THE ORPHANS OF THE MUSE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTING IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY OAXACA

REGIONES
1

CENTRO PENINSULAR EN HUMANIDADES Y EN CIENCIAS SOCIALES

THE ORPHANS OF THE MUSE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTING IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY OAXACA

Adam T. Sellen

UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE MÉXICO
Mérida, 2015

Primera edición: 2015
Fecha de término de edición: 2 de septiembre de 2015

Ciudad Universitaria. Del. Coyoacán,
C.P. 04510, México, D.F.

Centro Peninsular en Humanidades y en Ciencias Sociales
Ex Sanatorio Rendón Peniche
Calle 43 s.n., col. Industrial
Mérida, Yucatán. C.P. 97150
Tels. 01 (999) 9 22 84 46 al 48
Fax: ext. 109
http://www.cephcis.unam.mx

ISBN 978-607-02-7169-4

Impreso y hecho en México

For my son,
Sebastián Cociyo

INDEX

TABLE OF FIGURES

3. The Oaxacan Collections in Nineteenth-Century Mexican Museums

6. "The Archaeological Club"

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In 1998 I was a doctoral student poking around Mexico City in search of material for my dissertation. On one of my excursions, I visited the home of a woman whose mother, now passed away, had once owned a spectacular collection of pre-Columbian antiquities. The daughter brought out the only remaining artifact from her mother's collection, a small ceramic urn in the form of a seated figure, lovingly decorated with orange marigolds (*flor de muerto*) and green stone beads. As I studied the odd effigy, I noticed something had been inserted into the cylinder part of the object. With two fingers I extracted a cellophane envelope containing a brownish powder. I struggled to maintain a neutral expression when she told me it was her mother's remains: my mind raced to think of ways I could gently tell her that her mother's final resting place was a twentieth-century forgery; out of respect for the living, I kept silent.

From this episode I became aware that past and present lives were an integral part of my research because they were woven around, and inseparable from, the biographies of the ancient archaeological objects I sought to understand; the more I researched an artifact the more I could appreciate the complex web of interactions that resulted from it being bought, sold, stolen, or gifted, and in some cases, dutifully consecrated. Over the course of seeking answers to my questions about people who collect the pre-Hispanic past, I came into contact with many lives, of those who in different ways helped produce this book, and it is with great pleasure that I acknowledge the individuals and organizations who supported the project from its inception.

Among those to whom I owe an early debt of gratitude is Javier Urcid, who introduced me to the world of ancient Oaxacan cultures and whose dedication, vigour and zeal for research is truly infectious. I extend my thanks for his valuable comments on a final draft of this work. Viola König, the director of the Ethnographic Museum in Dahlem, has been a constant source of knowledge, support and academic exchange. Her friendship made my

stays in Berlin a pleasurable experience and a unique journey into the past, thanks to her deep understanding of museums and nineteenth-century German scholars.

The research for this project was carried out in museums and archives in North America and in Europe. Almost without exception the people who work in these institutions received me with generosity and professionalism, and of course I want to thank them all, but must apologize if someone is overlooked. In Mexico, in the Museum of Anthropology's Historical Archives, I am indebted to María Trinidad Lahirigoyen, or "Trini" as her friends know her. She will probably be retired by the time this book comes out but deserves a special recognition for a career spent cataloguing the Museum's rich archive, a source that was key for this study. I wish to thank César Moheno, who was then the director of the Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia for helping me secure photographs that appear in this work, and I am grateful to the archaeologist Tere Castillo Mangas in the INAH's Dirección de Registro Público de Monumentos y Zonas Arqueológicos in San Ángel, for helping me to access documents and making my time there as pleasant as possible. I also extend my gratitude to Roberto Romero of the Biblioteca Nacional for his help in locating documents.

In Canada, I thank all the wonderful staff at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, where I spent two years in a post-doctoral position at the beginning of this project, but in particular Mima Kapches and Christine Carropo for their friendship and support. Andrew Stewart's generosity through the ROM's donor programs and his enthusiasm for research was key in helping me move back and forth from my home to the field. So many museum staff were tireless in their support of this project: I thank Adriana Muñoz of the Museum of World Cultures in Göteburg, Sweden, who—in the dead of winter—received me with great kindness and hospitality. While in Berlin I was welcomed by Maria Gaida, curator of the Ethnographic Museum in Dahlem, and Gregor Wolff, Head of Special Collections at the Iberoamerican Institute, who made space and time for my research in the midst of busy schedules. Patricia Nietfeld, the Supervisory Collections Manager at the National Museum of the American Indian, has always responded quickly and enthusiastically to my queries about objects, and she is the very model of a modern museum professional. At the Natural History Museum in New York, Elise Alexander handled my visit and all other subsequent queries and I salute her patience and effectiveness. My gratitude is extended to Patricia Van Rhijn and Lucero Topete Vargas, descendants of Oaxacan collectors, who kindly opened their homes and personal archives so I could bring into sharper focus a picture of their past.

Friends and colleagues have been supportive in so many ways, from reading drafts, to writing letters of introduction to museums and archives, or sending me material that they thought might advance this study, and in particular I thank Lynneth Lowe, Ron van Meer, Sebastián van Doesburg, Michel Oudijk and Eckhard Dolinski. Others have provided homes away from homes, such as Cati Pizzigoni in New York, Jacaranda Correa in Mexico City, and Raymond Day in Toronto. Finally, to my great friend and muse, Martha Brown, whose intelligent conversation and tireless reviewing of innumerable drafts made possible the completion of this book.

In closing I acknowledge the funding sources for this research: Deutscher Akademischer Austrausch Dienst (DAAD); Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc. (FAMSI); a study grant from the American Museum of Natural History in New York; and the "Edmundo O'Gorman" grant that made possible a research stay at Columbia University in the summer of 2008, generously supported by the University and Mexico's Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACYT).

PREFACE

December, 2006: Oaxaca is burning. The continuing unrest that followed the contested election in 2004 of Ulises Ruiz Ortiz to the governorship of this state in southwestern Mexico has boiled over, and teachers, students, and a coalition of leftwing activists have taken to the barricades. In the clashes between police and protesters, the former are wielding clubs, the latter Molotov cocktails. Viewers of Mexican television can watch, in real time, the torching of many of Oaxaca's historic buildings, including the hotel Camino Real and the university, but the thick black smoke makes it impossible to judge the motives of those lobbing the incendiary devices: self-defense? Vandalism? For students of Oaxaca's history, the tension is excruciating; if a single firebomb should find its way through a window of the corner wing of the Central Library, a priceless archive of Oaxaca's history could be destroyed in a heartbeat. The loss would be unimaginable.

Nor would it be the first such case in Oaxaca. During the War of the Reform (1858-1861), between liberals and conservatives, the city was under siege by troops of a conservative faction headed by General José María Cobos. Soldiers entered the Oaxacan museum, damaging or destroying a number of pre-Hispanic objects and removing documents relating to archaeological discoveries. Not much is known about the incursion, save what was recorded by a local historian, Manuel Martínez Gracida. Ironically, it is precisely Martínez Gracida's notes that make up the bulk of the documents stored in that corner room in the Central Library; had they gone up in smoke, this and other nuggets of local archaeological history would have been lost forever, as the collection was (and still is) little known and only partially conserved on microfilm. Fortunately, the events of 2006 in Oaxaca spared the Central Library; but other recent tragedies, both accidental—the burning in 2003 of the Museo de Ciencias Naturales in Rosario, Argentina, during a labor protest—and deliberate—the looting of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad during the chaos following the American inva-

sion—illustrate the fragility of our documented human history even when it is carefully stewarded in a designated "safe haven" such as a museum or an archive.

We have learned to our sorrow that museums are, in fact, not secure vaults impervious to social and political change. The large-scale looting of the Iraq Museum's collection was covered extensively, triggering international outcry despite attempts by the American authorities to minimize its importance, depressingly illustrated by the statement from Donald Rumsfeld, the Secretary of Defence, who said in reference to the chaos: "stuff happens."[1] But the true extent of the damage is unknowable, because the Museum's archives were devastated during the looting; registers were scattered and stolen, possibly in a premeditated attempt to eradicate any record of the stolen objects' provenance and to make them easier to sell on the black market. In effect, untold quantities of painstaking archaeological research were stolen along with the physical artifacts.

The deeper lesson to be learned from the looting of the Iraq Museum, beyond mourning for concrete losses and condemnation of those responsible (whether the looters themselves or the inept American planners who failed to ensure the museum's security), involves its impact on our knowledge of the past. The separation of an object obtained under controlled conditions from the records that document its finding leaves the artifact virtually meaningless from an archaeological point of view. More than individual objects, however old, rare, or beautiful, contextual data constitute archaeology's most important treasure, and given that *in situ* archaeological materials are a diminishing and irreplaceable resource, data concerning them must be carefully managed.

I was first confronted with the crucial importance of archaeological data when I began working on my doctoral dissertation, a study of a type of ceramic object known as a Zapotec urn. These urns are ceramic effigies usually associated with tombs and graves, and are found principally in the state of Oaxaca. Perhaps optimistically, I hoped to propose an explanation for the complex iconography typical of the urns and to situate their glyphs within the larger scheme of Zapotec writing. I also hoped to be able to explain why they were placed with the dead. Before I could even hazard any answers, of course, I knew that any novel interpretation of the urns' variations and patterns could only follow a careful assessment of all known surviving arti-

[1] (Excerpts from an exchange between Defence Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld and reporters during a news conference in Washington D.C., as recorded by Federal News Service Inc.) "A Nation at War; Rumsfeld's Words on Iraq: 'There Is Untidiness,' " *The New York Times*, April 12, 2003, p. B5.

facts. As I rummaged through catalogues and databases I discovered not only the existence of thousands of relevant catalogued objects in museums and private collections around the world, but also—and even more daunting—the chaotic state of many of those institutions. Beautiful or imposing buildings often housed incomplete, out-of-date catalogues. Rarely could I find reliable information on an object, even such basic facts as measurements or provenance, and all too often published photographs were dark and obscured the particular details I needed to see. My initial attempts at sorting through the morass of information on Zapotec urns became an obsessive search for connections, both between related objects held by different museums and between objects and their original collectors. I came to feel that I was reassembling the scattered pieces of a long-forgotten mosaic. Contrary to my previously held views of museums and their curatorial rigor, the great majority of collections I visited in the course of my research seemed to have made little progress in studying the objects they had acquired.

Almost inevitably, my plunge into the chaotic and fragmentary milieu of archaeological data forced me to broaden my perspective beyond the specific case of my Zapotec urns. When I began to write a history of early archaeological collecting in Oaxaca, I knew that I was embarking on an extensive archaeological salvage project, hoping to unearth and make sense of long-lost records in the form of notes, drawings, and photographic images. The rediscovery, starting in the late eighteenth century, of Oaxaca's magnificent pre-Hispanic tombs and artifacts gave rise to vigorous debates about their origins and significance. The history of the early collectors illustrates a remarkable moment in archaeological exploration, as concepts and typologies that are now familiar were first taking shape. Unfortunately, many of the sites of the earliest discoveries were later obliterated as population growth and agricultural development overrode other concerns. Objects were dispersed, and the records of the debates they had inspired languished in obscure publications or dark archives. My aim has been to reunite the orphaned, decontextualized remnants of this early burst of proto-scientific inquiry, not merely to profit from the discoveries of the pioneering collectors of Oaxaca but also to honor these unjustly forgotten figures.

INTRODUCTION

Around the beginning of the twentieth century, two Mexican historians paid a visit to the Mexico City residence of Auguste Genin, a wealthy French merchant. His house was crammed with objects of every kind, ranging from dissected animals soaked in formaldehyde to ornate ceramic effigies. The men had business to transact with Don Augusto, as they called him, but this was soon disposed of and the visit turned into a tour of the collection. They found their guide to be educated and well-spoken, exceptionally courteous, and given to "large gestures" reflecting his endless enthusiasm for his collection. Leading his guests around the rooms where he exhibited his treasures, he set forth displaying what one of them would much later describe as "a natural and profound knowledge" of the importance, provenance, and particular characteristics of each object. At the conclusion of the tour, the fascinated visitors were presented with a Havana cigar and a book.[1]

As this account of a visit to Genin's collection suggests, museum-going as we now understand it is a relatively recent development in Mexico. Well into the twentieth century, many collections were privately held, requiring a would-be visitor to make an appointment (typically by leaving his card). Once admitted, instead of the self-directed ramble typical of the museum visit today, through objects identified by an explanatory label or, nowadays, an audio device, the visitor would receive a personal disquisition from the collector. This narrative, one may suspect, might change from visitor to visitor, and along with scientific data it might well include thrilling accounts of discovery and adventure (often accompanied by large gestures). It was common to be permitted to touch the objects on display, even to lift them, heft them, turn them over; in the early twentieth century museum, only manners and common sense ruled.

[1] Federico Gómez de Orozco, "Don Augusto Genin. Nota Bibliográfica," *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía* 5, no. 1(1932): 238.

Most of these private, often heterogeneous collections, referred to as *museos* or *gabinetes* (in a usage reminiscent of the German *Wunderkammern),* were eventually acquired by larger public institutions. In the new context—public, implicitly national rather than private and local—the artifacts were reinterpreted to fit shifting social, political, even scientific narratives. In the transition from *gabinete* to museum, much more was lost than the anecdotal flourishes linking individual artifacts to their collectors (Genin's stories of discovery and adventure, for example). Once the collector parted with the collection, the artifacts were orphaned: the acquiring museum often proved to be a cruel orphanage, providing some of its new possessions with new identities, while ignoring others. This abrupt severing of links between object and collector is not limited to museums in Mexico. In today's museum, objects are typically ascribed, in vague terms, to an ancient (often imaginary) period, but little is offered in terms of their historicity. Who discovered them? How did they get to occupy a shelf in a display case? What did they mean to the people who collected them? The objects are clearly visible behind the glass, but the answers to these questions remain opaque.

The story I wish to tell is less concerned with objects than with the history of a particular archaeological record, a vast corpus of objects and data amassed in the nineteenth century by some truly remarkable Mexican collectors. Through exploration, collection-forming, and museum-building, they laid the foundation for a better understanding of their pre-Hispanic past and they devised systematic ways to order the chaotic material culture that seemed to be everywhere underneath their native soil. In this sense, their story is part of a larger human narrative, the ongoing effort to extend and accommodate systems of knowledge and classification for the material of past lives, an occasionally bumpy process of discovery and interpretation that is now at the heart of the discipline of archaeology.

But the story of their collections is as much about loss as it is about discovery, because the archaeological record that was so carefully reconstructed by a handful of proto-archaeologists ended up in near-oblivion, ignored, dispersed, falsified, even destroyed. The principal causes of this near-permanent loss lie in the drastic political and social changes that accompanied the Mexican Revolution. Shifting political winds relegated the collectors—all closely tied to the overthrown Díaz regime—and their work to a dark corner of official Mexican history. Museum administrators, whose responsibility—one might think—would have been to safeguard the artifacts and associated documents that represented the collectors' legacy, indiscriminately comingled the various collections, severing important pieces from their historic moorings. In the process they dealt a serious setback to scholar-

ship on ancient Oaxacan cultures; although some archaeologists, starting in the 1930s, reconsidered the dispersed items from the older collections, subsequent trends in archaeology moving away from object-oriented studies meant that the Oaxacan relics fell back into obscurity. The disruption in the transmission of knowledge caused by the new museum administrators, in their efforts to bring a "pre-Revolutionary" institution into conformity with the new ideology, affords a dramatic example of the potentially devastating (and long-lived) effects of politically motivated management of academic and cultural institutions.

My discovery, in the course of gathering material for my doctoral dissertation, of the extent to which archaeological objects and data collected in the nineteenth century have been dispersed and stripped of their history inspired my current research effort: rescuing the remaining fragments in order to reconstruct this lost archaeological record. Part of my method involves studying the lives and collecting activities of certain individual collectors and tracing the ultimate fate of their holdings, which often ended up in the possession of individuals or institutions far from Oaxaca. Establishing the composition and acquisition history of the individual nineteenth-century collections affords clues to much of the useful archaeological information that formerly accompanied the artifacts, in particular provenance and contextual data. Fortunately, archives in Europe and North America—including Mexico—have conserved a surprising quantity of (largely ignored) materials bearing on pre-Hispanic artifacts in nineteenth-century collections, including unpublished notes, drawings, and photographs, and these documents have enabled me to recreate a modest part of the collectors' painstakingly recorded discoveries. Once launched on this journey I found myself impressed not only by the hard data—the nuts and bolts of a proto-archaeology that was based on endless description of artifacts—but also by the interpretative narratives that—in true positivist tradition—were presented as mandated by the sheer weight of the empirical evidence. By coming to understand their methodology, I hoped to cast light on the production of archaeological knowledge in the nineteenth century, and thereby contribute to the general historiography of the discipline.

My initial specialization in Zapotec urns underlies my decision to focus on the history of collecting in the state of Oaxaca, but the area has long been of great interest to archaeologists and antiquarians because of the wealth of pre-Hispanic artifacts buried within its ruins. Oaxaca's mountainous terrain effectively isolated it from the rest of Mexico until the second half of the nineteenth century, when the advent of the railway made it vastly more accessible. The timing of this great technological and social advance is par-

ticularly significant; the region was becoming known to archaeologists and collectors at a moment that coincided with a surge in private collecting and the expansion of public museums, not only in Mexico but throughout North America and Europe.

The state of Oaxaca also produced a prodigal son, Porfirio Díaz, the omnipotent president who ruled the country—whether directly or by proxy—between 1876 and 1911, a period known as the *Porfiriato*. During this time Mexicans were subjected to repressive and dictatorial measures, but the country also benefited from an extensive program of modernization covering infrastructure, education, and the legal system. The *Porfiriato* also saw a sustained governmental effort to disinter and glorify Mexico's pre-Hispanic past, concretized in a program of nationalistic archaeology and conservation. Although this new governmental involvement in archaeology initially aroused misgivings in the small group of Mexican collectors who were actively exploring the ruins of their home states, the newly appointed Federal Inspector for National Monuments soon decided to give the local explorers a relatively free hand in return for their collaboration. Both sides profited; many of the local collectors, through both direct excavation and trade with indigenous peoples, had amassed huge archaeological collections, and some of these were later acquired by the federal museum. However, despite explicit legal restrictions on the export of antiquities (which had been stiffened by the Díaz regime), a considerable number of artifacts were sold to foreign interests.

The collectors at the heart of this book differ significantly from contemporary collectors, whether of works of art or of such items as baseball cards or barbed wire. The term "proto-archaeologist," used above, which reflects their careful documentation of the artifacts they found—which ranged from elaborate, intact painted vessels to shards of humbler ceramics—also suggests their principal motivation for collecting, which was scientific rather than esthetic. Nor were they, at least initially, collecting with an eye towards selling their finds at a profit. Neither "pot hunters" nor dilettanti, then, these Mexican collectors, for the most part well-to-do professional men and members of the local elite, are best understood as scientists with a nationalistic purpose who were aware of advances in scholarship and technology in other parts of the world. Inspired by their positivist education they worked together to sift through their vast and diverse collections of artifacts, devising some of the earliest known systems of classifying ancient material by type and cultural affiliation. Along with this conceptual breakthrough, they left an important material corpus, on the basis of which subsequent generations of archaeologists would create new classifications and comparisons. Their genuine achievements outweigh their occasionally fanciful interpreta-

tions (based on such now-discredited theories as astrology and phrenology) and the often brutal excavation techniques all too frequent at the dawn of modern, scientific archaeology. It is essential to distinguish between those past collectors who acquired objects with no regard for their provenance ("pot hunters"), and those who carefully recorded contextual information, even if, through ignorance or insouciance, they may have erased other types of information when removing objects from the ground.

I have come to believe that these local collectors contributed greatly to the development of Mexican archaeology, and indeed to our current understanding of ancient cultures. Yet despite their important contribution, this story—of the local collectors, their individual collections, and the museums whose holdings were enriched by the acquisition of substantial parts of those collections—remains largely unknown. As it is currently narrated, the history of archaeology in nineteenth-century Mexico highlights the exploits of a handful of individuals, the great majority of them non-Mexicans who enjoyed strong institutional backing; while their motivations and methodologies varied, some made surprisingly sophisticated contributions to the discipline.[2] The local collectors' story challenges this traditional presentation, shining light on an active community of native-born scholars who played a key role in the advancement of Mexican archaeology. My wish here is not to diminish the importance of the groundbreaking work carried out by the foreigners, but to emphasize the Mexican voices. If we consider a pyramidal model for the advancement and transmission of knowledge in which each level of building blocks supports the next, then we can readily comprehend the importance of the Mexican collectors who supplied subsequent archaeologists with a solid material base on which to work. My aim, in this study, is to weave the story of the Mexican collectors from Oaxaca into the broader history of early pre-Columbian archaeology, and in so doing to suggest the value—for archaeology in general—of studying the history of the discipline, retrieving from the often confused hoards of data a clearer narrative of the past.

A LOST RECORD

As I suggested above, the most important reason for the local collectors' exclusion from the official story was their close political and social ties to

[2] This view is evident throughout the work of Ignacio Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archaeology* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), and Gordon R. Willey and Jeremy A. Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974).

the authoritarian president Porfirio Díaz. Díaz's departure in 1911 resulted in—as he predicted—violent revolution and social upheaval, prompting him to say of the incoming president: "Madero has unleashed a tiger; let's see if he can ride it."[3] Those associated with the former regime—even provincial archaeologists, who typically held important professional and/or juridical positions—were ostracized in the new republic. In the collectors' case, their scholarly papers were generally archived and forgotten. Many items from their collections had been acquired before the revolution by the Museo Nacional in Mexico City (since 1964, Museo Nacional de Antropología), but after Díaz's departure these holdings came under new stewardship. The new curators, themselves governmental appointees, took steps to erase the visible links between the Porfirian collectors and their collections, some of which had enjoyed special display cases. (One such display was deemed so inappropriate that it was banished to the servants' restroom of the Museum.) An important group of Mexican archaeologists was thus elbowed aside in favor of a different group of social actors.

