadmap to the past, whose transcriptions chart the major Western historical migrations. She thus implies that the past the English encounter abroad is often their own. The white-skinned Ayesha, for instance, seems more like a distant cousin than the survivor of the long-vanished Kôr. The physical survival of the sherd points to cultural survivals manifest in
Leo. This nineteenth-century English explorer represents the culmination of culture diffused from the dawn of civilization.

To anthropologists and archaeologists like Lang, Tylor, and Petrie, cultural diffusion and inheritance was plausible scientific theory. Pre-dynastic Egypt rivalled Minoan Greece and Assyria as the mother—or at least the last traceable link—of civilization, whose civilizing influence passed northward to the Mediterranean and ultimately to the British Isles. Largely through tourism (which began in the 1840s with Peninsular and Oriental steamships sailing between England and Suez), Egyptology had entered into the popular imagination by the 1880s.

Egyptian imagery pervades Haggard's bygone world of Kôr. Haggard was fascinated by ancient Egypt as unearthed by the archaeologist's spade. His was an exciting age in Egyptology. As Daniel states, the "advances in techniques and method . . . as well as the actual discoveries of dynastic and predynastic Egypt, make the last quarter of the nineteenth century truly the Heroic Age of Egyptian archaeology" (1975, 136). After completing She, the author set out for Egypt in January 1887 to collect materials for his Egyptian historical novel, Cleopatra (1889). Along the way he visited the Egyptian collection at the Louvre, guided by the resident archaeologist. Afterward, he travelled extensively in Egypt, observing excavations at Ghiza and visiting the National Museum of Egyptian Antiquities in Boulak, established in 1859.
by the "father" of Egyptian archaeology, Auguste Mariette. Haggard was given a tour of the collection by Mariette's successor, Brugsch Bey (1926, 1: 256). In 1904, on his second visit, he was distinguished as the first European visitor to see Nefertari's tomb, guided by none other than Howard Carter, who was to discover Tutankhamen's tomb in 1923 (Haggard 1926, 1: 260, 2: 157).

Like Scott, Haggard turned his home, Ditchingham House in Norfolk, into a veritable museum of antiquities. According to his biographer Morton Cohen, "Haggard assembled the objects that reminded him of the greatest moments in man's history on earth" (140). The Egyptian Exploration Fund catalogued in 1917 his Egyptian collection in its publication, The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology ("The Nugent and Haggard Collections of Egyptian Antiquities"); it was also examined by Flinders Petrie, the excavation leader of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, which had been established just four years prior to She's publication. A diffusionist himself, Petrie undoubtedly appreciated the archaeological theory in She. Haggard, moreover, wrote frequently to The Times and to The Daily Mail about such archaeological issues as the exhumation of Tutankhamen. Haggard's non-fiction as well as fiction mediated between archaeology and the reading public. He writes in his autobiography that the advances in Egyptian archaeology were a major factor shaping the conception of culture and history that emerges in his novels. He says,
"[t]ruly [old Egypt's] inhabitants were a mysterious and fascinating folk and, across the gulf of ages--largely . . . through . . . excavations--they have come very near to us again. I confess I know more of her kings, her queens, and her social conditions than I do of those of early England" (1926, 2: 158).

Through the efforts of archaeologists and decipherers, Egypt had by Haggard's day emerged above the horizon of civilization. Books popularizing the Egyptian discoveries and claiming inheritance of the remote past duly appeared. Among them was John Kenrick's influential work of 1850, Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs. In it he asserts, there "is no difficulty in fixing on the country from which Ancient History must begin. The monuments of Egypt, its records and its literature, surpass those of India and China in antiquity by many centuries" (1-2). Lang likewise was fascinated by this ancient culture. We think of Arbaces in The Last Days of Pompeii when Lang writes,

[even to the ancients Egypt was antiquity, and the Greeks sought in the dateless mysteries of the Egyptian religion for the fountain of all that was most mysterious in their own. . . . Egypt presented to them, as to us, the spectacle of antique civilisation without a known beginning. (1887, 2: 82-83).]

Haggard's novels reflect the sense of mystery surrounding
Egypt and Egyptology. As Cohen explains, Haggard's "search for ultimate meaning lay behind his attachment to the past, and his deep interest in primitive life and early cultures later led him to write the books some critics have called the romances of anthropology" (104). Exploring mysterious ancient worlds is the stuff of romance, but, in Haggard's hands, romance founded on archaeological discovery.

Like the Egyptologists of Haggard's era, Holly and Leo are presented with a two-thousand-year-old mystery. Following the lingual treasure map inscribed on the sherd, Holly and Leo peel back the temporal and physical layers that separate Leo from the origin of his family. This sense of backwards journeying is articulated through archaeological discovery. From the "Eastern shore of Central Africa" (36) they run inland up a river under the shadow of a huge sculpted head, foretold in Amenartas's story as marking the direction to Kôr. Holly surmises "that it is not a mere freak of nature but a gigantic monument fashioned, like the well-known Egyptian Sphinx, by a forgotten people out of a pile of rock that lent itself to their design" (58). This is the first sign of a lost race who, like the Egyptians Holly here invokes, were technologically advanced.

The party chances across the remains of an ancient port and a network of canals leading inland through pestilent swamps (61-63). When they discover a pier by removing some loose dirt--by excavating--the hunt for Kôr begins in earnest.
For the impressive canal system opened to their view leads Leo to speculate that "[p]erhaps [the land] was not always marsh, and perhaps the people were not always savage" (62). Haggard undoubtedly took this detail from his knowledge of pharoanic Egypt, which had a large canal running from the Nile to the Red Sea, over two thousand years before the construction of the Suez Canal. The waterway in She, guarded by the ancient head, literally represents the passageway to the past recorded on the sherd.

Haggard's depiction of these ruins recalls Tylor's and Lang's theories of diffusion. Holly suggests that the remains are Mediterranean or Middle Eastern in origin: that is, the product of colonialism. In She, the differentiation of civilized fair-skinned peoples and uncivilized blacks that colours Holly's archaeological hypotheses betrays an English-oriented view of cultural evolution. Holly speculates that a country like Africa . . . is sure to be full of the relics of long dead and forgotten civilisations. Nobody knows the age of the Egyptian civilisation, and very likely it had offshoots. Then there were the Babylonians and the Phoenicians, and the Persians, and all manner of people, all more or less civilised, to say nothing of the Jews whom everybody 'wants' nowadays. It is possible that they, or any one of them, may have had colonies or trading
stations about here. (62-63)

Holly celebrates these ancient sites as prototypes of a decidedly English commercial and colonial spirit. Indeed, Haggard's Africa abounds with the ruins of civilizations imaged throughout his novels as the remains of white-skinned races having cultural ties to the Western world. Africa is not foreign territory, but part of the West's mythological heritage.²¹

Holly's reference to the colonial spirit enmeshed in the ruins of Kôr points to another contemporary manifestation of African archaeology: the discovery of the ruins of Zimbabwe between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers in the Rhodesian interior in 1871 (fig. 19). The burning question was who could have built such a city? Rumours circulated that the lost city of Ophir had come at last to light.²² As Ophir was the port from which Phoenician ships brought back gold for Solomon's temple, some thought Zimbabwe might very well be the location of the legendary mines of King Solomon (Wellard 124). Like Layard's unearthing of Nimrud and Nineveh, African archaeology sought connections with Biblical history; it also stimulated prospectors' interest. Thomas Baines's 1873 "Map of the Gold Fields of South Eastern Africa" identifies the Zimbabwe ruins as the site of the "Manica Ancient Gold Fields" (Etherington 1977, 437). The Manica region lay on the border of Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

The German discoverer of the ruins, Karl Mauch, concluded
that the buildings were constructed by a white race who traded with Phoenicians. In 1891, this hypothesis was supported by the English diffusionist Theodore Bent who, after studying the ruins for six months (Wellard 132), declared them to have been built by a "race closely akin to the Phoenician and the Egyptian, strongly commercial and eventually developing into the more civilized races of the ancient world" (245). Early twentieth-century archaeology determined, however, that the ruins are in fact the remains of a former Bantu tribe, a sub-division of the Zulu (Wellard 135-41). The ruins and their associations with Ophir, King Solomon's Mines, and Phoenician trade routes stood in the nineteenth century, however, as a monument to a decidedly European history of civilization in the "Dark Continent" (Hall 61).