Perhaps it is difficult to sympathize with the fate of a dictator's cronies, whatever their scientific merits. But aside from the human cost, the indisputable tragedy in this story was the irreparable damage done to the archaeological record as a whole. While part of the damage may have been the unintended consequence of organizational reform and a reordering of materials to reflect the incorporation of new archaeological techniques such as stratigraphy, some of it—such as the highly personal campaign against Batres (Díaz's former Inspector of Monuments)—was deliberate. Virtually all the artifacts collected in the nineteenth century had *some* form of associated information, a note specifying the date and place of discovery, or a reference to an accompanying object, but little of this information is still associated with the objects. In the process of imposing a new political order, much of the nineteenth-century collectors' classifications were undone and artifacts were stripped of vital documentation. The migration of old data through a newer, braver museum that sought to break with the Porfirian past created two sorts of archaeological orphans: on the one hand, artifacts with no relationship to their original contexts, and on the other, records of excavations with no links to the objects they unearthed. More than a change in personnel reflecting the new regime, the post-Revolutionary upheaval in museum administration ushered in—and institutionalized—harmful curatorial practices whose

[3] Oscar Mata, "La revolución mexicana escrita con mirada de niña." [An unpaginated electronic work, 2001, http://www.azc.uam.mx/publicaciones/tye/larevolucionmexicana.htm] In Spanish, Díaz was reported to have said: "Madero ha soltado un tigre, veremos si puede manejarlo."

impact continues. Constant reorganization of comingled, historically separate, collections, combined with a stubborn lack of interest in the original collectors and their legacy has, over time, seriously distorted our view of a formative era in Mexican archaeology.

Although I have been able to reconstruct the Oaxacan collectors' work, in part, drawing on published and unpublished sources, their story is little known to the general public. Relevant scholarly works have been few in numbers, while surviving documentary sources are fragmentary and scattered among many institutions, in and out of Mexico. Often overlooked even by those studying these collectors, their detailed inventories—which typically include descriptions, measurements, and provenance of individual objects, and are sometimes complemented by drawings and plans of the relevant excavations—are a rich source of information, and have been fundamental to the present work. Extensive bureaucratic documentation referring to the collectors' work and collections survives in institutional archives, mostly in Mexico but also in archives in the United States, Canada, and Europe. Some of the most productive (if not always scholarly) sources are accounts by foreign travelers who came into contact with the collectors during their sojourns in Mexico; these include the rich narratives of the German husband-and-wife team of Eduard Seler and Caecilie Seler-Sachs, the British traveler writer (Mrs. Ethel) Alec-Tweedie, or the Polish-born naturalist Hans Gadow.

Explanation of chapters

While the Oaxacan collectors and their archaeological collections, who came to be known as "The Archaeological Club," are at the heart of this book, I devote the first five chapters to a historical and cultural account of collecting in general, and in a specific nineteenth-century context, I attempt to show how this activity developed through the course of the century, and demonstrate how a select group of collectors active during the *Porfiriato* laid the foundation for more modern archaeological practice.

In the first chapter, after a brief outline of the history of collecting and the beginnings of scientific archaeology, I consider the relative neglect, in histories of archaeology, of nineteenth-century collecting and its relevance to the development of the discipline. I identify several key events that shaped archaeological practice in nineteenth-century Mexico, starting with the gradual softening of the previously implacable opposition of the church hierarchy to the collection of "idolatrous" pagan artifacts. The increasing

acceptance of European Enlightenment modes of thought was followed by the introduction of positivist ideas in science and the adoption of new, non-European approaches to the classification of ancient materials. I also discuss the groundswell of nationalistic feeling—spurred on by outrage at notorious cases of foreign looting of archaeological sites—that led to a shift in government policies aimed at protecting cultural patrimony; stricter export controls, in particular, benefited local Oaxacan collectors, to the detriment of their foreign counterparts.

The second chapter introduces the pioneering Austrian Guillaume Dupaix, who began his explorations of Oaxaca in the second decade of the nineteenth century armed with letters of introduction to all the parish priests—by now, either collectors themselves or sufficiently enlightened to facilitate a visiting scholar's work. I follow the trail of the objects acquired by Dupaix, detailing their dispersal into public and private collections. In this chapter I take note of the local government's increasing involvement—starting around 1830—in the exploration of the region's ancient sites via state-funded commissions, which resulted in a bonanza of artifacts for emergent museums.

Shifting my perspective from the collectors to the nascent institutions that would receive their finds, I devote chapter three to the private *gabinetes*, museums, and commercial outlets that came into being in increasing numbers after the mid-century. The eventual merger of private collections into public institutions is key to the story of Mexican collecting.

The fourth chapter introduces the local collectors—largely priests—who laid the foundations of what is now Oaxaca's Museo de las Culturas de Oaxaca. Paradoxically it was segments of the church that played an active role in changing the face of the state's educational institutions, including a museum that paralleled the national effort. In this section I discuss the Museum's first collections and evolution under the guidance of different directors who, despite all their efforts, were unable to procure the large, private collections for the local museum.

Chapter five introduces the era known as the *Porfiriato* and characterizes the dictatorship that gave rise to a professional class that would become the most prolific collectors of archaeological material in Mexico. Porfirio Díaz's attempts to reform the state and place Mexico on the world stage resulted in a shift in historical awareness and a boom in archaeological exploration, the development of large private collections of pre-Hispanic antiquities, and an expansion of museums on a state and federal level. A full understanding of the time requires a careful examination of Leopoldo Batres Huerta (1852-1926), the Federal Inspector for Archaeological Monuments who for

twenty-five years dominated archaeological enterprise in Mexico and left an indelible mark on the period.

In chapter six I discuss four prolific collectors, Fernando Sologuren, Francisco Belmar, Manuel Martínez Gracida, and Abraham Castellanos, who were active throughout the *Porfiriato* (1876-1911). An informal social group of professionals who lived in the capital and excavated nearby archaeological sites in their spare time, they have come to be known as "The Archaeological Club." Citing as evidence the jointly developed labels they used to document their finds, I show how this group of proto-archaeologists meticulously recorded provenance and varying quantities of additional contextual and cultural information for all the archaeological artifacts they recovered. I offer brief biographical sketches of the four men, noting their collaboration and interaction, and trace the final destinations of their collections to museums in Mexico, the United States, and Europe.

In the seventh chapter I discuss a hard-fought, but now thoroughly forgotten, debate from the 1890s concerning the proper classification of a particular Zapotec effigy to show the extent of the Oaxacan collectors' involvement in the intellectual questions of the day. The ceramic figure, inscribed with glyphs, has since become an icon of Zapotec material culture (and is ubiquitous even in commercial contexts), but its universally accepted name and attribution are erroneous—as Martínez Gracida argued, awkwardly but convincingly, long ago, drawing on his personal communications with the priest-collector who had found it. This episode, besides revealing the concern on the part of the collectors with the origins of American man and the classification of material culture, also tells us a great deal about how archaeological knowledge was produced in the nineteenth century, with collectors basing their arguments on empirical evidence supported by objects in their own collections (or those of their colleagues) or in the museum. The failure of Martínez Gracida's testimony concerning the effigy's provenance to make headway against the well-established but erroneous attribution serves to demonstrate the fragility of archaeological information; the debate was forgotten, and Martínez Gracida's hopes of publishing a magnum opus setting the record straight about his discoveries were dashed when his protector and Maecenas, Díaz, left Mexico.

A note on terminology: In 1831 Lucas Alamán reformed the institution and gave it the name it would know for almost a century, El Museo Nacional. It was originally conceived of an institution with two parts: a conservatory of Mexican antiquities and cabinet of natural history. The natural history collections were withdrawn from the museum in 1919 leaving only archaeological and ethnographic collections. From this point on the establishment

was known as the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía, but this cumbersome name was eventually changed to Museo Nacional de Antropología (MNA). The MNA remained on Moneda street until 1964 when it was moved to the modern installations in the Bosque de Chapultepec where it is today. The former building, a splendid example of colonial architecture, continues to be a museum called El Museo Nacional de las Culturas, and is dedicated to exhibiting objects from a diversity of world cultures.

CHAPTER 1
ARCHAEOLOGY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY MEXICO: A GENTLEMAN'S PURSUIT

Among the hundreds of Mexican artifacts in storage at New York's American Museum of Natural History is an unprepossessing grey ceramic vessel, a wide-mouthed, lidless pot about four inches high, roughly egg-shaped with a pointed tip protruding from its narrower end (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Ceramic *patojo*

Collection of the American Museum of Natural History, cat. 30/103. Ex-collection of Manuel Martínez Gracida. Photo by the author.

Catalogued as Number 30/103, it is duly identified as coming from the collection of the nineteenth-century Oaxacan collector Manuel Martínez

Gracida. Such pots, known locally and to scholars of Mesoamerican ceramics as *patojos* for their resemblance to a *pato*, or duck, are meant to nestle in the embers of a fire under a tortilla griddle, transferring the heat to their contents. Although *patojos* are still fabricated by local potters and used to heat coffee in many of the villages that surround the city of Oaxaca, the ceramic form itself dates to ancient, pre-Hispanic Mexico; scores of them were retrieved, often intact, from Zapotec tombs in Oaxaca in the course of nineteenth-century excavations. Martínez Gracida's careful preservation and documentation of this humble object may seem surprising, as such objects tend nowadays to be invisible both to aesthetically motivated collectors and to museumgoers. If displayed at all, they fail to draw the attention or the curatorial efforts of the more spectacular pre-Columbian items—Mayan painted vases, say, or elaborate Teotihuacán censers. But a pioneering group of Oaxaca-area collectors, starting around 1875, did consider these relics important enough to collect, and documented every one of their finds, with impeccable curatorial rigor, using an innovative cataloguing system of their own devising. The label showing Martínez Gracida's handwritten additions to a printed form is still glued to *patojo* 30/103:

> 145. CIVILIZACIÓN ZAPOTECA. Olla de uso doméstico de Zachila. DISTRITO DE Zimatlán, E. de Oaxaca. ENCONTROSE en un sepulcro en 1890. (145. Zapotec Civilization. Pot for domestic use from Zachila. District of Zimatlán, State of Oaxaca. Found in a tomb in 1890.)

What distinguished these collectors both from their predecessors and from many of their successors was their interest in the entire spectrum of ancient Mexican material culture, rather than narrow—often aesthetically defined—segments of it. Considering these proto-archaeologists and their collections in their historical context, as I will do later in this study, will reveal the extent of their contribution to the discipline, and will suggest that they deserve to be remembered as highly capable scientists, in contrast—again—to many of those who followed them.

Collecting since the Age of Discovery

Although modern archaeology, generally identified with the development of the stratigraphic method, dates only to the turn of the twentieth century, collecting is an ancient, quintessentially human activity, intertwined with ritual, social status, and ethnic or group affiliation. The habit of accumu-

lating objects of perceived aesthetic interest—those that are pleasing or strange to the senses—can be traced back some 45000 years to the Upper Paleolithic, when Cro-Magnon peoples made extensive collections of fossils, sea shells, and precious stones, depositing them as grave goods.[1] In the modern European context, the first contacts with the New World during the Age of Discovery spurred a spectacular increase in large-scale collecting and the beginnings of what can be seen as proto-museums, as great wealth derived from foreign conquests made possible the acquisition of newly available exotic objects and substances. The Spanish conquest and colonization of Mexico, starting with the 1519 invasion led by Hernán Cortés, was motivated by material greed rather than aesthetic curiosity, of course, as well as a pious desire to spread the saving gospel of Christianity—which provided a convenient cover story leading to extensive destruction of indigenous artifacts (such as effigies, statues, or altars) perceived to be associated with false gods and idolatrous practices. Nevertheless, the apparently irresistible urge to collect the new and the strange meant that many Mexican artifacts ended up in European collections.[2]

Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a foot soldier in Cortés's invading force, left a fascinating account of the Spanish Conquest, including a particularly valuable description of the despoliation of the indigenous tribes' precious metals and jewels. Despite the relative isolation of Oaxaca, its natural wealth attracted the Spanish; Díaz del Castillo describes how a Captain Figueroa abandoned his efforts to defeat the local Zapotecs and Mixtecs in order to "unearth graves."[3] In what may seem a case of poetic justice, Figueroa perished, and all of his loot was lost, when his ship went down near the port of Veracruz.) Still, the systematic destruction of "idols" by zealous priests probably did more damage to the archaeological record than the looting (whether of raw materials, intact objects, or melted-down metals). In the mid-seventeenth century, a rambling narrative by the priest Francisco Burgoa mentions how some of his evangelizing colleagues were dealing with idols in outlying Oaxacan communities. In the town of Achiutla, for instance, Father Benito had discovered a large green stone idol, known locally as the "Heart of the Town;" the object, supposedly conserved since ancient times, was said to show a twining snake and the likeness of a bird, and to be so transparent

[1] Russell Belk, "Collectors and Collecting." In *Handbook of Material Culture*, edited by Chris Tilley *et al.* (London: Sage Publications, 2006), 537.

[2] Ignacio Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archaeology*, 39.

[3] Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, vol. 1, chapter 194 (Madrid: Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo." Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1982), 126-127.

that it "glowed like a candle." No more moved by the object's beauty than he was by the villagers' attachment to it, the priest ground it to dust before their eyes, preaching a stern sermon on the evils of false gods.[4]

Under the circumstances, the survival of such humble domestic artifacts as the *patojos* that now languish in museum storage rooms is both comprehensible—the priests would have had no reason to destroy them—and welcome, for the light they can cast on the ravaged indigenous cultures. Some more spectacular objects from Central Mexico did escape the destructive onslaught of the Spanish in an ironic gesture by Moctezuma to pacify the marauding invaders. Hernán Cortés and his captains received large numbers of artifacts from the native sovereign that ended up, more or less intact, in European collections or museums.[5] Six feather items of the pre-Hispanic era are known to have survived out of the dozens that were brought back soon after 1519; the most famous example, popularly but erroneously called "Montezuma's headdress," is now part of the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna. A set of wooden inlaid Aztec sword handles (*macuahuitl* in Náhuatl), formerly owned by the Italian *marchese* Ferdinando Cospi, are now in Rome's Pigorini museum.[6]

The arrival in Europe of such New World artifacts—often with unintelligible iconography and functions—gave rise to fanciful conceptions of the lands and cultures that had produced them, imaginative blendings of images from classical mythology, medieval European cosmology, spiritual revivalism, and idle speculation.[7] But another intellectual movement was simultaneously underway, one whose consequences would sooner or later be felt throughout the Western world. The rediscovery, both physical and intellectual, of ancient Rome between 1450 and 1550, as objects and works of literature were unearthed and reassessed, motivated well-to-do Italians to collect treasures, especially medallions and sculptures, extracted from the ashes of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Inspired by the great Italian collectors, noblemen all over Europe created *Wunderkammern* (*gabinetes*, in Spanish)—"wonderchambers" or cabinets, containing both natural and manmade wonders. As

[4] Fray Francisco de Burgoa, *Geográfica descripción de la parte septentrional, del Polo Ártico de la América,* vol. I (México: Grupo Editorial Porrúa, 1996), 156-157.

[5] For the story of "Moctezuma's treasure," as it is known, see, José Alcina Franch, *Arqueólogos o Anticuarios* (Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal,1995), 24-33.

[6] Christian Feest, "Mexico and South America in the European Wunderkammer." In *The Origins of Museums: the Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 237, 239.

[7] Anthony Alan Shelton, "Dispossessed Histories: Mexican Museums and the Institutionalization of the Past," *Cultural Dynamics* 7, no. 1 (1995): 71.

Philipp Blom has argued, these sixteenth- and seventeenth-century collections proved to be "a veritable engine of secularization…each one a small encyclopaedia of nature, of knowledge not dependent on the Church."[8]

In Mexico, the Spanish crown's strict control over the printed word meant that European ideas and innovations arrived tardily, unevenly, and partially—but a cultural awakening fed by Renaissance thought gradually took hold among the intellectual class. These native-born *criollos*, without directly challenging the colonial structure, were beginning to identify themselves as Mexican, and the cultural awakening that occurred in the course of the seventeenth century allowed them to see that American antiquities represented ancient civilizations on a par with those of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. In contrast to their European counterparts, however, Mexican collectors of this period largely shunned the systematic accumulation of archaeological artifacts, instead seeking out ancient texts and images—maps and books left by the Spanish invaders, and original Indian records, both paintings on linen (*lienzos* in Spanish) and those on other materials including tree bark and animal hide. For example, the erudite Mexican Jesuit, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, who lived in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and Lorenzo Boturini, an Italian traveller to Mexico in 1697, each amassed a large collection of ancient manuscripts and indigenous paintings (both collections were later dispersed and are known today only from secondary sources). These enlightened scholars and their associates rejected the Iberian idea that Mexico's history began with the Spanish conquest and presented their collections as evidence of an indigenous past, marking an important conceptual break in Mexican historiography.[9]

It is important to bear in mind that scholarly assessments of the evolution in worldviews during Mexico's colonial period have tended to focus almost exclusively on individuals who lived in the capital, Mexico City; in the more isolated areas of the country, such as Oaxaca, widespread acceptance of the new ideas was considerably slower. The uneven transmission of ideas meant in particular that local representatives of the Church might differ greatly in their adhesion to the new paradigm that saw remnants of ancient material culture as evidence of a pre-Hispanic past and thus worthy of study, rather than as useless or dangerous objects to be ignored or destroyed. Although glimpses of the evangelizing missionaries' curiosity about ancient indige-

[8] Philipp Blom, *To Have and to Hold. An Intimate History of Collectors and Collecting* (Woodstock & New York: The Overlook Press, 2002), 20.

[9] Ignacio Bernal, History of Mexican Archaeology, 67-74; Enrique Florescano, "La creación del Museo Nacional de Antropología." In El patrimonio nacional de México, vol. I (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997), 152.

nous artifacts are rare, some can be gleaned from *Relaciones Geográficas de Oaxaca* (1777-1778), a series of written responses—by priests, who were almost invariably the best educated and most literate members of colonial society—to a questionnaire sent by the Spanish crown. (Many such questionnaires were sent out, over the centuries, with the aim of gathering information about various aspects of the empire; it has been suggested that the 1777-1778 circular was motivated in particular by Carlos III's desire to obtain New World specimens for the natural history *gabinete* he had founded in Madrid in 1771.)[10] In one section the respondents were asked to give an accounting of the region's "antiquities." The answers to this question are so diverse that one can only imagine legions of exasperated bureaucrats back in Spain vainly trying to extract usable data. Some priests discussed the changes in indigenous attire; others spouted Latin in a display of piety. One self-congratulatory priest from San Pedro Quiatoni, Tlacolula—in a rant recalling those of his predecessors in earlier centuries—claimed to have risked his life eradicating all of the "stone idols and little altars where they performed their superstitious sacrifices," and boasted of having punished the idolaters in a public display.[11] Fortunately, a handful of more thoughtful respondents did mention archaeological finds. One of these was Joseph de Gaiztarro, the priest from Santiago Cuilapan (now Cuilapan de Guerrero):

> In the Valley can be seen many mounds…which they say were the lookouts of the natives during their battles or wars. Some have been dug up out of curiosity, and in the center of these mounds have been found the natives' tombs, and inside these, clay idols of frightening appearance…[12]

Another (unidentified) priest, writing from San Andrés Miahuatlán, concurred that the mounds contained "the tombs of the ancient infidels," noting that inside them he had found effigies representing the "clay portraits of the

[10] Manuel Esparza, ed. *Relaciones Geográficas de Oaxaca, 1777-1778* (Oaxaca: CIESAS and Instituto Oaxaqueño de las Culturas, 1994), 13.

[11] *"No hay noticias de edificios antiguos de la gentilidad, ni muros, zanjas o fosos, solo de los adoratorios o cuevas que llaman los que hasta mi entrada en este curato duraban, con sus ídolos de piedra y altaricos a donde hacían sus sacrificios supersticiosos: todo lo cual destruí, y del todo arranqué de raíz a fuerza de una continua predicación, celo y desvelo (no con poco riesgo de mi vida) cuyas cuevas o adoratorios demolí; de cuyos crímenes y excesos fueron castigados por las calles públicas de la ciudad según la sentencia que fulminó el Señor Provisor y Vicario General de ellos."* Ibid., 306.

[12] Author's translation of: *"En el Valle se ven muchos cerritos, con alguna distancia, que dicen eran vigías de los gentiles en sus batallas, o guerras. Algunos han arrancado la curiosidad, y en su centro se han hallado sepulcros de la gentilidad, y dentro ídolos de barro de figura espantosa, y pedernales que usaban en las flechas en sus combates."* Ibid., 118.

ancients, the men with a feather plume or headdress, and the women with earrings."[13] Referred to as *mogotes* by present-day Oaxacans, the mounds mentioned in both citations were central to ancient Zapotec culture. Each consisted of a man-made earthwork upon which a high-status family would build its residence; the family's tombs were typically located under the floor of the main residence and furnished with assemblages (periodically renewed) of ceramic offerings including effigies and domestic wares.

The detailed accounts offered in the *Relaciones...* by the more intellectually curious priests suggest that some of them may have collected tomb finds, although there is no contemporary documentation to confirm this. On the other hand, these priests were undeniably (if at times feebly) attempting to explain the presence of artifacts within the structures. The local belief, according to the vicar of Teutitlán, was that the *mogotes* had been the homes of the ancients, and became their tombs only when they ordered themselves sealed in to avoid the attentions of a marauding Hernán Cortés. In support of this belief he tells of a local man who inspired by greed excavated a *mogote* and found, within a structure built of cut stones,various skeletons and articles of clothing made of cotton and wild silk interwoven with feathers. The vicar finishes his story—perhaps in an attempt to extract a moral—by saying that his greedy neighbor succumbed before the excavation was complete, and that another man, "Nava from Teozacualco," almost met a similar fate, being stopped by an "uprising" of local Indians before he could carry out the looting.[14] The vicar's explanation for the presence of skeletons in the structures—that the inhabitants had entombed themselves, while still alive, in their houses to

[13] *"Sólo se ha observado que en varias partes de este curato hay algunos cerritos formados a mano que se conoce fueron sepulturales de los antiguos infieles, pues registrándose se ven las diversas sepulturas cubiertas con piedra y cal, encontrándose en ellas retratos de barro en que están figurados aquellos antiguos, los hombres con forma de plumaje o penachos, y las mujeres con arracadas."* Ibid., 209.

[14] *"De los entierrros, sepulturas y fosos no se dan señales y por haberse hallado alguna huesamenta [osamenta] en algunas de los mogotes que se han excavado es presunción fuese el lugar de sus entierros aunque también de sus habitaciones pues según la Historia de la Conquista es de este reino los gentiles principales de terror del famoso Hernán Cortés se mandaron aserrar y tapar sus casas en la misma forma que dichos mogotes y esto lo acredita la experiencia que tengo pues estando de vicario en Teutitlán, que quiere decir tierra de dioses, un vecino agitado de la codicia mandó escarbar un mogote semejante de los referidos y quitada la tierra se descubrió una casa construida de piedras de labor y dentro se hallaron varios cadáveres que según se conjetura se quedaron muertos en sus asientos sacando varias piezas de ropa de algodón y seda silvestre entretejido con plumaje y aunque éste hallo indicios de seguir segunda vivienda cesó el ver su fin por haber cesado él con la muerte, y lo mismo le sucedió a otro llamado Nava en Teozacualco a quien se le impidió su descubrimiento por alzamiento de los indios."* Ibid., 59.

avoid detection by the Spanish—is not supported by archaeological evidence and the tomb he describes almost certainly antedates the sixteenth century.[15]

The occasional references in the *Relaciones*... to excavations in eighteenth-century Oaxaca give us no clues to the fate of the artifacts found, a key concern in any history of collecting and antiquarianism. In contrast is a narrative published (as a footnote) in 1905 by the Mexican bibliophile Nicolás León, who presented it as an extract from an undated manuscript he believed to date from the eighteenth century. The selection recounts what would be the first recorded excavation of Monte Albán, the hilltop city of the ancient Zapotec:

> On the Southern part of the City of Oaxaca, lies the hill called 'Montealvan' (sic), where as tradition goes, were buried its ancient kings, in an extensive table-land or plain… and where there are some big artificial mounds, or heaps of earth, which are the tumuli, or mausoleums. On this spot, and when Don Juan Antonio Corsi was the Mayor of the City, one of his sons, named Don Francisco Corsi, at present an Auditor in the Court of Revision of this New Spain, told me that his father being desirous of investigating and reconnoitering these old monuments, ordered one of these heaps, or mounds, to be dug, and therein were found some small idols, the flooring being of mortar. There was also found therein a tombstone having several lines of unknown characters, which, on trying to transfer it to Oaxaca, was broken into four pieces; but notwithstanding this, it was taken to the city in that broken condition and those broken portions are in the Trinidad suburb, in one of the houses which said Corsi had erected and built, having been utilized as the bottom of a gutter to drain the garden of said house...[16]

Although the story portrays at least some Oaxacans as eager to investigate the contents of the ancient burial mounds around them, the description of Corsi's bringing a (carelessly broken) gravestone all the way down the slopes of Monte Albán to the city below only to use it as part of a drain indicates

[15] Recent events (much discussed in the Mexican archaeological community, if not in the mass media) may explain the sudden death, shortly after penetrating an ancient tomb, of the man mentioned in the vicar's story. In 2007 an inhabitant of Chuxnaban, in the Mixe region of Oaxaca, entered a tomb he had discovered on his father's land. Having inhaled deadly spores in the air—possibly produced by rotting tree roots—he died several months later of histoplasmosis. Three archaeologists and six others from the town were also infected but survived. Personal communication, Robert Markens (2007). The occurrence of histoplasmosis among cave explorers is well documented in the scientific and medical literature; see, for example, Yousef Al-Doory and Everett R. Rhoades, "Isolation of *Histoplasma capsulatum* from a Texas Cave," *Mycopathologia* 35, nos. 3-4 (October 1968): 201-207.

[16] Nicolás León, "Data about a New Kind of Hieroglyphical Writing in Mexico," Mexico: Reprint published by the author, 1902, p. 186. (This is León's own English version of the Spanish text.)

a complete lack of the true antiquarian spirit—the desire to preserve monuments for posterity.

The wide range of responses by Oaxaca priests to the 1777-1778 questionnaire, as summarized in the *Relaciones*..., suggests the contrasts, and ferment, within the Church as a whole. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the Church was gradually becoming more receptive to inquiry, paving the way for a new era characterized by philosophical and scientific advancements. The impact of this new Age of Enlightenment, with its emphasis on rationality in aesthetics and logic, was particularly profound on the still highly religious Mexican society. In particular, the acceptance by the Church of new forms of knowledge made it possible for scholars to collect antiquities and study the past without being in direct opposition to doctrine. The priest José Antonio Alzate is believed to have been the first to describe areas outside the confines of Mexico City and the better-documented Mayan ruins; his works helped disseminate new ideas about ancient history and antiquities.[17] The books and articles of such thinkers as Alzate represented not a revolt against dogma, but rather an acceptance by the Church's rank and file of scientific method and principles. These enlightened clerics, paradoxically, played an active role in loosening the tight grip of religion on Mexican education; as products of a rigorously ecclesiastic schooling themselves, they were able to change attitudes and interpretations of doctrine from within.

The Church's new attitude towards learning meant that pre-Hispanic artifacts were no longer considered "pagan" idols to be hidden or destroyed. The gradual nature of this change is well illustrated by the story of the large serpent-like idol now known as the *Coatlicue*, discovered accidently in 1790 in Mexico City's main plaza by construction workers. After a brief exhibition in the university (Real y Pontificia Universidad de México, founded 1553), the artifact was quickly reburied at the orders of Bishop Linares, lest it inspire idolatry among the indigenous population. Later, the giant statue was disinterred twice at the request of foreigners eager to document it: for Alexander von Humboldt in 1803, and again, in 1822, for the less widely known English impresario William Bullock. On the latter occasion Bullock remarked that many of those present had "expressed the most decided anger and contempt" at its unearthing, but noted that some Indians had come in the night and adoringly placed flowers at its feet.[18] When more enlightened minds pre-

[17] Ignacio Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archaeology*, 79-80.

[18] William Bullock, *Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico* (London: John Murray, 1825), 77-78.

vailed two years later, the statue was finally allowed to remain on display at the staunchly Catholic university, serving as an emblematic reminder of the pre-Hispanic past that was buried underfoot.

The definitive embrace of the *Coatlicue* as part of the national heritage established a new paradigm in the history of archaeological collecting in Mexico, and was a key factor in the marked increase, over the course of the nineteenth century, in the number of *gabinetes*. These "cabinets"—private collections that were open to the public (or a segment of it)—had first appeared in Mexico City towards the end of the eighteenth century. Although the earliest cabinets tended to be unsystematic, idiosyncratic jumbles, they played an important role in spurring interest in natural and cultural artifacts, and above all in fueling speculation about the origins of American man.[19] (Chapter Three, below, will include a more extensive discussion of these first museums and their holdings.) By the end of the nineteenth century, as collectors—known as "*anticuarios*" (antiquarians) or "*historiadores*" (historians)—became more sophisticated, their collections were increasingly focused and ordered.

The words used to refer to these specialized collectors are worth noting, as they reflect the relatively late arrival of certain European concepts in Mexican intellectual circles. For the better part of the nineteenth century there was no such thing in Mexico as an archaeologist, in today's understanding of the term, and the word *arqueólogo* itself (probably a translation of the French *archéologue*) is not attested in Peninsular usage until 1876.[20] The word *arqueología* had arrived much earlier; in 1844 it appeared in an article in the journal *El Museo Mexicano* that made use of a translated excerpt from a "New Encyclopaedia" (probably originally French) in support of its advocacy of the study of antiquities, scorned by some detractors as "frivolous," "futile," and "arid." The definition—and justification—of *arqueología* offered in the article is both aesthetic and practical; the study of ancient "monuments" both enhances and is enhanced by the study of literature (including poetry) and ancient languages, but it must be based on the empirical sciences ("*las ciencias positivas*") in order to make possible "an explanation of the objects represented on the monuments, or an

[19] Michael M. Ames, *Museums, the Public and Anthropology. A Study in the Anthropology of Anthropology* (New Delhi: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 38-39.

[20] J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la Lengua Castellana* (Bern: Editorial Francke, 1954), 274. This use of the word *arqueólogo*, from the French *archéologue*, may have been influenced by the French scientific mission to Mexico during the years 1864-1867; see Daniel Schávelzon, "The History of Stratigraphic Excavations in Latin American Archaeology: a New Look." *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 9, no. 2 (1999): 1-10.

identification of the materials used by the ancient artisans…"[21] The excerpt from the New Encyclopaedia describes archaeology solely in terms of Old World antiquities—Babylon, Athens, and Rome—and cites the works of "Winckelmann, Klotz, and Champollion"[22] while making specific mention of the private cabinets and public museums in Europe then spurring interest in the ancient world. But the writer who presented and embraced the arguments of the translated extract—a Catalan immigrant to Mexico named Rafael de Rafael—pushed this line of thought even further, vigorously questioning why American antiquities should not also be worthy of study. For a full appreciation of Rafael's call for an American archaeology, however, it is essential to consider the context in which it appeared.

Founded and edited by Guillermo Prieto and Manuel Payno, *El Museo Mexicano, ó, Miscelanea pintoresca de amenidades curiosas e instructivas* (five volumes, 1840-1845) marked a watershed in Mexican nationalism. Published at irregular intervals with support from subscribers, it was distributed over much of the country. Its press run of just 1 500 copies of each issue may seem unimpressive, given a national population of some eight million, but the overwhelming rate of illiteracy—surpassing 90% in rural areas[23]— and the likelihood that each exemplar had several readers should be borne in mind. (By comparison, a regional journal like the *Registro Yucateco,* which served the entire Yucatán Peninsula including Campeche, had a press run of 411 copies at the height of its success.)[24] The publication both gave voice to and sought to shape the cultural aspirations of an elite segment of nineteenth-century Mexican society, one consisting largely of politicians, intellectuals, clergy, military officers, and businessmen. Having liberated themselves from Spanish domination in 1821, many such *criollos*, relishing the new freedom of the post-colonial regime and inspired by contemporary European Romantic and nationalist thinkers, were eager to claim

[21] Author's translation of: "*Es necesario que la arqueología se apoye en las ciencias positivas, para llegar a la explicación de los objetos representados sobre los monumentos, o al conocimiento de las materias empleadas por los artistas antiguos*..." Rafael de Rafael, "Monumentos de los Antiguos Tzapotéques." *El Museo Mexicano*, vol. III, 1844 (México: Ignacio Cumplido): 329.

[22] Presumably the art historian and archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), the antiquarian and philologist Christian Adolph Klotz (1738-1771), and the well-known classical scholar and Egyptologist, Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832).

[23] Anne Staples, "Un lamento del siglo XIX: crisis económica, pobreza educativa." [Unpaginated electronic work at biblioteca.itam.mx. 1987]. http://biblioteca.itam.mx/estudios/estudio/estudio08/sec_9.html

[24] Arturo Taracena, *De la nostalgia por la memoria a la memoria nostálgica. La prensa literaria y la construcción del regionalismo yucateco en el siglo XIX* (Mérida: UNAM, 2010), 128.

a new, genuinely Mexican identity by exploring the various cultural and historical strands that were combined in the young Republic. To this end, the editors of *El Museo Mexicano* issued an open invitation to Mexican authors, soliciting contributions on a wide range of subjects, from descriptions of contemporary provincial life to accounts of recent discoveries of pre-Hispanic monuments and artifacts. The aim was not simply to provide a more complete and up-to-date image of Mexico, rich in anecdotal detail and lavishly illustrated with hand-colored etchings, but—crucially—to portray the country from the point of view of those who lived there, in contrast to the superficial (and often erroneous) stereotypes offered by foreign visitors.[25]

From this new literary platform, Rafael de Rafael—fervently embracing his own new identity as a Mexican and an American—argued explicitly for the validity of archaeological investigation in the American context, refuting such (presumably commonplace) objections as the supposed "ugliness" or "barbarity" of indigenous relics and cultures with pointed references to the malformed Sphinx (not "a model of beauty," he said) and the prevalence of human sacrifice among the ancient Gauls. If Egyptian hieroglyphs could be deciphered—as they had been, only recently, by Champollion—then why not also the writing systems of the ancient Mexicans? "What interest," he mused, "could there be in the monuments of Egypt, or other cultures, that is not found in the monuments, the statues, the bas-reliefs, and the symbolic writing of Mexico?"[26]

The nationalistic fervor fomented by *El Museo Mexicano* and similar publications inspired a brief boom of archaeological exploration in the 1840s, especially in the state of Oaxaca, governed by the enlightened general Antonio de León (see Chapter Two). This first flowering of a nationalistic archaeology was soon choked off, however, by the turmoil attendant on the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, a gruesome two-year conflict whose roots lay in the secession of Texas from the Mexican Republic in 1836 and in which nearly fourteen thousand Americans and as many as twenty-five thousand Mexicans were killed. Despite Texas's self-proclaimed independent status, the Mexican government still considered it a province and viewed as tantamount to a declaration of war the decision by the United States of America to incorporate it into the union as another state. Even after the war ended, with the definitive annexation by the United States of a substantial portion of previously Mexican territory, Mexican politics and society continued to be dominated

[25] Esther Pérez Salas Cantú, "Primeros intentos por definir los tipos mexicanos en la primera mitad del siglo XIX." In *Histoire(s) de l'Amérique latine*, vol. 1 (2005): 2-4.

[26] Rafael de Rafael, "Monumentos de los Antiguos Tzapotéques," vol. III: 331-332.

by conflict—often bloody. An extended civil war known as the War of the Reform (1857-1861), between advocates and opponents of the separation of Church and State, led to the enactment of legislation stripping the Church of secular power and nationalizing much of its property. In 1864, following President Benito Juárez's suspension of interest payments to foreign creditors, the French invaded Mexico, installing the Hapsburg Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian (1832-1867) as a puppet emperor whose government would serve the interests of Napoleon III. In the event, Maximilian had little effective power, "ruling" only where a military presence supported by a garrison could enforce his government's decrees. Although he was widely considered to be a pawn of the ultra-conservative Catholic hierarchy, Maximilian refused to rescind the Reform laws and restore the Church's confiscated property, effectively signing his own death warrant. France decided to withdraw its troops from Mexico in response to successive military defeats by troops supporting the exiled Juárez, but despite a rapidly deteriorating situation Maximilian stubbornly refused to abdicate and return safely to Europe. He was captured in battle and shortly thereafter executed before a firing squad on the 16th of June 1867.[27]

The French incursion did not have the asphyxiating effect on Mexican culture of the earlier American venture, in part because Maximilian and his wife Carlota, genuinely in favor of excavating and preserving remnants of ancient Mexican cultures, increased public funding for museums and for archaeological exploration. More important, the French dispatched an official scientific mission as an integral part of the campaign; with the collaboration of a select group of Mexican intellectuals, the French scholars and researchers carried out field surveys and excavations, built up museum collections, and established important methodological milestones, including the first recorded use of stratigraphy in American excavations.[28] (Discarded after the forced departure of the French, the technique would not be reintroduced until the beginning of the twentieth century.) Despite the considerable achievements of the French-sponsored archaeology of Maximilian's reign, it remained an imperialistic enterprise; sustained conflict and intense resentment towards the invading French stunted home-grown initiatives in terms of local excavations, the formation of *gabinetes*, and the publication of scientific journals.

On the horizon, however, was a new way of thinking that would provide the link between the nationalistic archaeology advocated in *El Museo Mexicano* and its modern development—a philosophy that would inspire a

[27] The scholarship on Maximilian's reign is extensive, and a good general work is Jasper Ridley, *Maximilian & Juárez* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992).

[28] Daniel Schávelzon, "History of Stratigraphic Excavations," 1-10.

small group of Oaxacan collectors to amass the largest private collections of archaeological specimens that Mexico had ever seen.

Positivism and empirical evidence

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the intellectual life of Mexico's educated upper classes was profoundly influenced by positivism, a philosophical doctrine developed earlier in the century by the French philosopher Auguste Comte and his followers that held that only natural phenomena and empirical methods of investigation could yield true ("positive") knowledge. Despite its European origins, positivism—or a version of it—was readily adaptable to the political and social realities of many Latin American countries, and no other system of philosophy, with the possible exceptions of Social Darwinism and Marxism, has played so great a role in Mexico's intellectual history. Positivism's impact on the development of Mexico's society and institutions extended far beyond the leisurely *tertulias* of the cultured elites, however, as it was the defining ideology of the ambitious new system of higher education fomented by the Díaz regime until the first years of the twentieth century.[29] Following the departure of the French (1867), Benito Juárez's government decreed that elementary schooling was to be nonreligious, obligatory, and free. During the era of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911), capable ministers of education expanded primary and secondary schooling, supported women's education (including higher education), and established dozens of public schools. But efforts to educate the masses focused mainly on densely populated urban areas, and literacy rates remained dismal: a mere 15% of the population could read and write in 1895, and that number increased only to 20% in 1910.[30] Those fortunate enough to receive a public education were subjected to a strong dose of nationalistic history that emphasized a glorified pre-Hispanic past.

Although Rafael de Rafael, in his pioneering 1844 article in *El Museo Mexicano* calling for a nationalistic archaeology, had included a translated reference to the "positive sciences" ("*es necesario que la arqueología se apoye en las ciencias positivas*..."), the arrival of positivism in Mexico is generally attributed to the multifaceted Gabino Barreda (1820-1881), who had attended Comte's lectures while studying medicine in Paris in the 1840s.

[29] William Raat, "Leopoldo Zea and Mexican Positivism: A Reappraisal," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 48, no. 1 (1968): 2.

[30] Elisa Speckman Guerra, "El Porfiriato." In *Nueva Historia Mínima de México* (México: El Colegio de México, 2004), 223-224.

In 1867, shortly after the defeat of the French imperialist venture and the restoration of the Juárez government, Barreda began popularizing the doctrine as uniquely fitted to guide Mexico in its progress towards modernity, and—in his new role as an educational reformer—adapting it to the federal school curriculum. Charged by Benito Juárez with guiding the youth of Mexico's bourgeoisie towards "useful" professions—those leading both to individual prosperity and to the betterment of the nation—Barreda founded in 1868, and directed for over a decade, the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, a secondary school based on positivist principles that occupied the former Colegio de San Ildefonso in Mexico City. Though the school no longer emphasizes positivist doctrine, its motto *amor, orden y progreso* (love, order, and progress) still reflects its historical roots in this philosophy. The fervent embrace of positivism by Mexican statesmen under Barreda's influence had its ironic aspect: successful intellectual colonization by the French after the military effort had failed.

The idiosyncrasies of Mexican positivism reflect the particular social and political realities of 1860s Mexico. The Mexican positivists extolled three fundamental precepts—progress, order, and a liberated conscience—in their advocacy of "rational policies," grounded in statistics and employing strict social controls, that would allow Mexico to attain the cultural and material level of the more advanced European nations or the United States. For many of them, however—especially those most closely linked with Porfirio Díaz—the doctrine's professed political egalitarianism was a deceptive veneer. The nation as a whole—indeed, all of humanity—should unite behind the science-based philosophy, they argued, since—as Comte himself had pointed out—scientific principles are universally valid. But the Mexican positivists in Díaz's circle used the science, or pseudo-science, of Herbert Spencer's theories of social evolution to rationalize, and perpetuate, the existing class system: some men were born leaders, others followers, and only the "natural leaders" of Mexico's elite could guide the nation towards its rosy future. The already privileged white (or whiter) *criollo* classes were thus ranked "scientifically" above the darker-skinned poor. By the end of the Díaz regime the cynicism inherent in this perverted manipulation of positivist philosophy was increasingly evident, and the corrupt political elite surrounding the president, who invoked the ideology to justify their own blatant misuse of public funds, were tellingly known as *Científicos*.[31]

[31] For a discussion of positivism during Mexico's Porfiriato see the following works: Fernando Curiel Defossé, ed. *El positivismo en México* (México: UNAM, 2005); Leopoldo Zea, *Positivism in Mexico* (Austin & London: University of Texas Press, 1974); William Raat, *El positivismo durante el Porfiriato* (1876-1910) (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1975).

The Oaxacan collectors whose achievements are at the heart of this work were—by virtue of their occupations, social status, and class origins (inevitably, in the context of Mexican society, these were closely intertwined)—active participants in the *Porfiriato*, and doubtless embraced many aspects of positivist philosophy. But, as is so often the case with intellectual or cultural movements, individual Mexicans tended to adopt those aspects of positivism that were in harmony with their own outlook and needs, and ignore others. For example, as William Raat has pointed out, those who admired the social applications of scientific method were not necessarily inspired by Comte nor did they accept fully the political ramifications of his philosophy.[32] With this in mind, it would be unjust to characterize all Porfirian-era Mexican positivists as racists. While the sharp racial and economic divides of Mexican society largely endured under Díaz, the "Indian question" (the standard euphemism for a mixed bag of concerns involving poverty and marginalization) was passionately and publicly debated throughout the entire period. Thomas Powell has argued that flagrantly racist views were not universally held and did not dominate the debate.[33] Furthermore, collectors like Francisco Belmar and Abraham Castellanos (discussed at length below), known for their open defense of indigenous causes, were instrumental in creating institutions to help develop rural areas.

For the collectors, and for Mexican archaeological practice in general, the crucial contribution of positivism was the scientific empiricism that it enshrined. Scientific positivism, with its insistence on observational evidence, the collection of facts, is what allows us to distinguish (in Christopher Winters's concise formulation) positivist scholars from their more speculative predecessors and their theory-oriented successors.[34]

Wholesale collecting became the trademark of the nineteenth-century archaeologist, and the accumulation of vast quantities of objects (albeit by frequently chaotic means) made possible the establishment of typologies. Willey and Sabloff, in their comprehensive history of American archaeology, recognize the importance of this activity during the second half of the century as an antecedent to a more theoretical discipline; their designation of this era as the "Classificatory-Descriptive period (1840-1914)" reflects its emphasis on the "systematic description of archaeological remains and monuments and

[32] William Raat, *El positivismo durante el Porfiriato* (1876-1910) (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1975), 14.

[33] Thomas G. Powell, "Mexican Intellectuals and the Indian Question, 1876-1911," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 48, no. 1 (1968): 19-36.

[34] Christopher Winters, ed. *International Dictionary of Anthropologists* (New York: Garland, 1991), 786.

on the classification of these data in accordance with formal typologies..."[35] Many ceramic typologies devised in this period are still in use today, and are fundamental tools for understanding ancient cultural boundaries.