The discovery and exploration of "lost civilizations" fired the imagination of Victorians, Haggard included. Etherington suggests that Haggard, serving as aide to Sir Theophilus Shepstone during the annexation of the Transvaal (December 1876 to May 1879), would certainly have seen both J. R. Jeppe's "Map of the Transvaal" (1877), on which appears a picture of the ruins, and Thomas Baines's map of the gold fields, upon which is inscribed the "Supposed Realm of Queen of Sheba" (Etherington 1984, 39; 1977, 437). Aside from the obvious similarities between the physical remains in Rhodesia and in She, Haggard's conception of the 2000-year-old white ruler Ayesha--known to her subjects as "She-who-must-be-
obeyed"--may derive from myths surrounding the Zimbabwe ruins. The Lovedu tribe, who inhabited the vicinity, were reputed to be ruled by an ancient white-skinned queen (Etherington 1991, xxiv, xli; Cohen 109). In creating Ayesha, Haggard uses the myth of the white queen (Sheba must also be a model) as a survival of an ancient white imperial presence in Africa. Like the English presence in Rhodesia and South Africa, Ayesha is a foreigner in the land she rules.

Haggard populates his ruins with a people known as the Amahagger, or "People of the Rocks" (i.e. of the "ruins"). Etherington points out the clear resonances between Haggard's Africans and those inhabiting the area of the Zimbabwe site: "the Zimbabwe ruins, which Haggard did know about, were so called because the word Zimbabwe recorded by early Portuguese adventurers meant 'stone'" (1991, 218). Like the Lovedu of Zimbabwe, the Amahagger are not the creators of the ruins in which they dwell. Though handsome and "comparatively light in colour" (75), the Amahagger are the degenerate, backward product of miscegenation between the ancient people of Kôr and Black Africans (181). Within the novel, they illustrate (as Tylor and other anthropologists and archaeologists allowed for) degeneration within the evolutionary scheme. The Amahagger do represent a temporal/cultural level in the history of Kôr, but, as a bastard race, they are but physical survivals of Kôr: intellectual and cultural survival is the birthright of Holly and Leo.
Holly himself archaeologically sustains this decidedly European inheritance. For example, having examined vases used by the Amahagger, Holly concludes that they were made "after the fashion of the Egyptians, with whom the former inhabitants of this country may have had some connection" (67). Holly affirms his hypothesis of this ancient Mediterranean connection deep in the heart of Black Africa when he announces that the people decorated upon the vases are "apparently white in colour" (97). As the line of succession written on the sherd of Amenartas avers, Holly, as a man of science, is discovering and scientifically affirming his own cultural pedigree in the African interior.

The Amahagger do, however, serve to introduce the protagonists to Kôr. They escort Holly and Leo to Ayesha, eventually by way of labyrinthine catacombs evocative of Egyptian burial sites. The underground journey is a trope for the adventurers' communion with the dead world as it survives in the seemingly immortal white queen. The descent into the underground past, moreover, is prime territory for archaeological investigation. On the journey, Holly studies the ancient builders' way of life by examining bas-reliefs and frescoes reminiscent of Pompeian and Egyptian tombs (134-37). Much as archaeology resurrects past cultures from places of interment, Holly and Leo penetrate the spirit of the past in the catacombs of Kôr.

While exploring the sepulchres, Holly makes repeated
reference to the scholarly community at Cambridge, a rhetorical strategy Haggard frequently employs to maintain the scientific verisimilitude of the opening chapters. Holly says,

I thought how envious some antiquarian friends of my own at Cambridge would be if ever I got an opportunity of describing these wonderful remains to them. Probably they would say I was exaggerating, notwithstanding that every page of this history must bear so much internal evidence of its truth that it would obviously have been quite impossible for me to have invented it. (137)

The "internal evidence" Holly furnishes is archaeological: "Nobody visited those tombs now . . . and I must say that my heart rejoiced when I thought of the opportunities of antiquarian research which opened out before me" (170). Indeed, structurally the novel is akin to the edited archaeological report. Holly claims that his narrative is a publication, as it were, of his finds, as well as a history of his adventures. Coming across some sculptures in the caves of Kôr, he says, "I make no apology for describing them rather fully" (137). The novel is similar to popular archaeological books, such as *Nineveh and Its Remains*, which are as much travel books featuring adventure as they are scientific accounts.

The scientific method of observation, classification, and
interpretation that shapes Holly's "report" prepares the reader for the fantastic element in the novel: the introduction of the 2000-year-old Ayesha. Holly, for example, recurrently appeals to science when encountering the unknown. After his first interview with Ayesha, he asks, "[h]ow was it possible that I, a rational man, not unacquainted with the leading scientific facts of our history . . . could believe that I had . . . been engaged in conversation with a woman two thousand and odd years old?" (158). Somewhat like Marlow in Heart of Darkness, Holly and Leo encounter primal forces in the African interior. When Holly and Leo descend to the catacombs, for instance, they sleep with the dead all around them. By day they examine the physical remains of Ayesha's culture, but sleep harbours disturbing psychological implications. Holly's nightmares augur the deep "meaning" of their trip to the ancient world. Once he dreams he is buried alive (87) and, later, of "a veiled form . . . hovering, which, from time to time, seemed to draw the coverings from its body, revealing now the perfect shape of a lovely blooming woman, and now again the white bones of a grinning skeleton" (109). Holly and Leo are figuratively buried alive in the dead world of Kôr ruled by Ayesha, who, through her own scientific and occultist investigation, has tapped the secrets of life and death. While an adventure and an archaeological mission, the African voyage is, at a deeper level, a journey to the origins of life itself.
The archaeological imagery of Holly's nightmare--lifting the veil to examine life and death--is similar to Pater's conception of archaeology as a mode of cultural and psychological exploration. Like Pater's metaphor of periodic artistic renascence as a "visionary" summation of culture (Greek Studies 215), She depicts a kind of psychic archaeology. Exploring levels of cultural development prepares and facilitates the exploration of mental layers or, rather, collective, racial memory. In his dreams, Holly communes mentally with the dead past as it lingers in this preternaturally old, but still vital and alluring woman. Like St. Edmund to Samson, or the Apollo Belvedere to Winckelmann, the "disinterred" Ayesha represents a physical and psychic force at work in the consciousness of Leo and Holly.  

As in Pater's vision of La Gioconda, archaeological imagery saturates Holly's first description of the white goddess:

> the curtain was drawn, and a tall figure stood before us. I say a figure, for not only the body, but also the face was wrapped up in soft white, gauzy material in such a way as at first sight to remind me most forcibly of a corpse in its grave-clothes. And yet I do not know why it should have given me that idea, seeing that the wrappings were so thin that one could distinctly see the gleam of the pink flesh beneath them. . . . I could . . .
distinguish that the swathed mummy-like form before me was that of a tall and lovely woman, instinct with beauty in every part, and also with a certain snake-like grace which I had never seen anything to equal before. (142)

The imagery in this important description associates Ayesha with the ancient Egypt in which Haggard was so interested. Veiled and mummy-like, she has been preserved for the modern archaeologist figuratively to unwrap. In the next chapter, "Ayesha Unveils," Haggard further promotes the identification of Ayesha with ancient Egypt as she removes her "corpse-like wrappings" to reveal a "double headed snake of solid gold" (185). The asp image and Ayesha's sexual aura suggest that she is a prototype for the female protagonist of Haggard's 1889 novel, Cleopatra.

Like St. Edmund, Lovel, Arbaces, Glaucus, Ione, and La Gioconda, Ayesha is herself an archaeological site. Having discovered the secret of longevity in the fiery Pillar of Life located deep in the earth below the Temple of Truth, the religious and physical centre of Kôr, she embodies 2000 years of culture. Ayesha is a kind of "survival" from a distant age, who incarnates the march of civilization: Holly's scholarly knowledge of the ancient Greek, Egyptian, and Persian worlds pales before Ayesha's firsthand experience of them and her own scientific investigation of the vastly more ancient Kôr. Like Edie and the "revivified" Elspeth in The
Antiquary, Ayesha is a lingering anachronism from a bygone world. Her presence in the novel represents a direct channel to the past.