The Oaxacan collectors were well situated, by geographical location as well as by class and profession, to build up vast collections, corpora extensive enough to allow them to create typologies (and even, in one heroic case, to acquiesce in the destruction of a small gold bell in order to gain insight into its fabrication). As educated men—doctors, lawyers, bureaucrats—they had received rigorous training in the scientific methods of their day, and had broad interests in such related disciplines as biology and geology. As professionals (especially the doctors among them) dealing with poor clients as they made the rounds of isolated villages, they would frequently have occasion to accept an ancient artifact found locally in lieu of a cash payment. Although physically distant from the intellectual circles of Mexico City, they organized their collections along rigorous lines closely resembling contemporary European systems. The precise documentation of the humble *patojo* that introduced this chapter is a good example of the rigor that characterized the Oaxacan collectors' record keeping, and an indication of their participation in the theoretical paradigm shifts—and the growing professionalization—then remaking the discipline of archaeology in much of the Western world.

As early as 1818, the Danish archaeologist Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (1788-1865) had established a periodization of human development, dividing it into three consecutive epochs on the basis of tool-making technologies: Stone, Bronze, and Iron. Thomsen published an account of his system, in Danish, in 1836 (*Ledetraad til nordisk Oldkyndighed*), but it was the development and extension of Thomsen's insight by his assistant Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae (1821-1885) that was to revolutionize the field.[36] Worsaae's *Danmarks oldtid oplyst ved Oldsager og Gravhöie*, published in Danish in 1843 and in German translation in 1844, appeared in an 1849 English translation by W. J. Thoms, with the title *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*.[37]

In contrast to the ready adaptability of the Thomsen/Worsaae system to the Eurasian context, Americanists had great difficulty fitting their collec-

[35] Gordon R. Willey and Jeremy A. Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology*, 18.

[36] Glynn Daniel, *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), 42-46.

[37] Thoms' choice of "stone-period," "bronze-period," and "iron-period" to render Worsaae's three epochs helps to explain the deceptively late first attestations for the modern terms "Stone Age," "Bronze Age," and "Iron Age" given by Webster's and the OED. In varying forms and punctuations, these expressions came into common usage in the 1860s and 1870s—but the concepts themselves had arrived in 1849.

tions into the three-phase scheme, inevitably laden with implications for the degree of "advancement" in both material and intellectual terms of a given culture. Even those Mesoamerican cultures that were advanced by such measures as the complexity of social structures and the development of writing systems were relegated to the Stone Age by the complete absence of bronze and iron artifacts from the pre-Hispanic period (only such softer metals as gold, silver, and copper were worked). Finding the three-phase system unhelpful, American collectors gravitated instead to one based on functional and material subclassifications. In his own collection, for example, Martínez Gracida assigned items to the following categories: ceramics, artifacts of stone and metal, funerary urns, sacred vessels, domestic wares, adornments. This division along both material and functional lines echoes a similar system that Thomsen and Worsaae had earlier devised for the Danish antiquities held by Copenhagen's National Museum: objects of stone, urns and funeral vessels, articles supposed to have been connected with pagan worship, weapons and articles of metal relating to war, ornaments, implements of materials other than stone, household utensils, sundry articles.

Although Martínez Gracida and the other Oaxacan collectors may not have been directly aware of Thomsen's and Worsaae's work, they almost certainly were exposed to applications of their ideas, whether in museum collections arranged according to their categories or in scientific publications. Two crucial themes of Worsaae's landmark text are the need for an independent nation to study its own past as an essential prerequisite for progress, and the importance of *all* relics—with their provenance:

> Whilst the antiquities of Rome, Greece, and Egypt have been carefully examined and systematically described by English writers, the primeval national antiquities of the British islands have never hitherto been brought into a scientific arrangement. The consequence has been that they have neither furnished those results to history, nor excited that interest with the public in general, which they otherwise would have done.[38]
>
> A nation which respects itself and its independence cannot possibly rest satisfied with the consideration of its present situation alone. It must of necessity direct its attention to bygone times, with the view of enquiring to what original stock it belongs, in what relations it stands to other nations, whether it has inhabited the country from primeval times or immigrated thither at a later period, to what fate it has been exposed; so as to ascertain by what means it has arrived at its present character and condition. For it is not until these facts are thoroughly

[38] Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae, *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, translated by William J. Thoms (London: J.H. Parker, 1849), iii; from a preface by Worsaae to the English edition.

> understood, that the people acquire a clear perception of their own character, that they are in a situation to defend their independence with energy, and to labour with success at the progressive development, and thus to promote the honour and well-being of their country.[39]
>
> A very important rule is, that all antiquities, even those which appear the most trivial and the most common, ought to be preserved. Trifles often afford important information, when seen in connection with a large collection. That they are of common occurrence forms no objection; for historic results can be deduced only from the comparison of numerous co[n]temporary specimens. In many instances, antiquities have a value with reference to the spot in which they are found.[40]

Rafael de Rafael, writing in the 1840s for *El Museo Mexicano*, had been expressing a genuine *Zeitgeist*; the Oaxacan collectors, consciously or not, were heeding his call.

Archaeologists versus collectors

A triumphalist portrayal of the nineteenth-century evolution of collecting as ending in a permanent and total victory for a professionalized, scholarly archaeology would be incorrect, however. At the same time that the discipline was moving away from an object-oriented, antiquarian approach to material culture towards a more theoretical one—with the adoption of systematic techniques for retrieving and classifying artifacts—a new breed of collector was emerging, reminiscent of the European noblemen of earlier centuries with their *Wunderkammern* if only in their often fetishistic eagerness to collect exotic and beautiful objects with little or no concern for the cultures that had produced them. The radical changes wrought by the technological advances of the last century—above all the Internet and the rise of online selling—have greatly facilitated a shadowy international trade in antiquities, despite cultural-property laws meant to prevent unauthorized exportation of national patrimony (the wholesale looting of conquered territories by colonizing empires during the Age of Discovery had been no more respectful of the rights of indigenous cultures, of course).

The negative aspects of such modern collecting were vividly synthesized by Karl Meyer in his often-cited exposé *The Plundered Past*.[41] Writing in

[39] Ibid., 1.

[40] Ibid., 156.

[41] Karl E. Meyer, *The Plundered Past* (New York: Atheneum, 1973).

1975, Meyer portrayed a tentacular industry fueled by collectors' insatiable hunger for unique cultural objects and mobilizing an international army of museum curators, art dealers, middlemen, and criminals of various sorts. Efforts over the last few decades to dismantle this network had some success in individual, high-profile cases. Of particular relevance to Mexican archaeology are the dramatic negotiated return in 1970, after an aborted sale to the Metropolitan Museum in New York, of the magnificent stucco façade looted from Placeres, Campeche; and the return in 1984 of important Teotihuacán murals from the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco (now known as the de Young Museum), which were subsequently reunited with other fragments from the same context in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City.[42] But the trade persists, as the flood of illicitly acquired objects—some intercepted, others probably lost forever—out of post-invasion Iraq has shown.[43]

The result is an ongoing, often virulent antagonism, as professional archaeologists tend to view collectors as unthinking consumerists who perpetuate an amoral trade and encourage the ruthless removal of antiquities from their sites—with the concomitant obliteration of irreplaceable data—while collectors resent what they perceive as presumptuous interference in an age-old pursuit based on connoisseurship.[44]

Mexican archaeological historiography

The story of antiquarianism and collecting in Mexico—from the first haphazard efforts under the gradually easing constraints of the Church in the colo-

[42] Felipe Solís, "Grandes logros en la recuperación del pasado prehispánico," *Arqueología Mexicana* 4, no. 21(1996): 70-72.

[43] Matthew Bogdanos, in his account of the work of the multiagency task force dispatched by the United States government in 2003 to investigate the looting of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, concluded in 2005 that "the best current estimate is that approximately 14 000-15 000 pieces were initially stolen... [during] three thefts at the museum by three distinct groups: professionals who stole several dozen of the most prized treasures, random looters who stole more than 3 000 excavation-site pieces, and insiders who stole almost 11 000 cylinder seals and pieces of jewelry. The investigation determined that the international black market in Iraqi antiquities continues to flourish." Bogdanos, "The Casualties of War: The Truth About the Iraq Museum," *American Journal of Archaeology* 109 (2005): 477-526.

[44] For a lively discussion of these points of view see: Clemency Chase Coggins, review of "The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?" by Phyllis Mauch Messenger, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 18, no. 3 (Autumn, 1991): 389-392; and Phyllis Mauch Messenger, "Forging New Partnerships." In *Collecting the Pre-Hispanic Past*, edited by Elizabeth Boone (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1993), 294.

nial era; through the intellectual crucible of the mid-nineteenth century, as nationalistic ideals and newly rigorous methods elevated and formalized a dilettantish pastime; to the emergence late in the century of recognizably modern practices of discovery and recording of material evidence, creation of typologies, and their ordering into spatial groups corresponding to ethnic identities—constitutes an important prologue to the flowering of Mexican archaeology in the twentieth century. Although general histories of the discipline acknowledge the importance of the pre-modern period, their coverage of the individual Mexican collectors and their contributions—especially during the *Porfiriato*—tends to be surprisingly superficial. Even works by Mexican authors devoted to the history of Oaxacan archaeology in particular devote more attention to the pioneering foreigners—travelers and scientists from Europe and North America—and their impact on subsequent advances in the discipline.

Ignacio Bernal's *History of Mexican Archaeology* (published in English translation in 1980), generally considered the definitive work on the subject, presents the archaeological achievements of his country in the context both of intellectual history (foreign as well as Mexican) and of social, political, and economic trends.[45] But Bernal, although he dwells at length on his decades-long collaboration with Alfonso Caso (1896-1970)—the most celebrated Mexican archaeologist of the twentieth century—in explorations of the ruins of Oaxaca (which yielded an impressive array of published scholarship), largely ignores the achievements of his local, Mexican-born predecessors, the nineteenth-century collectors. Even Bernal's more detailed account of Oaxaca's earlier archaeological history in the article "Archaeological Synthesis of Oaxaca" and the recent book on the subject by Nelly Robles García and Alberto Juárez Osnaya fail to consider in any depth the importance of the Mexican collectors in shaping the growth of the discipline.[46] Seemingly unaware of the existence of crucial primary sources—most still held by institutions in Mexico City, but some also dispersed among museums in North America and Europe—these writers underestimate the extent, and the

[45] Bruce Trigger, "Writing the History of Archaeology," In *Objects and Others, Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, vol. 3 of *History of Anthropology*, edited by George W. Stocking, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985),230.

[46] Ignacio Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archaeology* and "Archaeological Synthesis of Oaxaca." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians. Archaeology of Southern Mesoamerica, Part II*, general editor Robert Wauchope, vol. 3 (Austin, University of Texas Press), 788- 831. This last article was later adapted and published in Spanish, cf. *Arqueología oaxaqueña* (México: La colección Vidzu: 1992). Also see Nelly M. Robles García and Alberto Juárez Osnaya, *Historia de la arqueología en Oaxaca* (México: INAH 2004).

nature, of archaeological work carried out by Mexicans in the late nineteenth century.

The politics behind this almost universal silence are (as noted in the introduction) an important part of the story, but not all of it. The new regime that emerged from the political and social upheaval of the Mexican Revolution sought to banish not just the key agents of the Porfiriato but its institutions as well—including such seemingly apolitical ones as national museums. Even before the revolution, however, the local collectors had faced considerable obstacles in their efforts to disseminate their results, for reasons as practical as the scarcity of funding for exploration and publication, or as intangible (but potent) as the celebrity cult surrounding the nineteenth-century Europeans and North Americans who visited Mesoamerican ruins and wrote about their experiences.

Such non-Mexican writers as John Lloyd Stephens, Désiré Charnay, Alfred Maudslay, Augustus Le Plongeon, and Eduard Seler, among others, produced successful—even best-selling—books, some of which are still well-known (Stephens' 1841 *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatán* is a prime example). Whether independently wealthy, like the English explorer Alfred Maudslay, or well-connected, like his French colleague Désiré Charnay, who received financial backing from the American tobacco magnate Pierre Lorillard IV (and traveled with an extensive entourage of porters and a supply of French wines),[47] these writers could afford both to travel and—if necessary—to subsidize lavishly bound and illustrated books, such as Maudslay's *Biologia Centrali-Americana*, or Charnay's *Cités et ruines américaines*. Their texts combined serious, even scholarly accounts of their travels with an intoxicating blend of exoticism, mystery, and self-promotion, helping to forge the iconic image of the heroic archaeologist that has become a permanent fixture of Anglophone popular culture in particular.[48] (The archaeologist in question is always a visitor to a distant land—at least culturally distant—and tends to be substantially paler

[47] Ian Graham, *Alfred Maudslay and the Maya* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 103.

[48] Tripp R. Evans, introduction, *Romancing the Maya. Mexican Antiquity in the American Imagination, 1820-1915* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 1-2; David Webster, "The mystique of the ancient Maya." In *Archaeological Fantasies*, edited by Brian Fagan (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 129. *The New York Times*, in a generally sober article keyed to Seler's plans to attend an "Americanists' Congress" in New York in 1902, fed the reader's hunger for glimpses of the lifestyles of the scholarly and famous: under the subheading "Prof. Seler's Home," we read that he "has a beautiful villa in Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin. His house is surrounded by a fine garden." "Berlin Scientists to Visit America," *The New York Times,* October 19, 1902.

than the local population: Indiana Jones, for example. Still, the vast success of such romanticized accounts has helped sustain serious scholarship, as museums of natural history have taken their place as shrines of middle-class childhood to which successive generations of parents bring their children.)

Mexican funding for excavations was, inevitably, on a smaller scale. Although the Secretaría de Instrucción Pública, responsible for the national museum as well as for the public schools, might occasionally provide financial support for a dig, the Mexican Congress maintained strict controls on what were, after all, public funds. In an open acknowledgment of its limited funds and political support, the federal government, interested in advancing archaeology in the face of a growing foreign interest in Mexico's patrimony, entered into so-called *partage* arrangements, whereby a foreign explorer would put up the entire cost of a dig—including a mandated *per diem* payment to a Mexican inspector—in return for title to an agreed-upon percentage (usually half) of the objects found. These large, government-regulated excavations, carried out over periods of several months, might seem, at first blush, more likely to yield important finds than the modest, privately funded explorations of the Oaxacan collectors. Despite the vastly greater budgets of the foreign explorers, however, sheer proximity meant that the local collectors had a distinct advantage: over the decades, their weekend forays into the countryside allowed them to amass much larger—and more varied—collections than their foreign counterparts. The foreign explorers' well-documented eagerness to purchase locally assembled collections underlines the unpredictable yields of their expensive but brief excavations.

Where the Mexican collectors were clearly disadvantaged was linguistically. To the extent that they did publish their findings, it was almost always in Spanish, and in Mexican journals, inevitably of limited distribution even within Mexico and little read abroad. While major scholarly or literary works in English, French, or German would typically be translated into Spanish, the reverse was less common.

The weight of biography—often verging on hagiography—in much of archaeological history is probably the most important single cause of the underestimation of the contributions of the Mexican collectors. The biographers of the foreign visitors to Mexico were typically their students and successors, who tended to be (or at least to portray themselves as) in awe of their mentors and heroes.[49] A good example is the sweeping claim for the pioneering achievements of the great Eduard Seler made by his student, Walter Lehmann:

[49] Robert D. Aguirre, *Informal Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 74.

> In days gone by archaeologists thought it sufficient to collect potsherds and clay figurines without the slightest concern for their exact provenance. Only much later did travelers begin to take careful note of exactly where each find had come from, thereby making it possible for us to classify them according to locality. Seler, for example, in the course of his many long journeys, defined a number of distinct local types, which are not without importance for the tracing of trade routes.[50]

Although Seler's role in defining ceramic categories is unquestioned, Lehmann overstated the importance of "travelers" (by which he meant foreign travelers, of course), implying that the credit was entirely theirs. I would maintain that the quality of the archaeological data that Seler recorded during his sojourns in Mexico, and later brilliantly synthesized, was largely dependent on the criteria and categories already established by the local collectors. It is clear from Seler's correspondence with colleagues at the Royal Ethnology Museum in Berlin (Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde), where he was curator of the Americas section, that he acquired large quantities of artifacts from the local collectors (individual items or sets), and drew or photographed those he could not buy—in the process integrating into his notes, and eventually into his classifications, much of the data referring to individual pieces that they had recorded. In other words, the local collectors played a substantial role in developing the documentary methodology that Lehmann attributes entirely to the foreign travelers. Lehmann's omission of the Mexican contribution can be chalked up to the zeal of an admiring student, or it can be considered—as Carmen Ruiz did in her recent dissertation, *Insiders and Outsiders in Mexican Archaeology* (1890-1930)—against the backdrop of nineteenth-century society, science, and colonialism. Ruiz argues convincingly that both gender and national identity were crucial determinants of acceptance or rejection, inclusion or exclusion, in the context of contemporary scientific practice.[51]

Neither the loyalty of former students nor the clannishness of scientific communities, however, can explain why even Mexican archaeologists (most of them, at least) have excluded their nineteenth-century compatriots from the standard narrative of archaeology's growth as a discipline. As noted above,

[50] Walter Lehmann, "Methods and Results in Mexican Research, Paris." Translation of the paper published in *Archiv für Anthropologie* VI (1907): 113-68.

[51] Carmen Ruiz, "Insiders and Outsiders in Mexican Archaeology (1890-1930) " (doctoral thesis, University of Austin, Texas, 2003), 1. http://www.lib.utexas.edu/etd/d/2003/ruizc032/ruizc032.pdf

Ignacio Bernal skipped over the local collectors' achievements, instead highlighting those of such foreign scholars as Seler, who began visiting Oaxaca in 1888, and William H. Holmes, head of archaeology for the Smithsonian Institution, who arrived in 1895. Tellingly, Bernal noted that these men did not excavate, obtaining their data from "amateurs who had excavated..." The only local collector he mentioned by name was Martínez Gracida, "an historian with a touch of the novelist," who "left interesting albums (unpublished) with drawings of many specimens, frequently with their exact localities and sometimes with details about their discoveries."[52] Although it is not clear how familiar Bernal was with Martínez Gracida's work, even from his brief reference it would seem to warrant a closer look. For Bernal, excavations did not begin in earnest until the arrival of Marshall H. Saville of the American Museum of Natural History, who excavated between the years 1898 and 1901. But Saville's methods differed little from those of his local counterparts, with the exception of his use of photography to document his work. A later assessment of his legacy, based on the opinion of his colleague Franz Boas, places him squarely in the antiquarian school; in the words of Donald McVicker, he "saw objects rather than cultures."[53] Bernal's final, dismissive sentence in his two-page review of nineteenth-century archaeological activities in Oaxaca—"Up to now, information on the archaeology of the Mixteca [the northern portion of the state] and some other parts of Oaxaca is not worth mention[ing]"—ignores the inroads made by the local collectors in the Mixteca as well.[54] In sum, Bernal's overall assessment, which has remained definitive within the discipline, is that the local collectors were amateurish and their work largely inconsequential.

An undeniable factor, and one less directly linked to hero-worship, or to group loyalties of whatever kind, in the underestimation of the local collectors derives from the very definition of archaeology. For many authorities, what defines the modern discipline is the use of stratigraphy, a method borrowed from geology that involves vertical cuts in the ground, revealing the different layers, or strata, below the surface, and allowing an artifact to be dated according to the particular stratum in which it is found.[55] Although sporadically practiced in the nineteenth century, the technique did not come

[52] Ignacio Bernal, "Archaeological Synthesis of Oaxaca." In *Handbook*, 792.

[53] Donald McVicker, "The Matter of Saville: Franz Boas and the Anthropological Definition of Archaeology." In *Rediscovering Our Past: Essays on the History of American Archaeology*, edited by Jonathan E. Reyman (Great Britain: Avebury, 1992), 155.

[54] Ignacio Bernal, "Archaeological Synthesis of Oaxaca." In *Handbook*, 792.

[55] Colin Renfrew and Paul G. Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 1993), 21.

into general use until well into the twentieth. In the Mexican context, the introduction of stratigraphy is generally linked to Alfonso Caso's explorations (with Ignacio Bernal) of Monte Albán and outlying areas beginning in the 1930s—despite the fact that, as noted above, the French scientific mission in the 1860s had documented its use of the technique. Accordingly, there is general consensus in the scholarly literature that modern archaeology in Oaxaca began with Caso.[56] The insistence on stratigraphy as a defining element of modern archaeology has had the unfortunate—and unnecessary—side effect of encouraging scholars to ignore results obtained without it as *a priori* outmoded and irrelevant. (Surely the advances in documentation and classification that preceded the general adoption of stratigraphy were equally important for the evolution of the discipline.)

A few recent examples will illustrate the magnitude of so sweeping a policy of omission in the case of Oaxaca. It is standard procedure for any archaeologist presenting results of a field excavation to preface the description of his or her own activities with a summary of historical antecedents; the absence of references to well-documented explorations carried out during the nineteenth century (or even earlier) in so many contemporary reports of fieldwork in Oaxaca is all the more telling. Richard Blanton's account of his extensive mapping of Monte Albán, carried out in the late 1970s, makes no reference to any work done before Caso,[57] yet there are numerous mentions of explorations of the site as early as the seventeenth century, and ample documentation—including detailed maps and descriptions—throughout the nineteenth.[58] In his study of the Cuicatlán valley, Charles Spencer maintained that previous archaeological activity in the Cañada was documented only in Constantine Rickards's brief account of a visit, dating from 1926, and in accounts of a few post-1930 short-term salvage projects.[59] But sources show that in 1844 a state-funded commission was sent to document one of the larger ruins in the valley (Quiotepec); artifacts were removed and placed

[56] See Ignacio Bernal, "Archaeological Synthesis of Oaxaca." In *Handbook*, 792,793; Charles Spencer, *The Cuicatlán Cañada and Monte Albán* (London: Academic Press, 1982), 14; and Richard Blanton *et al*., *Monte Albán's Hinterland, Part I: The Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in the Central and Southern Parts of the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1982), 5-6. Andrew Balkansky, however, suggests that systematic archaeology in Oaxaca started with Saville's field seasons in Oaxaca. See "Saville, Boas, and Anthropological Archaeology in Mexico," *Mexicon* 27 (2005): 86-97.

[57] Richard Blanton *et al*., *Monte Albán*.

[58] Javier Urcid, *Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 283-298; Regina de los Ángeles Montaño Perches, "La historiografía de Monte Albán bajo el punto de vista lakatosiano," *Estudios Mesoamericanos*, nos. 3-4 (2002): 46-69.

[59] Charles Spencer, *The Cuicatlán Cañada*, 39-40.

in the state museum, where they remain today, and a report penned by Juan Lovato, illustrated with two carefully drawn views of the temples found, their measurements, and a general description of the site, was published as the second part of Rafael de Rafael's article in *El Museo Mexicano* (Figures 2a and 2b).[60]

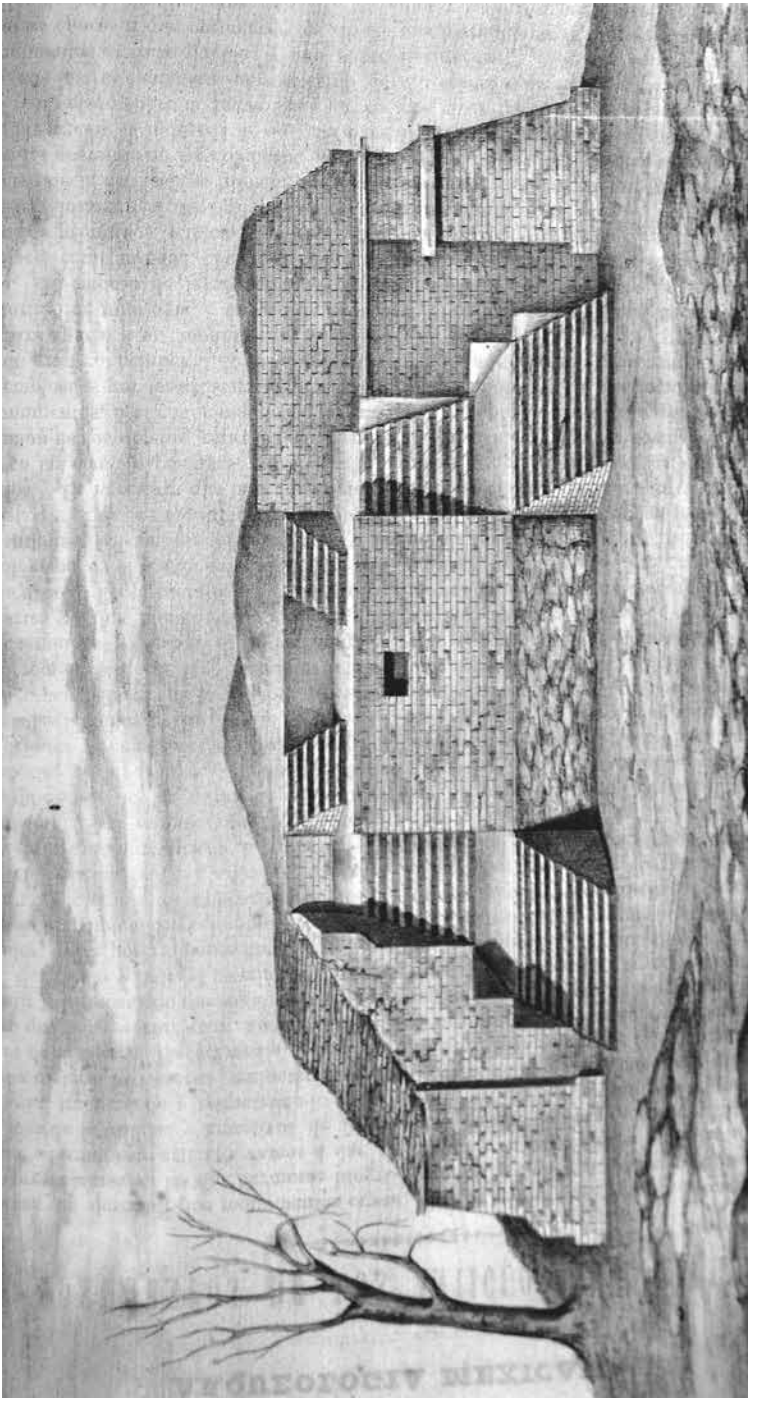
Similarly, Gary Feinman and Linda Nicholas, in their recent archaeological survey of the town of Ejutla and its environs, cite only an article by the French traveler Léon Diguet, who passed through the area in 1905.[61] In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, Ejutla was home to a major collector of antiquities, the priest José Juan Canseco, who directed excavations in the center of the village and kept many of the artifacts unearthed for his own impressive collection—which later served as the basis for the newly founded state museum (see Chapter 3).

The failure of recent scholars to consult extant records of their remote predecessors' activities, relying instead on the often-repeated account set forth by Bernal, is to a certain extent understandable. Archives tend not to figure in the training of the field archaeologist except as a place to deposit reports, and without the proper historical (or linguistic) background, older documents can be hard to evaluate. The papers of many of the early collectors—notebooks and correspondence—were dispersed after their deaths, and are now frequently divided among several institutions. Documents that record the collections of Fernando Sologuren, for example, are in archives in Mexico City, Berlin, and Philadelphia; and the physical collections of Martínez Gracida, with their corresponding intact labels, can be found in museums in New York, or as far off as Göteborg, Sweden. Even the files of the great Alfonso Caso may have suffered a similar fate. Ellen Hoobler, who has recently taken on the task of reassessing the totality of Caso's work, has sought to locate documents that were divided among three institutions after his death.[62] Despite the welcome clarification afforded by Hoobler's report of the location of those of Caso's papers held and catalogued by those institutions, it is still far from evident what proportion of Caso's unpublished work is still extant—or in licit hands. Rumor in the Mexican archaeological community has it that some of his documents were

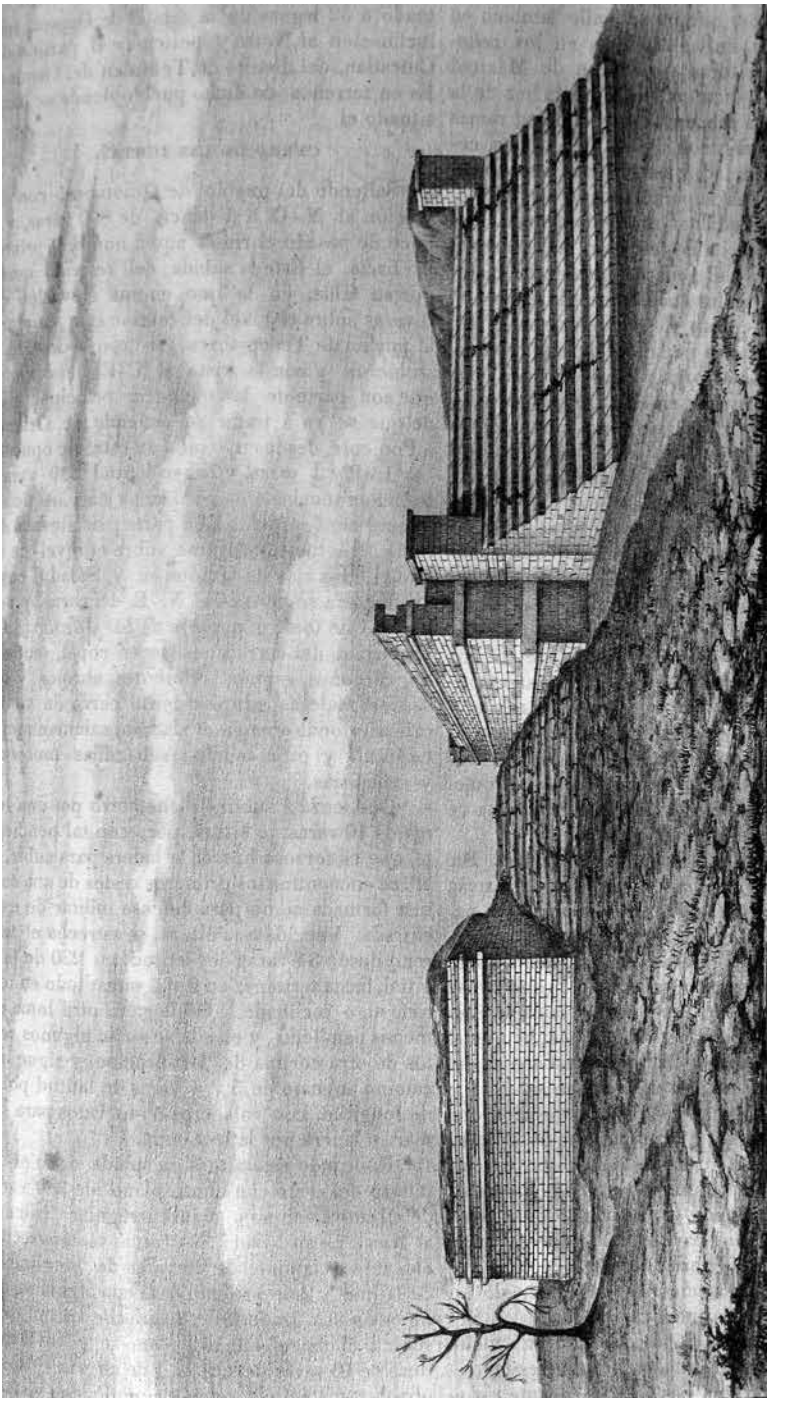
[60] Rafael de Rafael, "Monumentos de los Antiguos Tzapotéques," 329-335.

[61] Gary Feinman and Linda M. Nicholas, "Especialización artesanal en Ejutla prehispánico," *Cuadernos del Sur* 10, no. 3 (1995), 37. Also see Diguet's own description of the trip: M. León Diguet, "Note d'archéologie Mixteco-Zapotéque," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Nouvelle Série, 2 (1905), 109-116.

[62] Ellen Hoobler, "Primary Source Materials on Oaxacan Zapotec Urns from Monte Albán: A New Look at the Fondo Alfonso Caso and other archives in Mexico." Report Submitted to FAMSI, 2008.



Figures 2a and 2b: Two views of the ruins at Quiotepec, Oaxaca



In *El Museo Mexicano,* vol. III, plates without numbers between pages 328-329 and 332-333.

destroyed in a basement flood in his family home, while others, left unguarded in boxes in a hallway at his former workplace, were picked over and removed by colleagues and other passers-by. This chilling reminder that valuable archaeological information—especially the kind of relational data that emerge only from consideration of an entire corpus—can easily be lost forever underlies my effort to retrieve and reassemble what I can of the story of the nineteenth-century Oaxacan collectors.

CHAPTER 2
EARLY COLLECTING IN OAXACA

Archaeological collecting in Oaxaca began as it did in other parts of Mexico, in the early nineteenth century, spurred on by intrepid travellers who brought back stories of ancient civilizations that were often illustrated with the curious artifacts they had acquired. Many came looking for adventure and fortune, while others were commissioned specifically to compile research on Mexico, a country that had been relatively isolated from the rest of the world—in part because during the colonial years visitors of non-Iberian descent were prohibited from disembarking—and was therefore largely unknown. A decidedly more relaxed immigration policy occurred toward the end of the eighteenth century and the early narratives travellers produced are rich sources for understanding the beginnings of archaeological collecting. Many of these accounts provide a colorful picture of daily experience through a highly personalized lens—including verbal road maps for others on how to arrive and how to behave in a foreign land—but this type of egocentric genre can often obscure local expressions and desires, allowing little, if any, light to be shed on the parallel efforts of local collectors who were also trying to understand the archaeological record. Despite the inherent limitations in these narratives, the work of the foreign explorers was useful in other ways, as many of them instigated revolutionary changes in the way the ancient material remains were documented by complementing their verbal descriptions with visual aids such as detailed drawings and site plans. Some of the reports and letters sent home resulted in lavish publications, richly illustrated with stunning images of artifacts and ruins from "exotic" lands, and through these leather-bound, weighty tomes, information about Mexico eventually trickled down to a wider public, inspiring others to follow trails that had been previously blazed.

The state of Oaxaca was enticing to explorers, lured by the presence of ruins (most notably Mitla, an archaeological site that was known since the sixteenth century), by reports of the region's mineral and agricultural wealth, and by the state's majestic beauty. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Carlos María de Bustamante, the well-known Mexican historian and native

of the region, described the capital city (of the same name as the state) as situated in the middle of a fertile three-armed valley and nestled in a mountainous backdrop like a jewel in a crown. With clear horizons and a benign climate his natal city at that time was a small town of "regular buildings, and some excellent temples," consisting of fifteen streets laid out in a grid North-South and East-West around the *Zócalo*, the city's main square. The cobblestone streets had open ducts built in their medians to collect running water, and the outlying areas had orchards that produced flowers, fruits, and exquisite vegetables. According to the census data he cited, in 1794 Oaxaca City had a population of 19 062.[1] Oaxaca was still a largely rural setting and city dwellers accounted for a fraction of the state's population, reported to be 534 800 in 1803 by Josiah Conder in *The Modern Traveller*. Conder compared Oaxaca in size to both Bohemia and Moravia, and noted that while it had a low population density in comparison to these eastern European states (120 inhabitants to square league), its healthy climate and liberal government was key for rapid growth.[2]

This idyllic setting served as a backdrop for sections of baron Alexander von Humboldt's book *Vues des cordillères, et monuments des peoples indigènes de l'Amérique* (1810) where he published highly accurate prints of the "Palace of Mitla," though we know that the baron himself did not visit Oaxaca during his American odyssey. As was often the case with foreign travelers, Humboldt relied on information generated by an incipient group of Mexican intellectuals—often without citing them—to produce his treatise on New Spain.[3] Fortunately in the case of the illustrations from Mitla he generously recognized their source, and was indebted to Luis de Martín and Coronel Laguna for having expertly rendered the ruins, and to the marquis of Branciforte, who gave him the illustrations. One of these prints shows the finely carved walls of Mitla divided into three sections, and on top of the middle wall is a man wearing a top hat, gingerly crawling on all fours and holding a long cord with a plumb bob attached (Figure 3).

This is very likely Luis de Martín himself, a talented architect trained in the Academy of San Carlos in Mexico City, who visited Mitla accompanied by the lieutenant coronel Pedro de Laguna in 1802. Little is known of this trip but it would appear that they were commissioned by the state government to reconnoiter and draw the ruins. De Martín, born in Spain in 1772,

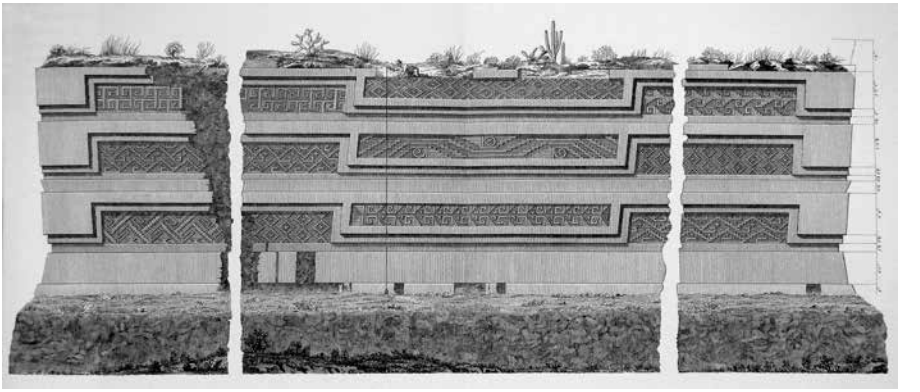
[1] Carlos María de Bustamante, *Memoria estadística de Oaxaca* (Veracruz: Edición de la Secretaría del Patrimonio Nacional, 1821), 4.

[2] Josiah Conder, *The Modern Traveller* (London: James Duncan, 1830), 128.

[3] Samuel Ramos, *Historia de la Filosofía en México* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1943).

was an excellent illustrator who had entered the Academy at the tender age of fourteen, and by the time he was thirty (in 1802) he had won many prizes for his Neoclassical designs. Unfortunately we do not know the exact date of his death nor the circumstances (probably sometime in 1816), except that his reputation was stained later in life after he had become embroiled with the *Santa* Inquisition for the possession of obscene lithographs. His defenders maintained that these were instructional nudes employed by students of the Academy, and that the charge was nothing more than a pretext his detractors used to show their great distaste for his liberal politics.[4] With Humboldt and his Mexican collaborators an interest in ancient Oaxaca was born.

Figure 3: View of Mitla by Luis Martín



In *Vues des cordillères, et monuments des peoples indigènes de l'Amérique*, 1810.

Guillaume Dupaix

One of the first European antiquarians to systematically explore Oaxaca's ruins was a remarkable man by the name of Guillaume Dupaix (c. 1750-1817). At the beginning of the nineteenth century he was commissioned by the king of Spain, Charles the IV, to deliver a full assessment of the vestiges of ancient civilization in the American colony, New Spain. Dupaix's legacy is significant because he documented his experience with extraordinary scientific rigor for the time, and the results of the expedition were widely published, consisting of detailed descriptions of travels, maps and drawings

[4] Elizabeth Fuentes Rojas, *La Academia de San Carlos y los Constructores del Neoclásico* (México: Escuela Nacional de Artes Plásticas, UNAM, 2002), 253.

of many artifacts and ruins. His excavations resulted in the first collections of antiquities from this area of the world that had any discernable associated documentation—textual or illustrative—that allow us to identify objects from his collection in present day holdings. Tracing the history of these artifacts from present day to their original find shows how they were dispersed and eventually comingled with other objects in private and public holdings.

Little is known about Dupaix's life before he began his famous journey. He was born in the village of Salm in the kingdom of Flanders, which at that time was ruled by the house of Hapsburg and subject to the Austrian Empire, so despite his very French sounding appellative he was Austrian by affiliation. His name would often get him into trouble with the authorities in Mexico who were suspicious of the French and their imperial aspirations (and rightly so, as history later proved), and since he was a military man—designated with the rank of Captain—this did not help parry their misgivings. There is no surviving portrait of Captain Guillaume Dupaix, but he was said to be of "robust health."[5]

In all he made three trips to different areas of Mexico, although it is only the last two that concern us here, one in 1806 and another in 1807-1808, because during these expeditions he excavated and gathered artifacts from the ruins in the state of Oaxaca. Dupaix's orders were to "take exact plans of the buildings and other ancient monuments that demonstrate the intelligence of the history of the country, and at least give an idea of the tastes and perfection that the native peoples obtained in their arts."[6] To achieve his objectives the explorer travelled accompanied by an artist, a scribe, two soldiers, and numerous local people who helped carry the provisions and equipment. The most well-known of his troupe was the artist, José Luciano Castañeda, a professor of drawing and architecture from the Real Academia in Mexico City, who was responsible for rendering all the material discovered on the expedition. (After this experience Castañeda was to become the first official illustrator for Mexico's National Museum.)[7] Without a doubt it was his skill as a draughtsman under Dupaix's sober guidance that made the expedition's results such a success. The plan for the record keeping was set out by Dupaix himself, who emphasized the importance of drawings over verbal descrip-

[5] José Alcina Franch, introduction to *Expediciones acerca de los antiguos monumentos de la Nueva España, 1805-1808*, by Guillermo Dupaix, vol. I (Madrid: Porrúa-Turanzas, 1969), 5-6.

[6] Roberto Villaseñor Espinosa, introduction to *Atlas de las antigüedades mexicanas*, by Guillermo Dupaix (México: San Ángel, 1978), 30.

[7] Anastasio Bustamante nombra a Luciano Castañeda dibujante con funciones de conserje, 23 November 1831, AH/MNA, vol. 1, file 1, pp. 1-5.

tions: "The technique of delineating the artifacts is necessary, as an image satisfies more than the most prolific of descriptions."[8] He also made sure that all plans and drawings were presented to scale and that measurements were included, techniques that are now followed religiously by most archaeologists in the field.

Before 1969 few were familiar with Castañeda's original drawings until Alcina Franch discovered the images in the Seville archive and subsequently published them. Previous to this time the illustrations available were copies, redrawn and colorized (some would say re-interpreted) by different artists and published in luxurious tomes, such as that offered by Jean-Henri Baradère, a French Abbé who visited Mexico in 1828. He discovered a copy of the Dupaix expedition languishing in the Museo Nacional in Mexico City and obtained the rights to publish it alongside various other travel articles in 1834.[9] A more elegant presentation was afforded in the collected works of the Irish antiquarian Lord Kingsborough, who in 1839 produced an elaborate, and costly, nine-volume set dedicated to the antiquities of Mexico that included hand-painted reproductions of various Mesoamerican codices and a complete reproduction of the text and images from the Dupaix expedition. The differences in detail between the reproductions and originals are not great but sometimes significant. Both Castañeda and his copiers all worked with a very mechanical style that was fashionable at the time, but this technique had the unfortunate effect of obliterating certain details to the point of being incomprehensible, a characteristic especially noticeable on stones carved with glyphic information. In consequence, many illustrations of archaeological artifacts and ruins from this period provide scant visual information that can be used by present day archaeologists and epigraphers.

Upon Dupaix's death the bulk of his collection was willed to his lifelong friend and executor of his testament, Fausto de Elhúyar, a talented Basque miner, chemist, and co-discoverer of tungsten. He was commissioned by the king of Spain to build the Palacio de Minería, a massive building in Mexico City's downtown core that in 1813 became the permanent home to the Real Seminario de Minería (Institute of Mining).[10] Elhúyar made an inventory of the drawings and artifacts, some 36 objects of ceramics and sculpture, and placed them in the Institute, where a few years later in 1823 the English

[8] José Alcina Franch, introduction to *Expediciones*, vol. I, 9.

[9] Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1971), 337-338.

[10] Roberto Villaseñor Espinosa, introduction to *Atlas de las antigüedades mexicanas halladas en el curso de los tres viajes de la Real Expedición de Antigüedades de la Nueva España, emprendidos en 1805, 1806*, by Guillermo Dupaix (México: San Ángel, 1978), 20.

impresario William Bullock mentions having seen them in this palatial space.[11] The various authors who have extensively studied Dupaix's legacy are in agreement that the original collection must have been much larger than that reported by Elhúyar,[12] but as with the fate of many early collections the objects were dispersed, some stayed in Mexico, while others ended up in Spain and in France.

There is strong evidence to suggest that after Dupaix's death, Castañeda profited from the sale of part of his collection to a foreign party. In a letter dated 2nd of February, 1827, Tomás Murphy, a Commercial Agent of the Mexican Government in Paris, advised the Mexican ambassador in London, England, that a large collection of Mexican antiquities had arrived in Paris under the ownership of a Mr. Latour Allard, a French antiquities dealer.[13] Apparently Murphy had met Latour Allard at a dinner party where he was casually told about the collection and how it was smuggled out of the country. Outraged, he managed to contain his ire long enough to elicit further information from Latour Allard, including a detailed list of the objects, divided into three parts. He sent this to the ambassador, and the following is a summary of his description:

> 180 idols, some complete and other deteriorated, of statues, serpents and other animals, with some relief carvings.
>
> 120 drawings, perfectly executed, of the monuments found by Captain Dupaix in Old Palenque and Mitla… Among those drawings there is one that represents the circular stone that exists in the University of Mexico.[14] One book consisting of 12 sheets of *maguey* paper [cactus paper], full of symbolic paintings such as humans, animals, rivers, etc. …ancient paintings that must have once belonged to the celebrated Boturini, as his handwriting can [be] seen in notes written in the Mexican language, and many of them Humboldt finds interesting.[15]

[11] William Bullock, *Six Months' Residence*, 67.