An accretion of layered experiences, Ayesha's character has elicited discussion of the psychoanalytic resonances in the novel. Late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century psychologists "took a particular interest in Haggard because they saw in his novels an implicit model of the self which corresponded closely to their own explicit models" (Etherington 1984, 38). Fascinated by She's textured narrative and archaeological imagery, Freud, for example, offered the novel to a patient, remarking that it is a "'strange book, but full of hidden meaning'" (453). Freud used archaeology to elucidate his own method of psychanalysis. As Hake says of Freud's scheme, the

analyst, like the archaeologist, excavates the objects from the past in order to make sense of the present. Like the archaeologist, the analyst develops a method of analysis and a theory of interpretation in order to transform the past into history and history into narrative. . . .

Archaeology, from its belief in stratification to its desire for reconstruction, provides the most convincing imagery for such an undertaking. (148) Archaeology provides a model for the psychoanalytic excavation and reconstruction of the patient's own history. When Leo and
Holly journey through the wilds of Africa and contact Ayesha and the lost world of Kôr, they venture beyond their present consciousness to engage the historic past that constitutes their own cultural and psychological make-up. They explore subterranean realms of the collective unconscious symbolized by Ayesha's sovereignty over the dead. In their dreams, the psychoanalyst argues, the explorers contact the historical memory of which Ayesha, because of her great age, is fully conscious. Freud's and Jung's paradigm of the layered psyche --rendered through, and prepared by, archaeological language--emerges as yet another mode of forging continuity with the past.

An important motif in She related to historical reconstruction and Freud's archaeology of the mind is reincarnation, a phenomenon Haggard repeatedly employs in his fiction of lost and ancient worlds. Ayesha is the main expositor of reincarnation in the novel. She is not a mystic, however, but a scientist who, like Lang and Freud, approaches psychic phenomena as objects of rational, psychological study. The universe Ayesha inhabits and studies as a eugenicist, astronomer, chemist, physicist, geologist, linguist, and archaeologist is a decidedly Darwinian one. She views reincarnation accordingly: she tells Holly in their first interview that there "is no such thing as Death, though there be a thing called Change" (149). While the evolutionary universe espoused by Lyell and Darwin produced challenges to
the study of human history and its origins, the new paradigm of uniformitarianism—continual change—in turn supplied a vocabulary and imagery with which novelists such as Haggard could conceive of human development through time. In *She*, the boundaries between spiritualism and science blur as the characters explore continuity within the seemingly immeasurable span of human history.

As an archaeologist, Ayesha elucidates psychic contact with ancient worlds through a materialist rhetoric. Like Carlyle raising the spirit of the dead past through the ruins of St. Edmundsbury, Bulwer-Lytton through Pompeii, or Pater through Greek sculpture, Ayesha uses the physical remains of the vanished culture of Kôr as talismans to commune with the dead: "she pointed to some sculptures on the rocky wall. 'Three times two thousand years have past since the last of the great race that hewed those pictures fell . . . yet are they not dead. E'en now they live; perchance their spirits are drawn toward us at this very hour" (149). In *She*, reincarnation enacts evolutionary theory by furnishing communion through the ages.

Discussions of reincarnation within the Egyptian atmosphere of the novel certainly reflect Haggard's own sense of a deep-seated—and archaeologically-rooted—attachment to ancient Egypt. In his autobiography Haggard writes frankly and at length about the personal ramifications of Lang's anthropological and psychological theories that influenced his
writing. Discussing his attraction to ancient Egypt, he asserts that "it is a fact that some men have a strong affinity for certain lands and periods of history" (1926, 1: 255). A mystic friend even supplied Haggard with a list of the novelist's previous incarnations, two being Egyptian (1926, 1: 254), and one a "Norseman of the seventh century, who was one of the first to sail to the Nile" (1926, 1: 254). His autobiography intimates that Haggard certainly entertained in his own life the notions of survivals that he indulged more fully in his fiction.

In *She*, Haggard forges Leo's ancestry in ancient Egypt in the key chapter, "The Dead and Living Meet." The dead and living come face to face via archaeological remains: Ayesha "unveils" the mummified corpse of Kallikrates before Leo. As a sort of incantation, she exclaims "'Behold now, let the Dead and Living Meet! Across the gulf of Time they still are one. Time hath no power against Identity. . . . [T]he weeping and the laughter of the lost hours shall be heard once more most sweetly echoing up the cliffs of immeasurable time'" (237; my emphasis). This scene has obvious correlations to the grave-dig in the ruins of St. Ruth in *The Antiquary*. Like Lovel's identification with Malcolm Misticot, Leo's genealogy is established through his identity with the disinterred Kallikrates. Exhuming the remains of the past, the heroes of archaeological fiction often come (literally and figuratively) face to face with their ancestors. As in Pater's depiction of
Leonardo's "La Gioconda" as an immortal who "has been dead many times, and learned the secrets of the grave" (99), reincarnation in She is a metaphor for cultural survival. In She, reincarnation and exhumation are interrelated modes of exploring links between past and present and of establishing identity.

Discussions of spiritualism and reincarnation lead into the final leg of the expedition to the city of Kôr itself, and, beyond, to the Pillar of Life which lies underneath it. Led by Ayesha, this trip to the city, like the journey to the Plains of Kôr, has the air of an expedition. Having examined the ruins of the ancient civilization that flourished some 4000 years before even Ayesha was born, the white queen guides the group through the city. Mirroring an important incident in Egyptian archaeology, Haggard has Ayesha find her own Rosetta Stone, whose inscriptions bear the key to the hieroglyphs that decorate the catacombs of Kôr (177-78). Ayesha, furthermore, endorses Holly's belief in diffusion, albeit from a proto-Egyptian source. She muses, "[d]oth it not occur to thee, oh Holly . . . that those men who sailed North may have been the fathers of the first Egyptians?" (180). Like Holly and Leo, Ayesha views this ancient civilization, which "was an old people before the Egyptians were" (178), in terms of continuity with the modern world.

The ruins of Kôr represent the oldest architectural/cultural layer in the novel. The journey to the
city, then, is a journey to the very origin of civilization. At the heart of the city lies the Temple of Truth, designed "on the principle of a Chinese nest of boxes" (260). The inter-nested image of Kôr's central structure--its physical and spiritual "core"--recalls the quest's point of origin: the three chests housing the Sherd of Amenartas. The sherd-cum-treasure map buried within the chests leads Holly and Leo to inhabit bodily the labyrinthine palace from which Amenartas's tale emanated.

Peeling back physical and temporal layers on their journey, Holly and Leo enact what is perhaps the most ancient of all literary tropes: the quest for truth. Indeed, at the centre of the temple stands a statue representing truth, "perhaps the grandest allegorical work of Art," says Holly, "that the genius of her children has ever given to the world" (264). Ayesha says, "'Truth was the Goddess of the people of old Kôr, and to her they built their shrines, and her they sought; knowing that they should never find, still sought they'" (265). Here, at the very "core" of civilization, the group ponders the vastness of time and tradition it has traversed over the course of the journey. Gazing at the statue and the ruins radiating into the distance around it, Holly succumbs to

the dead silence of the dead, the sense of utter loneliness, and the brooding spirit of the Past!

How beautiful it was, and yet how drear! . . .
Ayesha herself was awed in the presence of an antiquity compared to which even to her length of days was but a little thing. (263)

The feeling of pleasurable melancholy evoked by the contemplation of the moonlit ruins and the vastness of time to which they bear witness infuses this consummate image of the civilized world. The party now penetrates the veil of history to encounter the primordial world symbolized by the fiery Pillar of Life which abides deep underground beneath the Temple. The exploration of the underground-as-underworld, a central metaphor in Pater's The Renaissance, assumes a new form in She with an actual subterranean journey.

The novel's time-frame shifts from the human measure of the ruins to the humanly incomprehensible temporal dimensions and (super)natural forces represented by the Pillar of Life: the scientists venture beyond human antiquity and agency as they descend into the extinct volcano in whose crater Kôr is built. Through the gates of the Temple of Truth the party travels backward to the origin of life itself incarnate in the fire. The immensity of time they cover on this quest is related, from this point onwards, in geological terms.