[12] José Alcina Franch, introduction to *Expediciones*, by Guillermo Dupaix, vol. I, 139; Roberto Villaseñor Espinosa, introduction to *Atlas*, by Guillermo Dupaix, 27; Marie-France Fauvet-Berthelot et al., "Six personages en quête d'objets," *Gradhiva*, no. 6 (2007):109, note 4.

[13] *Colección de antigüedades mexicanas llevadas París por el señor Allard, e investigación de este hecho por Tomás Murphy*, 1 February 1827, A/SRE, 1826-1829, file 3-3-3888, pp. 1-9.

[14] Murphy is probably refering to the sacrificial stone known as *la piedra de Tizoc* that was discovered in 1791 in Mexico City. Castañeda drew this stone from different perspectives and also produced a roll-out drawing. See José Alcina Franch, *Arqueólogos o anticuarios*, 122-123.

[15] Author's translation of: *"1º de 180 idolos, estatuas, unas completas y varias deterioradas, serpientes y otros animales con algunos bajos relieves, etc. = 2º de 120 excelentes dibujos perfectamente tratados y sacados de los monumentos que se encontraron por el*

Murphy went on to say that this collection was bought by Latour Allard towards the end of 1826 from the "illustrator or painter" who accompanied Captain Dupaix, although the French collector could not remember the exact name (he thought it was "Cañedo or Casteñedo," no doubt referring to Luciano Castañeda, the expedition's illustrator).

The Mexican diplomat was incensed that the sale and export of these important antiquities had been carried out with impunity, and shipped clandestinely, from Veracruz, Mexico, to Burdeos, France, without the intervention of the local customs authorities. He emphasized that Castañeda had no right to sell national antiquities and lamented the loss of Mexico's cultural heritage:

> Thus Mr. Latour declares in the face of the whole world that the artist of the expedition believed he was in his right to sell this precious collection of Mexican antiquities. The business was made right out in the public eye, as well as the extraction of the objects, and all under the presence of the republican government of 1824, depriving Mexican science of this rich treasure.[16]

His letter indicates a sense of urgency as Latour Allard was engaged in negotiations with a museum to sell the statues for the sum of 14 000 pesos; he was also trying to reproduce for publication the drawings and *maguey* paper codices. Murphy discussed some options for recuperating the collection, including threatening the collector with a lawsuit and trying to outbid the competition, however these suggestions bore no fruit.[17] The incident was

Capitan Dupaix en el Palenque Viejo y en el palacio de Mitla en la provincia de Chiapas situada entre Oaxaca y Ciudad Real de Guatemala. Se hallan en estos dibujos algunos de diferentes origen, entre ellos uno completisimo de la piedra circular que existe en la universidad de México = 3º un libro compuesto de doze pliegos de papel de Maguey, llenos de pinturas simbólicas como figuras humanas, [2v] animales, rios, etc... pinturas antiquisimas que huvieron de pertenecer algun dia al celebro Boturini de cuya mano se ven alli escritas en lengua mexicana muchas notas muy interesantes en concepto de Humboldt." Tomás Murphy to Sebastián Camacho, 1 February 1827, A/SRE, 1826-1829, file 3-3-3888, p. 2.

[16] Author's translation of: *"Asi que Mr. Latour declara á la faz del mundo que el dibujante de la expedición fue quien se creyó con derecho á vender esta preciosa colección de antigüedades mexicanas. El negocio lo hizo á los ojos del público y lo mismo la extracción, y todo á presencia del gobierno republicano que ya regia en 1824, privandose á las ciencia de México de este rico tesoro."* Ibid., 3.

[17] Hoping to recuperate his investment and profit from the sale Latour Allard had placed a hefty price tag on the collection, but the various departments of the *Musées royaux* turned him down: the asking price was not only exorbitant but also alleging that aesthetically the collection was grotesque and barbaric. Eventually, in 1830, he sold the collection to a private collector named Melnotte and later in the twentieth century it resurfaced and was acquired by the Trocadero museum. An in-depth perspective of the fate of Dupaix's collection can be

a blow to Mexico's incipient movement to conserve its archaeological heritage, but Murphy's indignation and attempt to inform his superiors planted an important seed that would eventually grow into a complex series of legislative measures to protect antiquities from foreign collectors.

Many of the broader themes that surrounded the fate of the Dupaix collection were repeated throughout the nineteenth century, such as an increasing foreign interest in Mexico's archaeological past, or the concomitant introduction of national legislation to protect cultural property and control the export of cultural goods—especially at the major ports. Most particularly, there was a renewed regional interest in the pre-Hispanic past. The dispersal of the Dupaix's collection and the related drawings and narratives demonstrates how a well-planned and carefully documented expedition can unravel over time. Artifacts from the collection became divorced from the collector's writings, launching them into a kind of interpretative wasteland where they have since assumed multiple guises in the absence of the founding narrative.

Due to their uniqueness, a number of objects from the Oaxaca expeditions can be traced to the early collections of the Museo Nacional in Mexico City. Many of these museum pieces came from mounds in the vicinity of the town of Zaachila that in ancient times was an important pre-Hispanic settlement. Dupaix's incursions marked the beginning of a long history of official and unofficial excavations that were to be carried out in this area, and a note from an early Oaxacan historian underlines this point:

> Two leagues to the south of Oaxaca is Zaachila. This town was the court of the ancient Zapotec kings, and in the ruins one can find precious antiquities that just recently have merited the curiosity and attention of one or another traveller, such as Mr. Dupaix; I have seen his descriptions and can highly recommend them.[18]

Dupaix carried out his excavations with the help of Zaachila's priest, the townspeople and others from the local authority. He mentions the local religious men several times in his account and pays particular homage to the priest of Cuilapan for his hospitality.[19] His contact with the church was by design, and the Austrian explorer travelled with letters of passage from

found in Marie-France Fauvet-Berthelot *et al*., "Six personages en quête d'objets,"*Gradhiva* no. 6 (2007), 105-126.

[18] Carlos María de Bustamante, *Memoria estadística de Oaxaca*, 5. *"Zachila al Sur de Oaxaca dista dos leguas. Este pueblo fué córte de los antiguos Reyes Zapotecos, y en sus ruinas se encuentran preciosas antigüedades que apenas han mericido la curiosidad y observación de uno ú otro viagero como Mr. Dupais ó Dupéés; yo he visto descritas algunas muy recommendables."*

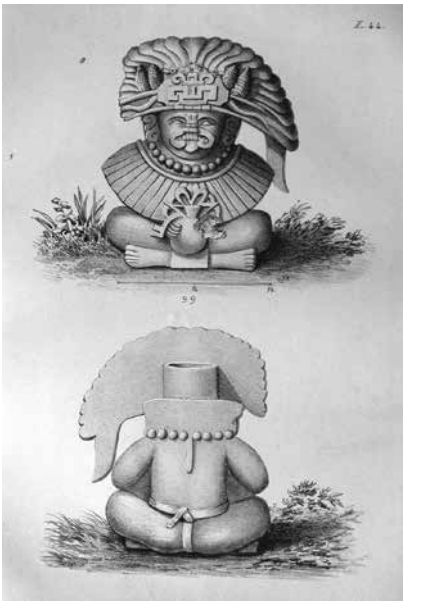
[19] Ibid., 159.

the viceroy of New Spain, José de Iturrigaray, directed to different levels of authorities in the church and provincial government.[20] Direct contact with ecclesiastic hierarchy was undoubtedly a good strategy as many had intimate knowledge regarding the location of artifacts from experience with the local population or because they themselves were collectors.

Of the many objects Dupaix found in Oaxaca, one of the most outstanding is a white stone statue from Zaachila. Measuring about 55 cm high, the seated figure wears a short mask covering the nose and mouth and bears a large headdress, the left part of which has been broken off. Cradled by both hands and nestled in the figure's lap is an unidentified object, perhaps some kind of container. Luciano Castañeda made a fairly accurate rendition of this sculpture, including the distinctive damage to the headdress (Figures 4a, 4b and 4c), and in the corresponding text Dupaix recorded its provenance: "it was found in a casual excavation that was carried out in the cemetery of the church [in Zaachila, Oaxaca]."[21]

Figures 4a, 4b and 4c: Three early representations of the same stone

4a



4b

[20] Carlos María de Bustamante, *Memoria estadística de Oaxaca*, appendix XIV.

[21] Guillermo Dupaix, *Expediciones acerca de los antiguos monumentos de la Nueva España, 1805-1808*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Porrúa-Turanzas, 1969),149-150. *"Se halló en una excavación casual que se practicó en el cementario de la parroquia…"*

4c

4a. Illustration reportedly by Luciano Castañeda; 4b. Illustration published in the edition of Lord Kingsborough, 1831; 4c. Illustration published in the Paris edition, 1844.

Yet despite their careful documentation of the artifact in image and in text, almost two centuries to the date of this writing, many catalogues and even scholarly publications ascribe the provenance to either Mitla or Monte Albán.

The confusion began as soon as the statue was separated from the Dupaix holding and acquired by a collector in Mexico City. The German illustrator Maximilian Franck rendered the stone sculpture in three views, front, back and in profile (including the unmistakable damage to the headdress) in 1827, when it was with its new owner. A note written in French next to the object—presumably by Franck—states: "This antique stone represents a king, and is from the collection of his excellence the Count of Peñasco, it was found in Oaxaca" (Figure 5).[22]

[22] Author's translation of: *"Cette pierre antique representant un Roi, est de la collection de l'Excellence Comte de Peñasco, il à été trouvée à oajaca."*

Figure 5: Drawing by Maximilian Franck, 1827, plate 68.

Photograph courtesy of the British Museum.

Franck's drawing of the object differs from Castañeda's in one detail: a cylindrical object resembling a candle protrudes from the middle of the headdress. Given that his drawing is later than Castañeda's version, it is probable that this object was an addition to the artifact, and a close inspection of the

statue revealed a hole between the glyph on the forehead and the headdress, large enough to have comfortably seated a thick candle. I hazard to guess that this detail is related to Dupaix's original idea that the function of the elaborate ceramic effigy vessels and some of their stone counterparts was to serve as candle holders (his word: '*candelabros*'), an idea that was held throughout the nineteenth century.[23]

The statue's origin was further confounded by Brantz Mayer, the Secretary of the U.S. Legation to Mexico in 1841-1842. He visited the Count of Peñasco's house many times to view his private museum and published a few poor quality drawings of the contents; one of these of an idol, "beautifully carved in white sandstone," that according to Mayer was brought to the Count "from Oajaca, the ancient country of Mitla and the Zapotec."[24] Mayer, without specifically stating it, gave the impression that the stone was from Mitla, and later on Blake repeated this same origin in his book *Antiquities of Mexico*, 1891.[25] In the twentieth century many researchers inexplicably ascribed its provenance as Monte Albán, a default location that was in line with the shifting academic focus between these two sites.[26] But the confusion did not end there. In the Sala de las Culturas de Oaxaca of Mexico's Museo Nacional de Antropología, where the artifact is presently on display, a label inexplicably claims it to be from the town of Tututepec, Oaxaca, some 300 kilometres southwest of Zaachila.[27] Significantly, some of the townspeople of Zaachila are aware that it originally came from their town. Like sentinels, set into two niches high above the central square in the town's clock tower located in front of the church, are two identical copies of the stone urn, elegant reminders that it is time to set the record straight.

Along with the stone sculpture I have been describing, Maximilian Franck documented other artifacts from Dupaix's Oaxaca collection that were eventually integrated into the holdings of the Museo Nacional, although the particular route they took through the hands of private collectors is unclear.

[23] See for example, Alfredo D. Chavero, *México a través de los siglos*, vol. I (México: Gustavo S. López Editoriales, 1940), 404-405.

[24] Brantz Mayer, *Mexico As It Was And As It Is* (New York: New World Press, 1844), 278-279.

[25] Wilson Wilberforce Blake, *The Antiquities of Mexico, as Illustrated by the Archaeological Collections in its National Museum* (New York: C.G. Crawfords Print, 1891), 71.

[26] Elizabeth K. Easby and John P. Scott, *Before Cortes: Sculpture of Middle America* (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1970), 158; Alfredo López Austin, "Los rostros de los dioses mesoamericanos," *Arqueología Mexicana* 4, no. 20 (1995): 17.

[27] Martha Carmona Macías, *Oaxaca. Museo Nacional de Antropología*, México, pp. 14-15.

One drawing Franck rendered is of a ceramic bust with a large headdress, painted and fixed to either a wooden or plaster base. Despite the modern presentation, the iconographic characteristics of the bust are clear Zapotec style, such as the conical hat with a glyph pasted on the front, as well as the figure's incised teeth and nose ornament.[28] A photograph of the artifact surfaced a century later in a 1905 publication from the Museo Nacional, with the heading: "Ceramic objects in the Mixtec-Zapotec collections of the Museo Nacional of Mexico (Dupaix expedition)," and on the base of the bust someone had clumsily written in black ink "…de Dupaix, Mitla" (Figures 6a and 6b), indicating that some memory of the history of these objects was still retained in the Museum.

Figures 6a and 6b: Drawing by Maximilian Franck of a bust found during the Dupaix expedition, 1827, plate 2

Photograph of the same object in the twentieth century, in Galindo y Villa, *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, vol. II, 1905, plate 26. Photograph of Franck drawing courtesy of the British Museum.

[28] In another study I have designated this the "*milpa* glyph." The context is unusual but plausible given what is known about Zapotec iconography. This piece may be a plaster copy of an original bust. See Adam Sellen, "Sowing the Blood with the Corn: Zapotec Effigy Vessels and Agricultural Ritual," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 22 (2011): 83.

But these fragmentary signs are uneven at best, and many of the objects from the original Dupaix expedition have lost their connection to the past, such as a ceramic box that served as the base for a more elaborate Zapotec urn. This piece was drawn by Franck in 1827 and was duly noted as from Zaachila. However, in a 1952 work published by Caso and Bernal, *Las Urnas de Oaxaca*, the same box was shown "without provenance" (Figures 7a and 7b).[29] (Comparing the drawing with a later photograph shows that the object arrived to the Museum intact, but at some point the protruding frontal detail of the box was broken off.)

In nineteenth-century accounts and artifact lists Zaachila is often mentioned as the origin of many pre-Hispanic artifacts, yet little of that ancient heritage has stayed in the present day town. Today Zaachila has no local museum even though it was a major pre-Hispanic centre and the historical seat for Zapotec kings. Recent attempts have been made to create a community museum, but the federal authority that would oversee such an undertaking in Mexico, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, is less than enthusiastic given the long history of conflict between archaeologists and townspeople.[30] There are several reports of locals throwing stones at archaeologists (once in 1947 and again 1953) forcing them to flee for their lives. In 1962, when the Mexican archaeologist Roberto Gallegos led a crew to excavate the mounds in the centre of the town, he required the protection of soldiers to carry out the task.[31] Given that their archaeological heritage has been rapaciously collected, it is hardly surprising the inhabitants of Zaachila have little patience with authority.

After Dupaix there is a twenty-year silence coming from Oaxaca regarding archaeological monuments and antiquities. The turbulent political situation due to the War of Independence and how this played out in the State may account for the years 1815-1821, but the lack of documents from this period also make it difficult to judge what was taking place. There is one brief mention from this time: accession records and letters in the archives of the Übersee-Museum in Germany speak of the collection of F.W. Stallforth who acquired a few Zapotec effigy vessels in Mexico sometime in the 1820s. The objects were inherited by his grandson Dr. P. Kluckholm, a professor from Münster/Westfalia and were ultimately purchased by the Übersee-Museum in 1921. König and Kröfges, who published this information, say there is some doubt about the early date of 1821

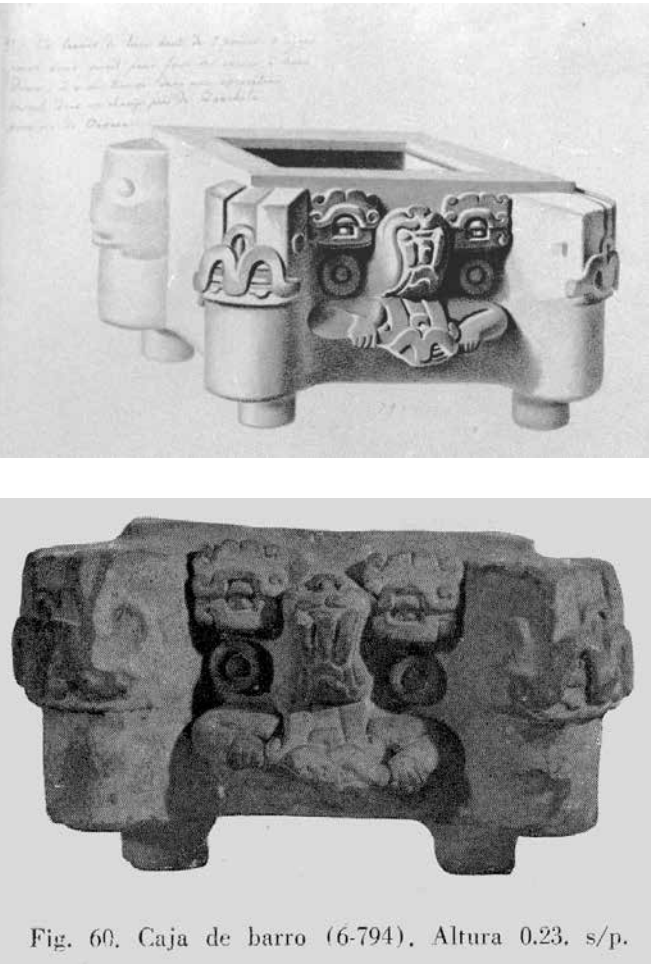
[29] Jesús Galindo y Villa, "Las pinturas y los manuscritos jeroglificos mexicanos," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, vol. II (México, Imprenta del Museo Nacional: 1905), plate 26.

[30] "Habitantes de Zaachila pugnan por crear su museo de sitio," *La Jornada*, July 16, 2005.

[31] John Paddock, *Ancient Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 213.

for the initial collection of these objects, but they point out that if this date can be attested then it represents one of the earliest foreign collections from the region.[32]

Figures 7a and 7b: 7a. Drawing by Maximilian Franck of a ceramic box with effigy, 1827, plate 41. 7b. Same box published in Caso and Bernal, *Urnas de Oaxaca*, 1952, p. 45.



Photograph of Franck drawing courtesy of the British Museum.

[32] Viola König and Peter Kröfges, "Archaeological and Ethnographic Collections from Oaxaca, Mexico at the Übersee-Museum Bremen," *TenDenZen*. IX (2001), 98. Four of these effigy vessels are illustrated on page 98.

An awakening: the state commissions

In the decade of the 1830s a relative calm presided over Oaxaca, and during this time new voices began to emerge that spoke of the discovery of unusual artifacts. In many cases these were not necessarily happenstance findings, but rather a focused effort by the intellectually curious, comprised of educated and able men such as mayors, priests or engineers, to explore sites in and around their communities; foreign nationals also took part in the expeditions, reflecting the diverse character of Oaxaca at the time. With direct intervention by the state governor or with encouragement by officials in Mexico City, the home grown initiatives quickly became commissions that were focused on locating, documenting, and ultimately, preserving the region's ruins. A concern for Oaxaca's archaeological heritage has its roots in this decade. How did these commissions come about? The Dupaix expedition, discussed earlier, must have had an impact; although published accounts would not appear until Baradère's French language edition in 1834 and Kingsborough's luxurious and expensive *magnum opus* in 1839, Dupaix's presence in the state and foreign interest in the ruins raised questions about ancient patrimony. Around this time the first documented complaints of foreigners taking stones as "souvenirs" surface, and concerns are voiced about the state of preservation of the well known archaeological sites, such as Mitla. Some commissions were formed to resolve the question of how to protect ruins from the degradation of time, but more particularly from people who would mine them for stone to build their homes. The principal objective of the commissions was the retrieval of 'antiquities,' necessary for building the collections representative of the region's ancient cultures for the museums in Oaxaca and in Mexico City. In the wake of independence a new value was being placed on ancient cultural materials, and their place in museums cemented the new idea of an emerging nation.

At that time archaeological exploration and museum building in this region was not a particularly well-defined project and the earliest attempts to form commissions were reacting to situations and compiling information. In 1832 the governor of the state of Oaxaca, José López Ortigoza, received disturbing news that the archaeological ruins of Mitla were in a poor state of conservation. To get a more precise report on their condition he sent a contingent to investigate that consisted of a party of two: the local Regent and publisher, Antonio Valdés y Moya, and Louis Guillemaud, a French citizen who originally came to Mexico with the ill-fated mission to settle the region of Coatzalcoalcos, Veracruz. An adventurer with a diversity of inte-

rests including archaeology, medicine and education, he separated from the French immigrants in Veracruz and went to live for eleven months with Mixe Indians in Acatlán, Oaxaca. Eventually he became involved in the internal rumblings of the neighboring state of Guerrero, settling there in Acapulco.[33]

On the 22nd of April 1832 this diminutive party set course for Mitla and stayed the night. Early the following day they inspected the hill-top ruin known as the *Fortaleza* or 'Fortress', two miles to the west of this village. The next day they visited the main ruins in the center of town, returning to Oaxaca City shortly thereafter. From this experience they produced a ten-page report,[34] and a decade later they donated objects from their exploration to the State Museum, including some small pieces of carved quartz that industrious ants had ejected from their mound. (Ants, it would seem, are also archaeologists.) Additionally, there were a number of badly deteriorated ceramic objects, none being complete. Most of the ceramics mentioned, including an effigy, came from "excavations" carried out at Mitla, "in the hill of the fort to one side of the town," referring no doubt to the *Fortaleza*.[35]

In their report, one of many that would be produced this century, they deplored the ruinous state of the buildings at the site and strongly recommended their conservation by a competent authority. The Governor responded swiftly by ordering the local authorities in the town of Mitla, and those in the district of Tlacolula to whom they directly depended, to take steps to preserve the buildings. A similar order had already been given and the measure had worked for a number of years (indicating that concern for the ruins occurred even earlier than this date), but even with the penalty of an unspecified punishment, the local authorities were unable to prevent villagers from taking stones for the construction of their homes, nor foreigners from taking away pieces of mosaic as souvenirs.