In She—as in the history of science—geology and archaeology are related disciplines. Geological field practice and dating methods were, for instance, adopted by Schliemann, Petrie, and Pitt-Rivers. Charles Lyell's notion of evolutionary geology espoused in The Principles of Geology
laid the foundation for Darwinian principles of biological evolution, which in turn was translated into anthropological and archaeological models of cultural evolution by scientists such as Lang, Tylor, Petrie, and Pitt-Rivers. Shared practices and aims in archaeology and geology provided Haggard with the scientific theory and imagery to thrust home the vastness of the distances Holly and Leo travel in time as well as in space. As in Jules Verne's *Journey to the Centre of the Earth* (1864), Ayesha and her party travel deeper and deeper underground, crossing a chasm, which, as Ayesha suggests, goes "down to the very womb of the world" (279). The Chinese box motif recurs as a natural phenomenon: recessed in the inner sanctum of the underground caverns is the Pillar of Life.

As the ever-veiled Statue of Truth intimates, the quest for the origins of life cannot be consummated: Ayesha is destroyed by the very forces that once gave her longevity. The manner of her death does, however, reiterate the novel's evolutionary scheme. Stepping into the flames a second time, Ayesha, in a word, devolves. She reenacts the series of temporal layers that Holly and Leo traverse over the course of their expedition, growing old before their eyes, turning into a "badly-preserved Egyptian mummy" (293), and then into a monkey-like form (299). Ayesha returns to the origin of the human species, retracing the evolutionary course of civilization and humanity to its bestial origins.

Having reached the end of the quest and unwittingly and
unwillingly vindicated Amenartas by precipitating Ayesha's destruction, Holly and Leo return to the surface and eventually to England to report their history. The tale is offered to the public as a kind of scientific report: "And that is the end of this history so far as it concerns science and the outside world" (316). Rhetorically, the novel ends where it began: emphasizing the tale's historical and scientific verisimilitude.

As it was for Scott and Bulwer-Lytton, the romance genre was for Haggard an absorbing medium. Its versatility allowed him to explore, through science, adventure and fantasy, the implications of historical identity within the evolutionary universe. Archaeology provided Haggard with a mode of fictionally investigating the remote past and a fund of images with which to reconstruct and locate the past within his novel. In She, layering, burial, and wrapping are central motifs for elucidating the excavation and evocation of bygone worlds and their cultural, intellectual, and psychic legacy to the modern world.

Through Egyptian archaeology in particular, Haggard studied an ancient people who were as fascinated as he by the mystery of life and death. As Ayesha says of the ancient people of Kôr, "like the Egyptians, they thought more of the dead than of the living" (177-78). Like Bulwer-Lytton, Haggard responds to Egypt's religious tradition of reincarnation, as encoded in its places of interment, by
transposing reincarnation itself into a meta-archaeological motif with which to forge continuity with the past at a psychic level. Armed with archaeological tools, Haggard creates narratives of lost races, survivals, diffusion, and cultural inheritance within the framework of uniformitarianism. As we have seen in the writings of Layard, Carlyle, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, and Pater, what Ayesha asserts, contemporary archaeology was proving: "Time hath no power against Identity."
Notes

1. Trigger rates Lubbock's book as "certainly the most influential work dealing with archaeology published during the nineteenth century" (1989, 114). The seventh edition was published in 1913.

2. For histories of the development of prehistoric archaeology see Daniel (1975, 111-21; 1988), Grayson, Piggott (1959), and Trigger (1978).

3. Petrie outlined his principles in *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (1904).

4. Trigger states that it "is not inappropriate to refer to the archaeology of the period 1860 to 1890 as evolutionary archaeology. . . . Cultural evolution was viewed largely as a continuation of biological evolution and, like the latter, was assumed to be universal and unilinear" (1978, 97).


6. Tylor's definition of survivals is helpful for understanding the evolutionary background from which the theory arose: "Among evidence aiding us to trace the course which the civilization of the world has actually followed, is that great class of facts to denote which I
have found it convenient to introduce the term 'survivals.' These are processes, customs, opinions, and so forth, which have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they had their original home, and they thus remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which a newer has been evolved" (Primitive Culture 1: 16).

7. In Primitive Culture Tylor writes, "It is a mere matter of chronicle that modern civilization is a development of mediaeval civilization, which again a development from civilization of the order represented in Greece, Assyria, or Egypt" (1: 32).

8. Tylor explicitly applies anthropological Darwinism to his theory of survivals: "History within its proper field, and ethnography over a wider range, combine to show that the institutions which can best hold their own in the world gradually supersede the less fit ones, and that this incessant conflict determines the general resultant course of culture" (Primitive Culture 1: 69).

9. Lang, however, also believed in parallel and independent evolution as well as diffusion (see Lang 1907, 3 and Langstaff 125, 129).

10. Lang's notion of survivals in folklore was preceded by W. J. Thoms, who coined the term "folklore" in 1846. Thoms was also the English translator of Worsaae's The Primeval
Antiquities of Denmark in 1849 (Daniel 1975, 184-85; 42) and founder of Notes and Queries.

11. Haggard composed the tale first in English and commissioned its Greek transcriptions from Dr. H. A. Holden, headmaster of Ipswich Grammar School, where Haggard had been a pupil (Etherington 1991, 213; Haggard 1926, 1: 251-52). Haggard glibly relates in his autobiography that he desired to produce a "'genuine bit of antiquity'" (1926, 1: 252). The Latin and medieval English versions were produced by his "friend, Dr. Raven, who was a very great authority on monkish Latin and medieval English" (1926, 1: 252).

12. Lang provided scholarly advice here: he reassured Haggard that the cognition of "'Vindex, Vindici, Vincey would knit'" (Cohen 181).

13. Arthur Evans compared similarities in pot shapes and decoration between Egypt and Minoan Greece, proving cultural contacts between these ancient peoples (Daniel 1975, 190-95). As late as the 1920s the idea of unilinear evolution from Egypt was espoused by the leading English Egyptian archaeologist, Gordon Childe. According to Daniel, in Childe's What Happened in History, "one of the main tasks of the Old World archaeologist was the tracing of culture traits all over the Old World--tracing faience beads from Egypt through Crete and Mycenean Greece to Germany and the British
Isles, and sherds of decorated painted pottery from ancient Mesopotamia to India and China" ("One Hundred Years" 87). Implicit in Childe's What Happened in History, says Daniel, "are two doctrines: unilinear evolution in the Near East, and diffusion from the Near East" (87).


15. Lang's criticism of Cleopatra as being "'too full of antiquarian detail'" (1926, 1: 269) suggests Haggard's commitment to and interest in archaeology as a basis of historical romance. Haggard does apologize in the preface for the illustrative matter. Cleopatra's first book is antiquarian in nature, setting the background--much like the other prefaces in nineteenth-century archaeological/historical fiction--upon which the historical romance is played out. Egyptologist Sir Gaston Maspero was more impressed than Lang with Haggard's antiquarian urges: he exclaimed that "'he could not conceive how it was possible for a modern man to have written a work so full of the true and inner thought and spirit of Ancient Egypt'" (qtd. in Green 125).

16. Cohen provides inventories of the African, Greek, Egyptian, Nordic, and Celtic curios that Haggard collected during his travels (140-41, 145-46). Cohen states that Haggard, like Scott, "faithfully and realistically described" these objects in his fiction,
which "helped give his stories the ring of authority" (140).

17. See Whatmore 103-120 for a list of Haggard's contributions to the periodical press.

18. The search for the origins of culture in Egypt reached its most deterministic form in the Egypto-centric hyperdiffusionist doctrines of the Elliot Smith school at the turn of the century (Daniel 1975, 68). The title of his 1911 book, *The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence upon the Civilization of Europe*, heralds his belief in Egypt as the cradle of civilization.


20. Etherington explains the origins of Holly's speculations: "the white minority regime that held power in Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia) until 1980 encouraged the view that all stone ruins found in the sub-Saharan Africa were the product of non-African settlement colonies founded by Phoenicians or other Mediterranean peoples. This view was first formulated in Haggard's day and led to considerable speculation about where the seaports might have been to service those inland colonies" (1991, 216).

21. For an extended discussion of imperialism in the writings of Haggard see Katz.
22. In January 1873 The Illustrated London News reported that "[s]trange stories have been told of late about the Ophir of Solomon having been discovered . . . in the interior of Sofala, in Eastern Africa" ("The Ophir of Scripture").