Despite this formal awakening in defense of Mitla's patrimony, the authorities seemed to be ineffective from preventing the curious from carrying

[33] For more information see: Alejandro Sánchez Castro, *Luis Nicolás Guillemaud, interesante historia de un buen francés que vino a México en 1830* (México: SEP, 1947). Sometimes his name is hispanized and given with a different spelling: Luis Guillermo Guillemaud.

[34] "Reconocimiento de los Palacios de Mitla," The State of Oaxaca commisions Mr. Valdéz and Mr. Guillemaud to reconnoiter the ruins of Mitla. Report produced by the Commission, 10 pages, Manuel Martínez Gracida, *Documentos para la historia de Oaxaca, Civilización Zapoteca. Dibujos de 1891 a 1894*, AHM/APP, microfilm roll 38.

[35] "Relación de las piezas que se han remitido al Instituto de Ciencias y Artes del Estado para la colección en el Gabinete de Historia Natural y Museo, mandado formar por disposición de E. S. Gobernador del mismo." In Martínez Gracida, *Documentos para la historia de Oaxaca*, AHM/APP, microfilm roll 11, 3 pages.

out excavations in and around the site. An example is Eduard Mühlenpfordt, a native of Germany who resided in Mexico for seven years (1834-1841), first as an architect for an English mining company, then as the director of the Department of Roads in Oaxaca. He is well known for his illustrated work on the "Palaces of Mitla," originally published in 1840.[36] According to Arnold Berthold, the German physiologist and zoologist, Mühlenpfordt, working alongside a Mr. Limpricht, opened two tombs in Mitla and in one of these they extracted the skull of a child showing cranial deformation. After Limpricht's death the skull was passed on to a fellow by the name of F. von Uslar, who gave it over to Berthold for study.[37]

José Joaquín Arias

The report authored by Valdés y Moya and Guillemaud was brief, but marked a watershed of local writing related to the State's antiquities and pre-Hispanic ruins. The following year, in 1833, José Joaquín Arias, a resident of Tehuantepec, penned a long letter to Oaxaca's governor, Antonio de León, where he recounted his trip to the ruins of Guiengola. It took quite some time, over seven years, before that account was published verbatim in the *El Museo Mexicano*, although it probably had been printed as a monograph before that time.[38]

Arias had first visited the ruins of Guiengola in the company of friends and his narrative describes a day outing that with the discovery of a tomb had turned into an archaeological exploration. He described how they excavated a tomb and discovered a number of individuals placed faced down, which he confidently interpreted as the remains of the magnates and caudillos of the ancients. From the same tomb he retrieved an astonishing "200 pieces of very well-worked ceramics," and observed that some of these imitated the ceramic wares still used at the time, referring especially to the *picheles* (pitchers). Other forms collected he thought represented aquatic and land animals. He wrote of the walls of the tomb and how they were

[36] Eduard Mühlenpfordt, *Los palacios de los zapotecos en Mitla* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1984).

[37] Arnold A. Berthold, "Descripción y estudio de un cráneo extraído de las tumbas de uno de los palacios de Mitla," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* 3 (1877): 115-117.

[38] José Joaquín Arias, "Antigüedades Zapotecas." In *El Museo Mexicano*, vol. I (México: Ignacio Cumplido, 1840), 247-250. In the twentieth century the same letter was re-printed in a very rare edition, Antonio de León, *Antigüedades Zapotecas. Descubrimientos hechos recientemente en las ruinas de Guiengola, Departamento de Oajaca*.Vargas Rea Editor (México: Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanos, 1953).

covered in thick stucco, and implied that many of the ceramic wares had been found in niches. The ceramic assemblage and tomb he describes is typical of an ancient Zapotec burial where niches in the walls are a standard feature: one at the back of the tomb and two on each side. In these types of burials pottery can be distributed all over the tomb structure, including over the floor, in front of the entrance, in niches, or even on the roof.

Arias made a specific mention of a large polychrome ceramic effigy, inscribed in relief and crowned with an impressive headdress. He took special care to recover this painted urn from the grave because his intention was to give it to his brother-in-law, Mariano Conde, the governor of the district, who in turn would donate the object to the museum in Oaxaca City. Besides the urn, he promised to send along several packages of ceramics and *penates* (small stone figures), including one of green stone that imitated an emerald, and a large "war chest" with a coat of arms and various figures inscribed on it that was found in a nearby cave. Things did not go as planned, however. His brother-in-law suddenly passed away, so he confided in a foreigner by the name of Claudio Galix to deliver the objects to the State Museum. Galix turned out to be a thief of the first order, and all the material from the Guiengola excavation was diverted to Europe, where Arias assures us the scoundrel was well compensated for his perfidy.[39]

To date, the specific destination of these diverted antiquities is unknown, but it would appear that the large polychrome urn did find its way to the museum in Oaxaca. In his catalogue of objects from private and public collections in Oaxaca, Martínez Gracida describes the urn from Guiengola and made a note that it was found by Arias in 1833.[40] Unfortunately the corresponding illustration of this object is now lost, so identifying the object from its verbal description alone is a challenge, furthermore, much of the original color may have disappeared from exposure to sunlight. Seated cross-legged, with arms crossed over the chest, Martínez Gracida described the figure as wearing a mask "like the face of a grasshopper," composed of two vertical tubes bound by plates covering the nose. Because this mask was insect-like and the headdress was said to resemble those worn by the ancient Jewish and Persian priests, he interpreted the figure as the priest of the grasshoppers, or "*Copabitoo Guxaro*," in Zapotec.[41]

[39] José Joaquín Arias, "Antigüedades Zapotecas," 247.

[40] Martínez Gracida, *Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos*. Tomo I: *Cerámica*, 1910, in AHM/APP, microfilm roll 13, plate 75.

[41] Ibid. In order to formulate this imaginative interpretation Martínez Gracida was using the variant of Zapotec from the sixteenth-century vocabulary of Fray Juan de Córdova.

From Arias's letter we can see how archaeological materials were moved from outlying areas in Oaxaca and were centralized in museums, in part to save them from destruction. Besides the objects he personally excavated, Arias made many references to other antiquities found in the area, and strongly argued for their preservation. He mentions, for example, a statue of a nude woman that was in the plaza of the town of Guiengola that was violently destroyed by the local inhabitants, and spoke of a large stone figure representing a man that was found in a cave by a group of Indians; this also was smashed to pieces. Although he does not say why these incidents occurred, the idols may have offended the catholic clerics and their converts. He was clearly dismayed by these acts and lauded the attempts of a local official who, in 1806, found a relief carving with hieroglyphics and had it sent to Mexico City, presumably to form part of the collections in the Museo Nacional.[42]

Arias's text also makes many references regarding the region's archaeology. At a site near the town of Laollaga, some 34 kilometers north of Tehuantepec, he reported a number of artificial mounds made of adobe, covering an area of 70 to 80 *varas*, or about 67 meters. In this vicinity they had found dozens of obsidian and copper axe heads. Some 68 kilometers from the town of Tehuantepec, in an undisclosed location, he mentions the existence of a large black stone upon which characters and signs are written, "with enough text to fill half a sheet of paper." He made an offer to the governor to extract the stone but reminded him that it would require sufficient manpower, including the protection of troops, anticipating that the local townspeople would oppose the move. This was a common grievance early in the century and speaks to the ongoing resistance of local people when faced with the removal of their cultural property.

Finally he mentioned an excavation that was carried out in the process of making a foundation for a local home. At a depth of about a meter they found white adobe bricks and a stone dressed with stucco and painted with red figures, but the drawing was erased when the stone was removed. Unfortunately none of the objects Arias describes were illustrated anywhere in his letter, making it nearly impossible to trace where they may be today, but he does mention that many were handed over to the local prefect, Joaquín García, with the idea that they be sent to the museum in Oaxaca. His letter illustrates a man with a profound interest in recuperating the region's archaeological past. Although his methods were undoubtedly haphazard and no documentation of the objects exists other than his writing, his enthusiasm to contribute to the formation of collections in both Oaxaca and Mexico City

[42] José Joaquín Arias, "Antigüedades Zapotecas," vol. I: 248.

indicates the beginning of an important trend to reconnoiter ancient sites and preserve their archaeological heritage.

In the third article in the series on Zapotec antiquities, the editors of the *El Museo Mexicano*[43] published four pen and ink drawings of artifacts from Oaxaca. The first one illustrated is clearly a Zapotec urn, showing an old man with a wrinkled face whose hands cross over his chest, a commonplace gesture in such effigies. The author attempted an interpretation of the object, and suggested that it might represent a prisoner because of the expression of "pain and suffering" on his face, ignoring that the wrinkles denote the advanced age of the person represented. Citing lack of evidence, he warned the reader that his view was pure speculation.[44] A similar object to the one just described was also published in the article (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Zapotec effigy vessel.

Published in *El Museo Mexicano*, vol. III, p. 135.

[43] *El Museo Mexicano* 1843, vol. III, 135-137.

[44] Ibid., 136.

After Dupaix these are some of the first objects from Oaxaca to be illustrated for a relatively broad public, keeping in mind that works on Dupaix's expedition were not generally accessible. *El Museo Mexicano*, on the other hand, had much broader readership within Mexico. According to the author of the article, identified only by initials R.R. (probably Rafael de Rafael), the objects were found in "the ruins of ancient buildings in Oaxaca,"[45] and in a footnote, the editor of the magazine thanked General José María Tornel for supplying them.

Tornel is a well-known character in Mexican history, albeit not for his collecting activities. General Tornel served as Minister of War under many of the presidents of the Centralist Republic (1836-1846). He was a Creole patriot who was instrumental in securing independence from Spain, and befriended the infamous Santa Anna, the ambitious general who led Mexico in a succession of humiliating military defeats, most notably at the Alamo in Texas. He was an erudite man, an able writer and ardent supporter of education, and according to a statement by the American envoy Waddy Thompson in 1846, "he well deserves the title of 'The Patron of Learning in Mexico,' and has entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of his country… for the establishment of schools and colleges, and the diffusion of learning among his countrymen."[46] Indeed, he was responsible for implementing the Lancastrian educational system throughout Mexico.[47] He died in 1853, and perhaps at this time the objects in his collection were passed on to The Museo Nacional.

Little is known of the scope of that collection, other than what appeared in *El Museo Mexicano*, and with letters that were in his possession served as the basis for their series on Zapotec antiquities and ruins.[48] Other than the ceramic forms previously discussed, his collection included a skull encrusted with crystalline forms, from Peñoles, Oaxaca, and two exceptional Mixtec gold rings discovered in 1831 by a farmer while plowing a field (Figure 9); he got his plow stuck on a stone structure that turned out to be a tomb, located on one side of a mountain known as "Sombrerito," half a league from Huajuapan. The farmer noticed that his discovery was attracting the attention of the curious and quickly covered it up, later selling the rings that eventually ended up in the possession of the archbishop of Puebla, Fransisco Pablo Vázquez, who in turn ceded them to the General.[49]

[45] Ibid., 135, note 2.

[46] Consulted in http://www.tamu.edu/ccbn/dewitt/viceroys2.htm#tornel1

[47] Will Fowler, *Tornel and Santa Anna: The Writer and the Caudillo, Mexico, 1795–1853* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 219.

[48] *El Museo Mexicano* 1843: vol. I, 246 and vol. III, 135.

[49] Ibid. "Dos anillos de oro," 249.

Figure 9: Pre-Hispanic rings from Peñoles, Oaxaca.

In *El Museo Mexicano*, vol. I, plate without pagination between pages 400 and 401.

Other than these documented cases, Tornel may have acquired much of his archaeological collection from his friend the General Antonio León, who not only held a similar interest in the ancient past but also governed of the state of Oaxaca. The editors of the journal also imply that Tornel possessed an unpublished manuscript by Juan Bautista Carriedo that had been dedicated to him. The work was entitled "Atlas of a Zapotec Fort that is Built on Monte Albán," illustrated with maps and drawings of bas-reliefs and arti-

facts. This important study was to be published by the editors of *El Museo Mexicano*, but this never materialized.[50]

Garay y Garay and the effigies from Monapostiac

Returning to the artifacts illustrated in the article *Antiguëdades Zapotecas*, the author briefly discussed a pair of tall, tubular ceramic effigies with faces that sport long teeth and rings around their eyes (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Ceramic effigies from Monapostiac.

Published in *El Museo Mexicano*, vol. III, p. 136.

[50] *El Museo Mexicano* 1843: vol. I, 246."*Atlas de una Fortaleza Zapoteca, que está construida sobre Monte Albán."* Carriedo, a Mixtec Indian who was murdered by separatists troops in 1865, never published this work, but a manuscript entitled *"Descripción de una Fortaleza zapoteca, Oaxaca,"* 1840, is available in the Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City.

> And what can we say about this other masked figure, without hands or feet? We have seen large collections of these figures that are commonly called idols; we have found that many of them wear masks, like the figures from Carnaval, and that some of these masks represent animals; but we have found nothing similar to the figure that is before us now, so horribly adorned with the teeth of an animal that makes it appear so strange.[51]

At the outset of the nineteenth century these "grotesque" and mysterious effigies caused considerable consternation, as there were few references available to comprehend them. Today we see them in a different light, and thanks to iconographic studies can easily identify their long fangs and goggle masks as attributes of the central Mexican storm-god known as Tlaloc. These two large sculptures are currently on exhibit in the Oaxaca section of the Museo Nacional de Antropología. They are no longer classified as antiquities from Zapotec culture, which was first suggested by the editors of *El Museo Mexicano*, but are reported to be from Tehuantepec, without any particular cultural affiliation assigned. And while archaeological studies in this century and the last have seen great advances in terms of identifying cultural materials, over a hundred and fifty years ago a man by the name of Pedro de Garay y Garay was able to distinguish the cultural affiliation of the effigies by using simple tools of observation and comparison.

In 1842 Garay y Garay was a naval officer who was both secretary and treasurer for a scientific commission that spent eleven months surveying the Isthmus of Tehuantepec for the proposed Atlantic-Pacific canal.[52] The story he tells of the discovery of these objects describes in some detail their context and how they were moved to the Museo Nacional in Mexico City, and also relates a great deal about the attitudes of the dominant *Criollos* vis à vis the indigenous peoples regarding archaeological finds during this period. More significantly, his published letters began a forum for publicly discussing the interpretation of archaeological material from this region.

Shortly after the article in the *El Museo Mexicano* appeared, Garay y Garay wrote a letter to the newspaper *El Ateneo*, with the intent to rectify

[51] Author's translation of: *"¿Y qué diremos de este otro figurin enmascarado, sin pies ni manos? Hemos visto grandes colecciones de estas figurines que comunmente se llaman ídolos: hemos hallado que muchas de ellas están enmascaradas, como figurines de Carnaval, y que algunas de sus mascaras representan animales; pero nada habíamos hallado semejante a la figura que ahora tenemos a la vista, tan horriblemente adornadacon esa dentadura de animal que le hace tan estraña."* Ibid.

[52] "Reconocimiento del Istmo de Tehuantepec," reprinted in *El Museo Mexicano*, vol. V, 1844, pp. 234-252.

some of the information published about the objects that had been published in the article *Antiguëdades Zapotecas*:

> I will say nothing of the first and last figures that were represented in that article because I have no knowledge of them; however, concerning the intermediate figures I should warn that there is no way they can be called Zapotec, given the difference in form, characters and posture of other objects discovered in the territory of this active and handsome race, as well as the site where they were found, that since very remote times has belonged to the Huaves, a distinct group for a thousand reasons of customs, beliefs and understanding.[53]

The particular site he refers to is the island of Monapostiac, located in the Laguna Superior[54] of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, near Juchitán, Oaxaca. The island was a significant geographical point for their mission because its peak is 200 meters above sea level and a survey marker placed on the summit could be seen from a great distance. The island is also significant for the indigenous people who live near it, and from the mid-1800s to present day the people who occupy the coastline in front of the landmark are known as Huaves.[55] Their recorded history in this area goes back as far the reign of Moctezuma I (1440-1469), so it is possible that some of the archaeological remains on the island pertain to their culture, although many sites in Mesoamerica have continuous occupations that span thousands of years, introducing the possibility that other cultural groups could also be represented in the archaeology of the region.

The mountain where the effigies were found was said to be "enchanted," an idea reinforced by its unusual geological formations composed of great blocks of green stone that are chaotically piled upon one another. Also, the igneous rocks on the island have the perculiarity that when hit together they create the metallic sound of a bell. These features lend a particular aura to the

[53] Author's translation of: *"Nada diré respecto de la primera y última figura que se representan estos artículos, porque de ellas no tengo ningun conocimiento; pero tocante á las intermedias es preciso advertir, que de ninguna manera pueden llamarse Zapotecas, tanto por la diferencia que hay en la forma, caracteres y actitudes de las que se han encontrado en el territorio de esa raza intelijente, activa y gallarda, como por el sitio donde fueron halladas, que desde tiempo remoto pertenece á otra llamada Huave, distinta por mil causas de sus costumbres, creencias y comprension."* Pedro de Garay y Garay, "Antigüedades Zapotecas." In *El Ateneo*, vol. I (México: Imprenta de Vicente García Torres, 1844), 142.

[54] In the article Garay y Garay refers to the laguna as *Divenamer and Diveguiator*, variations on an alternative name.

[55] Silvia Bazúa, "Los Huaves." In *Oaxaca, textos de su historia* (Oaxaca: Instituto Mora, 1995), 95.

place, and may have raised the level of sacredness for the indigenous communities living nearby. Today the large rock outcrop on the island is known as the *Cerro de Venado* (Deer Mountain).

To reach the island and place the survey marker for the canal project the Commission employed the help of the local indigenous population from the nearby town of San Dionisio del Mar. Garay y Garay states that the townspeople were not too enthusiastic about traversing the rough waters in canoe, and they had to resort to threats to gain their cooperation. A few reluctant Indians accompanied one member of the Commission to the island, but once there they refused to climb the mountain with the worker and help him place the signal. Apparently this made the man quite nervous, as he was afraid that if he traversed the mountain alone his guides would maroon him on the island. The man secured their allegiance to stay, again through more coercion, and returned from the summit bearing two small ceramic idols and a brazier. The Indians were said to have been impressed that a "Spaniard" (their word for what Garay y Garay considered to be a white man) was able to enter this sacred site and make it back alive. He added that they feigned disinterest in the archaeological discoveries. Once back in the town the situation completely changed and there was great curiosity in the find. One of the idols was stolen and sold, but after a few days the members of the Commission were able to recover it. Garay y Garay maintained that it was thanks to the great friendship the Commission had forged with some of the members of the community that they were able to secure the idol again. In general he interpreted the Indians' attitudes to their archaeological work two ways: either they did not want to participate for fear the "white man" would discover their idols, or their reluctance was out of dread and respect for deities that continued to inhabit the sacred niches of the island. At no time does he consider that their reluctance could be the result of Commission's threats and coercion.

Soon after the survey signal was placed on the island's summit it was blown down by a strong wind, so the engineers were obliged to return to the island and replace it. While there they took advantage of the time to look around for more objects, and it was on this second trip that the large effigies with Tlaloc masks were found, perched on a ledge of the mountain, completely intact. Next to these large effigies were two smaller ceramic figures of men in a sitting position holding vessels in their hands, and associated with the assemblage were a number of glazed ceramic vessels with vestiges of plants and candles. Glazing is a technique that was unknown to pre-Hispanic cultures, so their presence proves that the site had been used for rituals in relatively recent times. All these objects were removed from the site and

placed in a canoe for the crossing to the mainland, but the waters between the island and the mainland rocked the small vessel violently and shattered many of their prized pieces.[56] Garay y Garay does not mention what happened to the objects after they arrived on the mainland, but the historian Martínez Gracida mentions that Cayetano Moro, the Director and chief engineer of the Commission, handed them over to the Museo Nacional.[57] This same author also repeats the part of the story where the best pieces were broken during the trip back.

There are few references to the Tlaloc effigies until the late nineteenth century when stories about them surface in Martínez Gracida's unpublished 1910 work.[58] To put together this work he called on all the districts in the state to provide information about their antiquities, and organized the letters and drawings he received according to different cultural groups.[59] From the district judge in Juchitán and the town's authorities in San Dionisio del Mar there are letters that refer to the island of Monapostiac.[60] The letters describe another foray to the island in 1892, but this time the Commission was made up of the town's prefect Vicente de la Riva, an artist who signed his drawings "C. Moniteu," and several elders from the town. The object was to reconnoitre the island for objects, however they reported back that none were to be found.[61] The municipal president of San Dionisio del Mar, Isidro García, was apologetic that no artifacts had been sent to the Capital

[56] "Reconocimiento del Istmo de Tehuantepec," reprinted in *El Museo Mexicano* 1844: vol. V, 249.

[57] Martínez Gracida, *Los indios oaxaqueños,* AHM/APP, microfilm roll 13, plates 158 and 159.

[58] Martínez Gracida, *Documentos para la historia de Oaxaca*..., AHM/APP, microfilm roll 39.

[59] Apart from his obsession with gathering and classifiying information, Martínez Gracida was keenly interested in building the archaeological collections of the State's museum, and also called upon people to submit objects, though some of these may have been diverted to his own archaeological cabinet.

[60] Martínez Gracida, *Documentos para la historia de Oaxaca*..., AHM/APP, microfilm roll 39. The following correspondence is part of the file:

Nabor Ybañez (Civil Judge from Juchitán) to Martínez Gracida, 8 July 1892.

Isidro García (Jefe Político, San Dionisio del Mar) to Martínez Gracida, 2 May 1892.

Isidro García to Martínez Gracida, 14 September 1892.

Isidro García to Martínez Gracida, 30 April 1892.

Three drawings by C. Montieu of the two effigy vessels found in 1842, and a drawing of the summit on the mountain of Monapostiac.

Report on the reconnoitering of the island, by the prefect of San Dionisio del Mar, Vicente de la Riva, 8 July 1892.