23. Bent's best-selling The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland (1892) ran to three editions in as many years (Wellard 133).

24. This hypothesis was made by Dr. David Randall-MacIver, an Egyptologist who worked with Petrie. He reported that the Zimbabwe site was no older than the fourteenth century AD and that the stone buildings were designed and erected by Africans (Wellard 135). He published Medieval Rhodesia in 1904.

25. Imperialist strains surrounded the discovery of the Zimbabwe ruins in 1871. Mauch's journal entry on the day he set out for the site in late July is indicative: "In the sight of the re-united Fatherland, standing in forefront of all nations, and with the image of the Kaiser, crowned with victory, may now the most valuable and important, the hitherto most mysterious part of Africa be tackled, the old Monomotapa or Ophir! May God help me!" (qtd. in Robbins 124). Monomotapa refers to a legendary civilization supposed to have inhabited the Transvaal. For a reading of the colonial ideology behind such interpretations see Hall 61 ff.

27. The Transvaal was inhabited by the Lovedu, "a tribe of negroid primitives," states Cohen, "relatively unaffected by Western civilization. It is a small, weak tribe, but its fame has spread throughout the world because of its ruler, who had, from 1800 until recently, been a fair-skinned woman with great magical powers, living in seclusion among her people. Her very name provoked fear in the hearts of her African enemies and awe even in white Europeans who lived and explored in Africa. She was Mujaji. . . . Few ever saw her, and those who did could not tell about her, for, like Ayesha, she was served by a select inner circle, mainly mute women. . . . Besides her power over the clouds, her fair complexion and her immortality added to her fame" (109). Haggard wrote about the Lovedu queen in "The Death of Majaji" in The African Review (1896).

28. Leo's father intimates the commingled spiritual and scientific aspect of the quest in his letter to Leo: "I do not believe [the tale of Amenartas] is a fable; I
believe that if it can only be re-discovered there is a spot where the vital forces of the world visibly exist" (29).

29. For a general discussion of Haggard's characterization of Ayesha and his other female characters see Etherington 1984, 77-90.

30. Cornelia Brunner, a student of Jung, devotes half her *Anima as Fate* to Jung's notion of the anima, the contrasexual aspect of the male psyche, as elucidated in *She*. See also Freud 452-55; Jung 345-46. Etherington supplies readings of the psychoanalytic resonances in the novel (1984, 37-38, 51-54).

31. Henry Miller (81-99) and Graham Greene (19) both appreciated Haggard's equation of passing through primitive landscapes with journeying backwards in time and into forgotten modes of awareness.

32. In his autobiography, Haggard devotes a chapter to his interest in psychic phenomena such as dream analysis, racial memory, and reincarnation. The author repeatedly employed the latter in his novels as a means of exploring and elucidating the unexplained mysteries of life and human origins (1926, 2: 155-72). Works by Haggard dealing with reincarnation and spiritualism include *Ayesha, the Return of She, She and Allan, The Ancient Allan, "Smith and the Pharaohs," The Mahatma and the Hare: A Dream Story, Allan and the Ice Gods, Stella*

33. Lang likewise deals with magic, metaphysics, and psychology in mythology (82-121).
AFTERWORD

I have argued that the Victorians found in archaeology a tangible means of consolidating their traditions. Archaeology certainly challenged and enlarged the Victorians' world-view, but, as the celebratory rhetoric surrounding Layard's excavations in Mesopotamia reveals, it simultaneously bolstered the Victorians' sense of their own composite, historical identity. Largely through the appropriation of artifacts from the Middle East, Egypt and Greece, archaeologists promoted a comforting and flattering image of Victorian modernity blossoming from the seedbeds of civilization. The popularity of archaeology and archaeological literature in the period confirms that the Victorians were themselves keen excavators and articulators of their heritage. The "narratives of continuity" that I have identified as a major thematic and formal feature in the writings of Scott, Carlyle, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater, and Haggard are rooted in both archaeological practice and in an intellectual climate that fostered teleological interpretation of material data.

While this thesis focuses on archaeological hermeneutics in literature, archaeology as a medium for historical representation had a wide generic appeal in the period. The work I have done here provides a basis for subsequent investigation of a more interdisciplinary nature.

Visual artists and architects certainly found rich
imagery in archaeological discovery. The colonial and biblical overtones in representations of Layard in *The Illustrated London News*, for instance, are evocative of William Bartlett's and David Roberts's paintings of excavation sites in the Holy Land (respectively in *Syria and the Holy Land* [1861] and *The Holy Land* [1842]). Their majestic treatment of ruins, which blend the mystique of antiquity and biblical reference, were influential in mustering support for funding agencies such as the Palestine Exploration Fund (1866). Like the response to Layard in the periodical press, these works reflect the crusade in biblical archaeology to authenticate Britain's religious roots in the Middle East.

In a similar vein, the canvasses of the English historical painter John Martin featured re-creations of vanished imperial capitals. His *Destruction of Babylon* (1819) was based on James Claude Rich's text, *Memoirs of the Ruins of Babylon* (1815). Martin wedded archaeological aesthetics, moreover, with civil engineering. In 1829 he proposed to edify the Thames Embankment with the architectural pomp of these ancient river empires, while furnishing the modern capital with much-needed sewage and railway facilities.

Museology is another potential field for investigation. Like literature, curatorship was an interpretive vehicle for communicating science to the public. Augustus Pitt-Rivers, for example, illustrated a theory of historical continuity by arranging prehistorical and historical artifacts into
evolutionary "typological" series in his museums at Farnham (Dorset) and Oxford. Tracing the evolution of, for instance, hand weapons, he argued that the overarching historical tendency was progress. His system had political implications. While the Oxford museum was established in 1888 as a research museum, the Farnham museum (which attracted large numbers of visitors in the early 1890s) was "educational": by presenting evolution in artifacts to the voting masses, he hoped to "make men cautious how they listen to scatter-brained revolutionary suggestions" (1891, 116).

The opera world also incorporated archaeological discovery into narratives of continuity. Premiered in Cairo contemporary with the opening of the Suez Canal, Verdi's Aïda (1871) implicitly celebrated Europe's imperial appropriation of ancient Egypt, initiated by Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion in 1798. His platoon of savants tackled cultural appropriation by surveying Egypt's archaeological sites and publishing the sumptuously illustrated Description de l'Égypte (1809-28). Its plates, which in part commemorate the military occupation of Egypt and the spiriting away of artifacts (see fig. 26), supplied imagery for sets and costumes (the libretto was itself composed by the "father of Egyptian Archaeology," Auguste Mariette). These colonial origins of Egyptian archaeology infused the premiere of Verdi's opera, which furnished a spectacle of Egyptian antiquity for Europeans living in Cairo.
These examples of archaeological representation in the nineteenth century further show that in unearthing the material remains of vanished worlds, archaeologists provided Victorian thinkers and artists with a nexus of images and a mode of inquiry with which to raise the past into the present consciousness. By forging links with a stable body of tradition, the Victorians simultaneously—and vigorously—constructed their present as they investigated the past.
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A Short History of Pompeian Excavation and Re-creation

In 1709, while digging a well in Resina, a Hapsburg-ruled village near Naples, Italian peasants unearthed some fragments of ancient marble. Upon hearing of the discovery, Austrian calvary officer Major-General Prince d'Elboeuf bought the adjacent property with a view to mining building materials for a house he was constructing in nearby Portici. To d'Elboeuf's delight, he had purchased Herculaneum. Over the next seven years the prince drove a network of subterranean channels into the hardened mud lava that enveloped Herculaneum and removed several marble decorations and statues (Corti 101-06). Spurred by the European taste for classical art, the first excavations of the classical world were under way.

When the Hapsburgs were driven out of Naples by the Spanish in 1735, Charles III of Bourbon became King of the Two Sicilies (a title he relinquished to his son Ferdinand in 1759 when he became Charles III of Spain). Like d'Elboeuf, Charles craved edification through ancient art. He inhabited d'Elboeuf's villa and in 1738 resumed tunnelling, appointing the Spanish engineer Rocco Gioacchino de Alcubierre to supervise. Using gunpowder, Alcubierre blasted his way to marbles and bronzes, which he removed to the surface for restoration and display in Charles's gallery in Portici. Despite the primitive nature of the excavations, Charles played an important role in the early years of Pompeian and
Herculanean archaeology. His energetic exploration of these treasure hoards of bronzes and marbles stimulated across Europe both scholarly and popular interest in the site. His museum became the nucleus of the Academy of Herculaneum at Naples, founded in 1755. His portrait (fig. 20) occasioned upon ascending the Spanish throne arrays archaeological tools and antiquities amongst more traditional military and royal iconography, displaying a composite identity as monarch, antiquarian, and patron of the Academy.

Marcello Venuti, the King’s librarian in Naples (Corti 111), compiled the first record of the survey, A Description of the First Discoveries of the Ancient City of Heraclea (1748). That this work was translated and republished by the Englishman W. Skurray two years later suggests an international interest was already established in Herculaneum in the mid-eighteenth century. The Academy produced the first substantial reproductions of the art of Herculaneum, the eight volume folio Le Antichità di Eroclono esposti (1757-92). The Antichità was privately printed by Charles, however, and distribution limited to his favourites. Pirated editions duly appeared. An English translation by Thomas Martyn and John Lettice was published in 1773 as The Antiquities of Herculaneum (Brilliant 40).

By 1748, the laborious and expensive tunnelling at Herculaneum induced Alcubiere to prospect in nearby Civitá. An inscription uncovered in 1763 positively identified the
site as Pompeii (Conti 133). Buried in relatively soft volcanic ash and lapillus rather than hardened mud lava that enmeshed Herculaneum, Pompeii became the region's main treasure trove for statuary. Whole streets, moreover, could be cleared rather than the destructive vertical tunnelling that destroyed architecture. From the 1760s an ancient city itself began to emerge intact.

The identification of Civitá with long-lost Pompeii coincided with the residency of the English Consul and member of the Society of Dilettanti, Sir William Hamilton (1764-1800). Like Charles, Hamilton was an energetic patron of Pompeian excavation and collector of antique art (Fothergill 45-71). The British Museum purchased in 1772 his substantial collection of Pompeian artifacts as the basis of its new Department of Antiquities. A four-volume catalogue of the collection, composed by Pierre François Hughes d'Hancarville at the cost of £6000 to Hamilton (Fothergill 68), appeared under the title *The Collection of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities from the Cabinet of the Honourable William Hamilton* (1766-67). Because of the "splendor of the folio plates," Brilliant relates, "... it soon served as a fountainhead of English and continental Neoclassicism" (62).

Fothergill relates that the volumes "were to fulfil [Hamilton's] hopes in respect of the influence they were to have on the neoclassical movement in art. Not only was Wedgwood to make considerable use of these books in his famous
Jasper vases and Black Basaltes, but artists such as John Flaxman and Henry Fuseli came directly under their influence" (69). D'Hancarville states in the preface to the first volume that "the artist who would invent in the same stile [sic], or only copy the Monuments . . . may do so with as much truth and precision, as if he had the Originals themselves in his possession. It is by this means, that the present work may contribute to the advancement of the Arts" (qtd. in Fothergill 67). The plates stimulated, for example, Josiah Wedgwood's manufacture of "Greek," "Etruscan," and "Pompeian" vases. Among them were his copies of the famous Portland Vase, which took its name from its purchaser, the Duchess of Portland, who eventually sold the piece to the British Museum. Hamilton himself published an account of the discoveries in *Archaeologia* (1786), which he illustrated with a dozen plates. This was the first cheap and accessible publication of the Pompeian ruins to appear in Britain. Hamilton had first read the report before the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1775.

In 1767, Hamilton invited Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the German art historian and Dresden's visiting archaeologist to Rome, to help him publish a book on classical vase-painting (the *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases* appeared between 1791-95). Winckelmann had been to the site in 1758 and 1762 but had alienated the Academy by publishing in 1762 an "Open Letter on the Discoveries made at Herculaneum," in
which he criticized the opportunistic spirit of the excavations and the restrictions to the excavation site imposed by Charles's successor Ferdinand (Leppmann 179; Winckelmann wrote a supplementary "Report on the Most Recent Discoveries Made at Herculaneum" in 1764). He, for example, derided Alcubierre for knowing "as much of antiquities as the moon does of lobsters" (qtd. in Hawkes 2: 213). His criticism of the cavalier removal of museum pieces at the expense of unimportant finds--of clumsy work undertaken often by chained gangs of convicts--and his recognition of the historical relevance of artifacts have earned Winckelmann the appellation "the father of archaeology." As Malina relates,

Winckelmann, by focusing on the potential information contained in the artifacts of material culture . . . was responsible for the birth of modern classical archaeology . . . Fieldwork, carried out at Herculaneum . . . and, above all, at Pompeii . . . helped to consolidate this attitude.

(27; c.f Leppmann 185)

Winckelmann's historicist outlook promoted more conscientious fieldwork. His letters reveal a despair of condition under which objects were removed and--a radical notion at the time--without care to location of "ordinary" objects. Systematic excavation came to Pompeii only in 1860, under the hand of Giuseppe Fiorelli. Amongst his other achievements, Fiorelli was responsible for creating the haunting plaster casts of
Pompeii's victims, around whose bodies the volcanic ash hardened to form a mould.

Like Winckelmann's letters and his more influential *History of Ancient Art* (1764-67) and *Unpublished Relics of Antiquity* (1767), Gell's *Pompeiana* was an important document in bringing about Pompeii's "second existence." Its plates feature architectural reconstructions alongside engravings of extant ruins. This inclination toward reconstruction demonstrates a desire to engage antique life above and beyond a heretofore picturesque delight in ruin depicted, for example, in Piranesi's mid eighteenth-century drawings of Pompeii (see Honour 51-57). *Pompeiana* thus marks an important aesthetic development in the history of Pompeian publication and Pompeian archaeology initiated by Winckelmann. And like the Academy's *Antichità* and Hamilton's publications, Gell's re-creative drawings were a major source for nineteenth-century artists to reinvent Pompeii. His "success with the English public was immediate," Clay asserts, "and we may say that Gell's most successful pupil was Edward Bulwer" (30).

*The Last Days of Pompeii* is only one link in a long chain of artistic interest in the antique world aroused by Pompeian archaeology. As early as 1770 Wedgwood produced Pompeian vases, plaques, and jewellery designed from the *Antichità* and d'Hancarville's descriptive catalogue of Hamilton's collection (Brilliant 59; Tice 70). The richness of Pompeian interior painting commanded the attention of decorative artists.
Pompeian motifs appeared from Ireland to Russia in "vignettes for ceilings, panels for doors, pilasters for walls, and, occasionally, furniture" (Tice 7; cf Karson and Praz for discussions of decorative art and furniture inspired by the taste for Pompeiana). John Goldicutt's Specimens of Ancient Decorations from Pompeii (1825), for example, was composed explicitly to provide archaeologically accurate models to assist artists in the interior decoration of houses (Brilliant 154).

Pompeian architecture also enjoyed a revival in Europe: Pompeian rooms sprang up in France, Germany, and England. Agosino Aglio designed a garden pavilion for Prince Albert in Buckingham Palace, which was constructed in 1844 (demolished in 1928 [Brilliant 161]); the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace boasted a Pompeian room; Friedrich von Gartner created a Pompeian Villa for Ludwig I of Bavaria in 1839-40; and a Maison Pompéienne for Prince Jerome Napoleon completed in Paris in 1860 provided Théophile Gautier with the setting for his novella Arria Marcella, subtitled Pompeia (Brilliant 160-63). These edifices, like their model, lay in ruins before the turn of the century (see Brilliant 64-68 for other attempts at architectural re-creation in England).

Pompeian archaeology likewise provided material for a host of poems and novels. Among the more famous in English are Thomas Babington Macaulay's "Pompeii," which won the Chancellor's Medal at Cambridge in 1819 (Brilliant 168), and
P. B. Shelley's 1820 "Ode to Naples." Thomas Gray's The Vestal, A Tale of Pompeii boasts of, in Dahl's words, the author's "historical accuracy" and "an instructive introduction [that] very well describes the magical recreation of Pompeian life achieved by the excavators" (1956, 188). As in Bulwer-Lytton's novel, skeletal remains suggested characters (see The Last Days of Pompeii 428). The Vestal also anticipates The Last Days of Pompeii by blending "archaeology and homiletics" with the conversion of the major characters to Christianity (Brilliant 170; c.f. Dahl 1956, 435; for treatments of Pompeii in French literature see Seznec.

Late nineteenth-century classical painters of the Royal Academy also mined Pompeii for subjects and motifs. Historical painter Lawrence Alma-Tadema, for example, collected photographs of Pompeii (Wood 28) and incorporated Pompeian motifs and settings into several works with marked attentiveness to archaeological detail (Brilliant 164; see fig. 21, a photograph carrying Casaubonean overtones of the artist measuring marble at Pompeii during his honeymoon in 1863). In his Faithful Unto Death (1865; fig. 22) Edward Poynter, RA president from 1896-1916, based the figure of a soldier manning his post during the destruction of Pompeii on an episode in Bulwer-Lytton's novel. Earlier in the century, John Martin, famous for his large canvases depicting scenes of vast destruction such as The Fall of Nineveh and his Progress
of Empire series, painted The Destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii (1822) based on his examination of the ruins and on Pompeiana (Dahl 1953, 435; fig. 23). Martin exhibited the picture at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly and cited Pompeiana as a source in his 1822 A Descriptive Catalogue of the Destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum (Dahl 1953, 435n). After viewing the picture, Bulwer-Lytton praised Martin as "the greatest, the most lofty, the most permanent, the most original genius of his age" (1833, 2: 211). Indeed, The Last Days of Pompeii weaves together the dual treatments of Pompeii represented in the works of Gell and Martin: re-creation and dramatic conflagration.

The great paradox of Pompeian archaeology—that the city has survived two millennia virtually intact because of its destruction—provided a popular theme for Pompeian re-creators. "The Last Days of Pompeii," like the appellation "The City of the Dead," is a major locution in the artistic discussions emerging from the excavations. Bulwer-Lytton's novel is only one of numerous works that take the phrase for its title. Sumner Lincoln's Fairfax's 1832 long poem is similarly titled The Last Night of Pompeii. The "last night" motif inspired several operatic composers and librettists. Giovanni Pacini's L'Ultimo giorno di Pompei opened at La Scala in 1827. Bulwer-Lytton's novel itself provided source material for subsequent operas: Julius Pabst's Die letzten Tage von Pompeji, performed in Dresden in 1851, and Le dernier jour
de Pompeii by Victorin Joncières in 1869. It seems the climactic eruption lent itself well to opera.

Bulwer-Lytton's novel was also quickly adapted for the stage. John Orlando Parry's 1835 watercolour *A London Street Scene* (fig. 24), for instance, advertises "The Destruction of Pompeii Every Night" at the Adelphi Theatre production of *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Bulwer-Lytton's novel itself inspired George Henry Boker to write *Nydia: A Tragic Play* in 1836, based on the blind flower girl in the novel. Randolph Rogers sculpted *Nydia, the Blind Girl of Pompeii*, "a marble statue made in more than fifty replicas" (Brilliant 174). Errico Petrella's opera *Jone: ossia, l'ultimo giorno di Pompeii* premiered at La Scala in 1858, based on the plight of the heroine. P. Koerber used two minor characters in Bulwer-Lytton's novel for his 1850 novel *Diomedes and Clodius* (Brilliant 182). James Hamilton undertook to re-create the climactic scene in his 1864 painting *The Last Days of Pompeii*. The novel also spawned films as early as 1898 (Dahl 1978, 33). A firework display at Manhattan Beach in 1885 purported to replicate "The Last Days of Pompeii" (Brilliant 185).

The cataclysmic last night was, as John Martin's 1822 canvass attests, a popular subject for painters. Preeminent in the genre is the Russian artist Karl Bryullov's 1828 picture, *The Last Days of Pompeii* (fig. 25). According to Dahl "[a]lmost every detail in it is suggested by a contemporary archaeological account, and almost every
situation depicted appears again in some poem or story on Pompeii" (1956, 183). Like Alma-Tadema and Martin, Bryullov sketched the ruins before he painted his picture, which he exhibited in Milan in 1833. Bulwer-Lytton viewed the picture and records in his diary high praise for the painting's conception and execution, its "'genius, imagination, and nature'" (qtd. in V. A. Lytton, 1: 440). The entry suggests that Bryullov's version of the last days of Pompeii, with its attention to individuals in the conflagration rather than the mass destruction portrayed by Martin, was a major source of inspiration for Bulwer-Lytton's novel. Dahl in fact argues that this "painting, hitherto unidentified as that which Bulwer-Lytton saw, was the original inspiration for The Last Days of Pompeii" (1953, 434).
APPENDIX B

Historical Background to Occultism in The Last Days of Pompeii

Bulwer-Lytton's portrayal of Egyptian philosophy, religion, and magic expressed in the cult of Isis and in the Hermetic philosophy of Arbaces is central to Bulwer-Lytton's depiction of the religious context out of which Christianity emerged. Interest in and knowledge of ancient Egyptian religions were in fact raised and fostered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through archaeology itself. In the novel, Bulwer-Lytton's study of occultism complements the archaeological focus on ruins and remains.

Arbaces's Hermeticism was a prominent philosophical and mystical system in the syncretic landscape of the Mediterranean in the first century AD. Hermetic thought originated in the synthesis of the Hellenic Hermes/Mercury with the Egyptian god Thoth into the syncretic occult figure Hermes Trismegistus, the "Thrice-Great Hermes" from his triple-personae as priest, philosopher/magician, and king (Arbaces similarly refers to himself as "prophet" and "king" [313]). Thoth, father of Isis, is the god of the moon, and like Hermes, is associated with the dead, medicine, magician, and science. Associated with Hecate, esoteric knowledge was his special preserve (Fowden 22-30). Hermes Trismegistus was thus a cosmopolitan, Hellenistic god "Egyptianized through his assimilation of Thoth" (Fowden 24). As the composite Greek
and Egyptian identity evolved, "Hermeticists began to propagate the idea that there had been two Egyptian Hermesses" (Fowden 29): both a divine and a euhemerized Hermes who possessed divine knowledge as the translator of sacred Egyptian philosophical and magical texts into Greek. To Renaissance scholars these texts were known as the Corpus Hermetica. As Fowden says, the Hermeticists wished it to be believed that their compositions were books of Thoth rendered from Egyptian into Greek; and . . . that the legitimacy and prestige of these books depended on the finding of a plausible explanation of how this translation had been brought about. Hence the last twist in the evolution of the myth of the Egyptian Hermes, namely the presentation of none other than Hermes the younger as the translator of the Thoth texts. (30; see also F. Yates's studies of Hermeticism and hermetic scholarship).

Fowden argues that this syncretization and euhemerization provided a divine origin for hermetic philosophy which "left the Greek Hermes flexible enough to play his traditional role of intermediary between God and men" which he does with "particular effect in the more initiatory of the philosophical Hermetica" (31). Hermes Trismegistus thus emerges as a mystery figure: both god and man, he represents the affirmation of the divine-in-humanity identified with the
human dying and reviving figures of Greek mythology such as Adonis, Orpheus and the half-human Dionysus, worshipped in mystery religions through initiatory rites that dramatized salvation through a *gnosis* of the divine.

To Renaissance Neoplatonists, Hermes Trismegistus was a mortal sage initiated into the divine mysteries through his occult study of astrology and magic. His *Corpus Hermetica*, translated from ancient Greek under Medici patronage, encompasses doctrines of magic and divination as well as philosophical treatises dealing with metaphysics and salvation. The *Corpus* is presented, states Fowden, as revelations of divine truth . . . and in the philosophical as in the technical texts those who do the revealing are the typical deities of Graeco-Egyptian syncretism--in other words even allowing for the presence of some characteristically Greek elements . . . the overall atmosphere is Egyptian.

(32)

Nineteenth-century Hermetic groups likewise claimed pedigrees dating back to ancient Egypt. The Hermetic Brotherhood of Egypt and the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor are the best known, the latter established in 1884, coinciding with a vigorous archaeological interest in Egypt typified by the foundation in 1883 of the Egyptian Exploration Fund (an American chapter of the H. B. L.--as it was known to the initiated--appeared in 1886). The famous occultist and
founder of the Theosophical Movement Madame Blavatsky credits these groups as authentic Hermetic organizations in her first major work, *Isis Unveiled* (1877), a study of the Egyptian esoteric wisdom and ritual that had formed the fountainhead of the Theosophical Society, established in 1875. Blavatsky began her study of esoteric knowledge while visiting Cairo in 1851 and 1871 (Godwin 281).

A catalyst in the quest for esoteric wisdom was the physical presence of Europeans in Egypt. Napoleon's conquest of Egypt in 1798, for instance, carried overtones of cultural and historical conquest. Like Layard, Napoleon spirited away hoards of antiquities for his nation's museum. His lavishly illustrated *Description de l'Égypte* (1809-28), published under the Commission of Arts and Sciences, inscribed ancient Egypt for European edification (Said 118). Its frontispiece, for example, celebrates martial and historical appropriation: Napoleon's conquering armies and savants border a foreshortened view of the Nile with heaps of booty piled in the foreground (fig. 26). The conquest itself, moreover, also bears occultist undertones. Napoleon is a reputed member of the Freemasons, a group, which, with hermeticism, saw its origins in ancient Egypt. According to Bernal, many of Napoleon's officers were Masons and Napoleon's imperial symbol, the bee, came from Egyptian and Masonic sources (Bernal 184; Iversen 132-33). The bee appears on cartouches on the frontispiece to the *Description*, perhaps as a cryptic
allusion to Napoleon's reclaiming a Masonic homeland or extracting esoteric knowledge through the removal of material objects to Europe (the antiquities, including the famous Rosetta Stone, were, however, turned over to the English as war booty).

In the history of Egyptology, archaeology and occultism are strange bedfellows. The Freemasons, whose organization involves an elaborate system of symbolic ritual and initiation, celebrates its ancient and distinguished origins in the ancient wisdom of Hermes Trismegistus, who is said to have discovered geometry and passed on masonic secrets to Euclid, who taught masonry to the sons of the Egyptian nobility (Stevenson 85; see F. Yates [1972] for a study of the links between freemasonry and hermeticism in the eighteenth century). The Regius Manuscript (ca. 1390), the oldest of the so-called Old Charges that house the rules and regulations of the masons, records that Euclid himself was a mason and that the society, founded "yn Egypte lande," was brought into England in Æthelstan's time (qtd. in "Freemasonry" 1911). Egyptian rites entered Masonic ritual rather later, however. In his study of the "Egyptian Revival" of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Carrott notes that the "Free-Masonic movement owes its dependence upon Egyptian rites and emblems to Count Cagliostro and Carl Friedrich Köppen who introduced these embellishments in Paris and Berlin in the seventies and eighties of the eighteenth century" (109; c.f.
Pevsner 254 and Godwin 1994, 97). In 1835 American Mason John Fellows published a detailed account of the Egyptian origins of Freemasonry (Carrott 100).

Occultism is, moreover, a major topic in Bulwer-Lytton's oeuvre. The Last Days of Pompeii represents an early treatment of occultism that would flower in his fully-fledged occult novels Zanoni (1842) and A Strange Story (1862), the former of which Godwin rates as a veritable "encyclopedia of ideas about the occult sciences" (1994, 126; for fuller treatments of occultism in Lytton's fiction see Campbell, Liljegren, Godwin, Roberts, Stuart, Wolff, Zipser). Both novels are elaborate, if oblique, manifestos of Rosicrucian lore, rituals, and history. Early traces of occultist thought may be found in his 1833 Godophin, which abounds in references to Chaldean cults, and in his 1832 story, "The Tale of Kosem Kosamim the Magician," in which, as Stuart states, "we find a description of a Living Fire . . . which looks remarkably like the source of a similar idea in some of Rider Haggard's romances" (19-20). The reference is to the alchemical Pillar of Fire into which Ayesha--herself an occult scientist--steps in the climatic scene of She. The story of Kosem reflects an intense and life-long interest in occultism. As the author states in a footnote to the story, the "tale, complete in itself, is extracted from an unfinished romance which, however, furnished the groundwork for Zanoni. I may add that I find the outline of this tale in some papers written in my
school-days" (qtd. in Stuart 16).

Critics traditionally cite two sources to establish the author's actual involvement in occultism. The first is Bulwer-Lytton's biographer-grandson's assertion that the author was "a member of the Society of Rosicrucians and Grand Patron of the Order" (2: 40-41), the second, a letter to Hargrave Jennings, author of The Rosicrucians: Their Rites and Mysteries (1870), in which the novelist praises Hargrave's efforts to trace Rosicrucian lore to its early sources. He writes that "[s]ome time ago a sect pretending to style itself 'Rosicrucians' and arrogating full knowledge of the mysteries of the craft, communicated with me, and in reply, I sent them the cipher sign of the 'Initiate,'--not one of them could construe it" (qtd. in Wolff 233, Roberts 158). Bulwer-Lytton is, furthermore, speculated to have been initiated in 1888 into the Frankfurt Lodge of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn (Godwin 1994, 138), a hermetic group whose "mythology was Egyptian, Kabbalistic, Eleusinian, and Christian (Rosicrucian)" (Godwin 1994, 362).

A central premise that propelled occult thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the notion of initiating a renovated world, a sort of Plato's Republic ruled by an enlightened elite. Both Arbaces's hermeticism and the emergent Christianity carries this signification in The Last Days of Pompeii. Rosicrucianism, for example, was founded to usher in such a new age. Its legendary founder, the German
Christian Rosenkreutz (1378 AD is his ascribed birthdate), journeyed as a youth to Egypt (again the land of hidden wisdom), where he was initiated into the secrets of occult science. Returning to Germany, he founded an altruistic fraternity. As a movement Rosicrucianism dates to the seventeenth century upon the alleged discovery of Rosenkreutz's grave containing his uncorrupted body and a book of his magic. Rosicrucianism's high goal was to initiate a new era founded upon Rosenkreutz's principles of fraternity and Christian morality (see F. Yates 1972 for a history of Rosicrucianism).

While modern scholarship regards the origins of Rosicrucianism as a modern invention, brotherhoods devoted to the Utopian principles of Rosenkreutz and arrogating occult knowledge flourished in the eighteenth century. This occultist activity was actually inaugurated by the publication of three texts ascribed to Rosenkreutz (they are fabrications of Johann Valentin Andreae, a Lutheran pastor with socialist interests [Tryphonopoulos 43]). The most important is the Fama Fraternitatis, which tells the story of Rosenkreutz's life "presented as a message from certain 'adepts' who propose a radical change aiming at effecting universal moral renewal and perfection" (Tryphonopoulos 43). Zanoni, incidently, is set within the context of social reform at the time of the French Revolution. While the hopeful vision of a new European order based on equality and fraternity fails as the reality of
the Reign of Terror sets in, political and social change remains the province of Zanoni's Rosicrucianism.

Freemasonry was likewise established as a reform movement based on ancient wisdom (see Pevsner for a discussion of the role of Freemasonry in revolutionary France). Masonic mythology, for example, was extremely influential with the founding fathers of America, many of whom, George Washington included, were masons. Freemasonic iconography remains to this day on the monetary currency of the "new empire" founded in America: the temple of Isis and the motto "In God we Trust," a truncated form of the sixteenth century Masonic motto "In the Lord is all our trust" ("Freemasonry" 1911). Arbaces's dreams of planting a new empire across the sea is actualized politically and, in a sense theosophically, through masonic influence in America. Likewise, the Theosophical Society promoted fraternity, altruism and social reform. Blavatsky explicitly states these aims in her The Key to Theosophy (1889), a tract written to dispel derogatory conceptions surrounding her occultist organization. Her mandate was to "form a nucleus of a Universal Brotherhood of Humanity without distinction of race, colour, or creed" (39). There are, therefore, similarities between the esoteric groups that flourished in the nineteenth century, of which Bulwer-Lytton was, if not a member, certainly knowledgable, and those that flourish in the novelist's version of cult-life in The Last Days of Pompeii. The distinction to be made between the
Rosicrucians, Freemasons, and Theosophists and Arbaces' "goetic" (black) magic is that the directives of the former are based upon Christianity, or in the case of Theosophy, a Christian moral code of universal fraternity.
Fig. 22

Fig. 23