[61] Ibid., Nabor Ybañez (Civil Judge from Juchitán) to Martínez Gracida, 8 July 1892.

as per Martínez Gracida's request. He mentioned that an individual in the town possessed a pre-Hispanic "phallus," an "idol," he said, worthy of being part of the Museum's collection. However, when he asked around town as to the whereabouts of said phallus everyone roundly denied ownership, even though he offered an award for its recovery. The townsfolk recounted that some time ago a man by the name of Cecilio Muriel had gifted the idol to a former Municipal President, Nicolás Flores, and after that it had disappeared.[62] The strange case of the missing phallus may still be the talk of the town in San Dionisio del Mar, and in the end all the poor Municipal President could offer to the Museum in Oaxaca were two small bird-shaped figures that he included with the letter.

Even though the town did not forward significant objects for the Museum, the report filed by Vicente de la Riva made up for the deficiency. The different documents in the report included a rendering of the cave on the summit of Monapostiac, rubbings of the inscriptions on the sides of the cave's entrance, and a description of its dimensions.[63] One of the drawings shows a profile of the summit that is composed of three mounds. The mound on the far left has a cave with three entrances. On the far right there is another mound with a large pole on it, which is no doubt the survey marker that was placed by the canal commission almost fifty years earlier. On each side of the cave's entrance there are a series of inscriptions consisting of engraved handprints, a star form and an unusual shape that was described as a "flowerpot." All these relief carvings were highlighted in red pigment.

At the end of one letter in this group of documents Isidro García mentioned: "on the same mountain many years ago idols were found and sent to the head office of the District."[64] These were the two Tlaloc vessels discovered by the first commission in 1842 and that soon after went to form part of the collections at the Museo Nacional. Included in the file are two drawings of these objects by the artist Montieu,[65] although there is no mention of where and when they were drawn. Martínez Gracida labelled them poetically as

[62] Ibid., Ysidro García to Martínez Gracida, 14 September 1892. Unfortunately parts of this letter are badly damaged and the dates when the phallus was discovered are missing.

[63] Ibid., Report on the reconnoitering of the island, by the Precept of San Dionisio del Mar, Vicente de la Riva, 8 July 1892.

[64] Ibid., Isidro García to Martínez Gracida, 2 May 1892.

[65] In this drawing we can see that one object has a large triangle as part of the headdress, but today this feature is no longer present. Comparing old photographs of the objects in the Museo Nacional, it is evident that this detail must have been lost sometime after 1892 and before 1910.

"The Sleepless Moon" and "The Dreaming Moon,"[66] an interpretation that was influenced by his deep interest in astrology.

The nineteenth-century documents that refer to the archaeological site on the island of Monapostiac span a period of fifty years, and demonstrate that the townspeople of San Dionisio del Mar had preserved some memory of the objects discovered there. Two of these artifacts have been part of the display at the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City for over a century, but the fascinating story of how they got there, via a Federal Commission to survey the Isthmus of Tehuantepec for a possible canal route, has been largely forgotten. In fact, most of the official commissions that were set up by different state administrations to study the ruins of Oaxaca are rarely mentioned in the region's archaeological history. Nonetheless these were significant events, because they illustrate a growing concern regarding the ancient past. The impetus for these explorations seems to have rested squarely on the enlightenment and culture of the governor of the state, Antonio León, and the Federal Secretary of War, José María Tornel. In documents compiled by Martínez Gracida there is a transcribed letter from 1843, written by the Prefect of the District of Teotitlán, José Maria Bravo. According to the Prefect employees of a survey for the roadwork project of the Camino Nacional (National Highway) found extensive ruins on top of the site known as Cerro de las Juntas, close to the town of Quiotepec and where the rivers Salado and Papaloapan meet. A trip was planned to the area that included the Prefect, and the Director of the road projects, José Mantecón, as well as two employees, Manuel María Zúniga and Rafael Villa Gómez. They described the hike to the top of the mountain as arduous and full of venemous bugs and snakes. On the way one of the group passed out from the heat, requiring that they retreat to the nearby town. The recommendation of the Prefect was "that an exact reconnoitering of this ancient settlement be done, whose existence no one knows of, and perhaps some objects can be retrieved for the Museo Nacional."[67] He also evaluated the labour, in time and money, proposing that the clearing and survey of the site would not take more than six or eight days at a cost of 150 to 200 pesos.

The government, represented by Antonio León and José María Tornel, looked favourably upon this proposal and formed a scientific commission to explore the monuments and produce drawings of them. The commission was

[66] Martínez Gracida wrote in Spanish: *el desvelo de la luna and el sueño de la luna*. My translation is based on the labeling of these objects in William Wilberforce Blake *The Antiquities of Mexico* (New York: C.G. Crawfords Print, 1891), 65.

[67] José Maria Bravo, Cuicatlán, 23 October 1843, in Martínez Gracida, *Documentos para la historia de Oaxaca*..., AHM/APP, microfilm roll 39.

composed of Juan M. Lovato and Francisco de Paula Heredia, who left for the site in January of 1844. A remarkably detailed description of their exploration was published in *El Museo Mexicano*, with the title *Monumentos de los antiguos Tzapotéques*[68] that included measurements of all the structures as well as two drawings of the main buildings (see figure 2), and nine maps made of the site whose present location is unknown. The commission excavated a number of tombs, but claimed to have found nothing but a few beads and pieces of broken pottery. To that disappointment, they also mentioned that a number of tombs had been looted in ancient times.[69]

The idea of the commissions probably began in Oaxaca but it soon spread to other states where legislation was passed to encourage communities to document the archaeological remains in their districts. For example, in the state of Yucatán in 1837, a decree was ordered directing the heads of the districts to document a variety of regional data for the purpose of compiling annual statistics, including:

> … those [monuments or antiquities] that are found in the jurisdiction of each town, whether they be works or art of nature; their actual state of conservation, distance, locality and orientation relative to the town, the head of the municipality and of the district.[70]

As we have seen in the early accounts of exploration and collecting in Oaxaca, efforts were made to deliver objects found either to the Museo de Oaxaca, or farther inland, to the Museo Nacional in Mexico City. These measures were taken, as it was often stated, to safeguard the material heritage from what was perceived as the greed of the rapacious foreign collector or the ignorance of over-zealous priests and destructive *campesinos*. Certainly some materials would have been sent to museums by way of concerned citizens, but probably not a substantial amount and in particular not the large artifacts that were costly to move. In the second half of the century, the Secretaría de Instrucción Pública, the arm of the federal government responsible for overseeing archaeological matters, encouraged authorities in the states to send information on

[68] *El Museo Mexicano* 1844: vol. III, 332-334.

[69] Ibid., 333 and 334.

[70] Author's translation of: *"Los que se encuentran en la jurisdicción de cada pueblo, ya que sean obras de la naturaleza o de arte; su actual estado, su distancia, su localidad y rumbo del pueblo respectivo, de la cabecera de Partido y de la del distrito."* Article 41. "Monumentos y antigüedades," 4 August 1837, in Alonzo Aznar Pérez and Rafael Pedrera, *Colección de leyes, decretos y órdenes de la tendencia general de Yucatán* (Mérida: Imprenta del Editor, 1949), 276.

ruins and archaeological monuments, and when possible, to ship the artifacts to the Museo Nacional. The attempts to centralize archaeological material often conflicted with the desires of the states to expand their collections, and created a tension between the regional identities vis à vis the pre-Hispanic past and Mexico City that sought to project the museum as a national symbol. Moreover, the best pieces were often retained for the Museo Nacional without much regard for the desires of the various state museums, such as the well known statue of Chacmool, discovered by Augustus Le Plongeon in 1875 and then given as a gift to Porfirio Díaz by the provisional governor of Yucatán, Agustín del Río, before it even had a chance to be displayed in the Museo Yucateco.[71]

Another method the Museo Nacional used to acquire material was to purchase collections directly from private citizens. This was an expensive alternative to donations and avoided the tug of war with the numerous states that were building collections at the same time. Given that the central institution had more political clout and resources, and an assurance of the best materials, the trend was a robust national museum but anemic state ones. Questionable practices arose from these transactions and individuals would profit handsomely by selling cultural property back to the nation. Despite this obvious conflict of interest, during the Museo Nacional's first century of operation the majority of their holdings were acquired this way, culminating in an acquisition spree that took place in the first decade of the twentieth century. The Museum bought several important holdings from local Oaxacan collectors, and the size of just one of these collections easily dwarfed the materials they had spent almost a century acquiring through various means. As more and more sites were explored and artifacts recovered, the parallel process of museum building took place, where the finds would be conserved and exhibited in the state or national venues. Thus we interrupt the chronological order of our narrative to introduce the private cabinets, museums and galleries that were the final repositories for the archaeological material discussed.

[71] Lawrence G. Desmond and Phyllis Mauch Messenger. *A Dream of Maya: Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon in Ninetheenth-Century Yucatán* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 49-50.

CHAPTER 3
THE OAXACAN COLLECTIONS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY MEXICAN MUSEUMS

Archaeological collecting in Mexico initiated with a diversity of enlightened individuals in the private domain, but over time this activity turned into an institutional endeavour that resulted in the genesis of public museums. Tracing that change—a process that took place largely in the nineteenth century—requires some background on the beginnings of museums in Mexico and their historical trajectory. There are many excellent scholarly studies that touch on the formation of archaeological museums in Mexico, including Castillo Ledon's *El Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía 1825-1925* (1924), Bernal's *History of Archaeology in Mexico* (1980) and Rico Mansard's *Exhibir para educar* (2004). While these works give a good overview, they underestimate the importance private holdings had in the creation of public spaces, and scant attention is paid to the study of the peripheral areas that were key in building a regional archaeological knowledge. In this chapter I will look at the founding, trajectories and roles of two museums: the Museo Nacional and the parallel development of the Museo de Oaxaca. I will identify the first collections they acquired from the state and how these were classified.

In the framework of nineteenth-century positivist science, explanations about the past were based on empirical evidence consisting of artifacts and remnants of ancient monuments that were generally referred to as "antiquities." Thus conceived, archaeological collections were not acquired and displayed for articulating different kinds of cultural and social messages—a way we often use museum collections today—but rather they were seen as vast laboratories where debate and classification could take place, and where the origin and diversity of man could be established. From this perspective, cabinets and museums were constructed as temples of learning, and as Henare described them in her book on imperial exchange, they were functioning "storehouses of science."[1]

[1] Amiria Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

In keeping with an antiquarian approach, the remains of ancient societies were rarely documented *in situ*—a standard archaeological procedure today—rather, what could be moved was carted off either to private cabinets or public museums, a practice that encouraged the movement of a spectacular amount of cultural material. For this reason the period from the 1790s to the beginning of the twentieth century has been described as the Age of Museums.[2] Countries such as France, Germany and England were particularly active in collecting archaeological and ethnographic specimens from their colonial holdings, but towards the end of the century the United States began to encroach on this enterprise as its economic standing in the world increased. Nations constructed elaborate, neo-classical repositories to house the staggering flow of artifacts retrieved from expeditions that were seeking to explore the very darkest corners of the earth.

Enormous outlays of capital and energy were needed to compete for the world's heritage, sacrifices that were justified as a sacred duty to science, and that were conflagrated with one's duty to country. George Nathaniel Curzon, the viceroy of India between 1899-1905, and a fanatic of antiquities, who backed the Archaeological Survey of India, perhaps put it best: "It is … our duty to unearth and discover, classify, reproduce and describe, copy and decipher, and to love and conserve."[3] A dramatic example of the obsessive nature of these imperial collectors can be seen in the exploits of Karl Hermann Berendt (1817-1878), who in 1877 removed to the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin several large relief sculptures—each weighing tons—from the site of Santa María Cotzumalhuapa in Guatemala. The feat was so difficult and stressful that it caused his health to fail and ended his life shortly thereafter.[4]

The erection of grand museums was not a phenomenon isolated to a few western countries, although it saw its maximum expression in Europe and North America with iconic edifices such as the Louvre, the British Museum and the Smithsonian Institution, rather it was a worldwide endeavour that also involved colonial possessions and emerging states, many in Latin America. The politics and ideology of museum building that occurred around the world had a tremendous impact on the development of cultural institutions in the regions that saw their ancient civilizations collected, piece by piece,

[2] Germain Bazin, *The Museum Age*, translated by Jane van Nuis Cahill (New York: Universe Books, 1967).

[3] Bernard Philippe Groslier, *Indochina* (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1966), 157.

[4] John M. Weeks, "Notes on a Letter from Brasseur de Bourbourg," *Report submitted to the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Cultures* (2007), 5.

and removed to foreign museums. In an attempt to stave off the rapacious nations, and also to join them in forming institutions that would come to represent their version of modern statehood, countries with a formidable base in antiquities such as Egypt, Mexico and India, raised grand museums in the same style and ideological framework as their European and North American counterparts. In this highly competitive atmosphere, foreigners and nationals found themselves vying for a limited quantity of ancient materials to fill their glass cases.

The expansion of many European museums is rooted in the plunder of their colonial possessions (or of those regions they desired to possess) and the exhibition of this cultural material demonstrated imperial power to the public.[5] The genesis of museums in Mexico at both a federal and state level, on the other hand, began with initiatives from private collectors, and one could argue that making their cabinets public had more to do with the benefactor's ostentatious display of wealth, status or enlightenment rather than a concerted effort to convey a sense of nation. This foundation was bolstered by a public discourse, apparent in inaugural speeches and in the press, conveying the belief that exposure to the wonders of antiquity and science would educate and refine the viewing public; increasingly, museums were considered to be a cornerstone of social progress.[6] Yet even before there was a clear plan to structure museums as a way to educate the public, the archaeological discoveries gracing their halls were construed to foment pride in the country's past. This was particularly true in Mexico towards the end of the nineteenth century, when many held the belief that the museum was a linchpin for creating a unified nation, with a rich and noble heritage that was worthy of being considered alongside that of the ancient Greeks or Romans; in effect, a country that had come of age among modern nations. This posture, combined with redoubled efforts in archaeological recovery and conservation, was a priority among members of the ruling class, many of whom were native sons of Oaxaca.

From cabinet to museum

It was an Italian collector, Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, who planted the first seeds of a museum in Mexico. Between 1736 and 1742 he assembled

[5] José Alcina Franch, introduction to *Expediciones acerca de los antiguos monumentos de la Nueva España, 1805-1808*, by Guillermo Dupaix, vol. I (Madrid: Porrúa-Turanzas, 1969), 5-6.

[6] Roberto Villaseñor Espinosa, introduction to *Atlas de las antigüedades mexicanas*, by Guillermo Dupaix (México: San Ángel, 1978), 30.

a vast array of documents and pictographic codices—mostly ethnographic in nature—that he referred to as his "Indian Historical Museum."[7] At the time he was residing in Mexico illegally and to his misfortune his entire collection was confiscated by the *Virrey* Pedro de Cebrián y Augustín (the Count of Fuenclara), and subsequently moved around to different institutions in Mexico City where it was picked over by scholars. Graham reports that three-quarters of the manuscripts in the original holding were lost to this process.[8] Shortly after independence, when the remaining documents were finally transferred to the Royal University and installed in the library, they constituted a publically held collection that would eventually serve as an important cornerstone for the first museum.

In the last decades of the eighteenth century Spain was taking a new interest in its colonial possessions, in part influenced by the sweeping changes brought on by the Age of Enlightenment and by the agency of the Spanish king, Charles the III. Before he acquired this title and succeeded to the Spanish throne from his brother Ferdinand VI in 1759, he was known as Carlo di Borboni, the King of the Two Sicilies. The Bourbon sovereign was an avid collector of antiquities and decorated the palace of Portici with the ancient roman artifacts that through his patronage were being unearthed from the ashen tomb of the volcano Vesuvius, at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Once king of the Iberian empire, his initiatives led to the creation of the Academia de Ciencias in Spain and a new surge in antiquarianism and the natural sciences that would focus on his New World possessions. During his reign several scientific commissions were formed to explore archaeological sites in Mexico, including three early and consecutive expeditions to Palenque by José Antonio Calderón (1784), Antonio Bernasconi (1785) and Captain Antonio del Río (1786). After Carlos III's death in 1788, he was succeded by his second son, Carlos IV, who continued his father's legacy by dispatching Guillermo Dupaix to Palenque in 1805. As discussed in the previous chapter, Dupaix made many voyages around the country, visiting such sites as Xochicalco, Monte Albán and Mitla.

The illustrated reports from these expeditions were held in different archives in Mexico City, and some were eventually published, initiating the formal documentation of ruins. Concomitantly, some of the large Aztec monuments that had been discovered while levelling the main square were moved to a corner of the patio of the Royal University, such as the well-known statue

[7] Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, *Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la América Septentrional* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1974).

[8] Ian Graham, "Three Early Collectors in Mesoamerica." In *Collecting the Pre-Columbian Past, a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks*, edited by Elizabeth Boone (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993), 49-80.

of Coatlicue discovered in 1790. Years later, in 1808, the Viceroy Iturrigaray attempted to expand the collections of the University by establishing the Junta de Antigüedades, but it was suspended in 1821 due to Mexico's War of Independence.[9] In sum, as early as 1774 the library and courtyard at the Royal University was a cabinet of antiquities accessible to a limited public, but it took almost fifty years before the government decided to formalize this function by creating a national museum in 1825.[10]

Other collections were available to the curious well before this date, and in the last decade of the eighteenth century several citizens had established cabinets dedicated to natural and cultural specimens. With a focus on natural history, the first public museum in Mexico City was founded in 1790.[11] José Longinos Martínez, a member of the botanical expedition commissioned by Carlos III to explore the Pacific Northwest coast with Alejandro Malaspina, provided the collections for the exhibits. The museum was centrally located in a government building at number 89 Plateros street and had an impressive entranceway, adorned with three granite pyramids, each about two and a half meters tall, richly attired with trappings representing each of the three natural kingdoms: animal, mineral and vegetable. There were also inscriptions commemorating the reigning monarchs of Spain, who at the time were Carlos IV and his wife, María Luisa. Within the museum 24 display cases divided the space into three sections: number 19 was dedicated to "Lands and Antiquities," and judging by the title, may have displayed examples of pre-Columbian artifacts.[12]

The Museum's success inspired other local collectors to throw open their cabinet doors to the public. For example there was a mineralogical collection belonging to Fausto Elhúyar (the executor of Dupaix's estate who had inherited part of his collection), and a cabinet belonging to José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez, an illustrious scientist who passionately defended the conservation of pre-Hispanic monuments. He held the sincere belief that if more

[9] Ignacio Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archaeology*,134, Also see, Anthony Alan Shelton, "Dispossessed Histories," 72.

[10] Luis Castillo Ledón, *El Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía 1825-1925* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1924), 7.

[11] The source of this information is from an anonymous source that published a note in the *Gaceta de México* on April 27, 1790, which was then later published by Nicolás León in 1902, "El primer museo público de la ciudad de México," 1.

[12] There is little indication of what happened to Longinos' collection, however in plate no. 41 of Maximilian Franck's drawings of objects in the National Museum *circa* 1827, he illustrates a wooden mask in the style of Pacific Northwest tribes, perhaps one of the ethnographic objects that was brought back from the Malaspina expedition.

objects had been preserved from the ancient past, rather than destroyed out of ignorance, that the origins and nature of American man could be resolved.[13] Some of the cabinets mentioned may have had archaeological material from Oaxaca, though no documentation to that effect exists.

In the collection of the third Count of Peñasco (1777-1845) we find our first artifacts from Oaxaca. His Christian name was José Mariano Sánchez y Mora, an aristocrat who inherited his title—originally granted by Charles the III of Spain in 1767—from his father, the second Conde de Santa María de Guadalupe del Peñasco, José Sánchez Espinosa.[14] A wealthy agriculturist with large holdings in San Luis Potosí and in the State of Mexico, Sánchez y Mora served with the rank of captain in the 4th Company of the Escuadrón de Patriotas Distinguidos de Fernando VII in Mexico City. He was a distinguished member of the board of several artistic and charitable organizations, including the Junta de Caridad del Hospicio de Pobres and, significantly, in 1831 he served on the board of directors for the Museo Nacional in the Junta de Antigüedades.[15]

His substantial wealth gave him the opportunity to pursue a life of science and collecting, and to this end the Count converted part of his home in Mexico City, located on Correo Mayor street, no. 8, into a private museum of "Natural and Artistic Curiosities," that included a meteorological and astronomical observatory he had constructed on the roof. The exhibition space consisted of four main areas: antiquities, natural history, painting and chemistry, and he also possessed a collection of over three thousand coins and medals. Upon the Count's death in 1845 the collection was split up and sold by his inheritors, and

[13] Garza Tarazona and González Crespo, "La Pirámide de las Serpientes Emplumadas," *Arqueología Mexicana* 5 no. 30 (1998): 24.

[14] Excellent bibliographic information on the Count of Peñasco has been compiled by Carmen C. Sacomani of the University of Texas Libraries and can be found online with a description of his personal correspondence at the Benson Latin American Collection, in Austin, Texas (http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00092/lac-00092.html). Additional information comes from the following sources: Nicolás León, "Los primeros museos de la ciudad de México: El Museo del Conde del Peñasco y la Pinacoteca del Conde de la Cortina," *Boletín Municipal. Órgano Oficial del Ayuntamiento de México*, vol. II, no. 39 (1902); *Diccionario Porrúa, Historia, Biografía y Geografía de Mexico* 1976: 1601; "Rapport fait à la Société de Géographie," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, March 1831, no. 95, p 116; BN/FR, Lafragua collection: Calvo, Rafael María, "Plano general de la Ciudad de México…" (*Fragmento* of a calendar published by Ignacio Cumplido, 1838) s/n. 14 cm. (LAF 350).

[15] In 1831 the board included the following members: President, Pablo de la Llave; Secretary, don Isidro Ignacio de Icaza; José Mariano Sánchez y Mora, Ignacio de Cubas, Rafael de Olaguíbel and Coronel don Ignacio Mora; in Luis Castillo Ledón, *El Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía 1825-1925* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1924), 15.

at that time a brief list of the objects was published. Under the heading "Mexican Antiquities" the following artifacts were described:

> 1 very unique mask and mirror, of obsidian.
> 2 strings with 45 decorations of gold, agate, corneline, coral, serpentine, obsidian, etc.
> 1 serpentine mask of different colours, with curved drill, perhaps the only one of its kind.
> 1 funerary "candelabro" from Mitla, in stone, and another portion of objects made of "jaspe," marble and basalt, etc.
> Various manuscripts on Mexican maguey paper[16]

The "funerary candelabro" from Mitla is a stone effigy resembling a Zapotec urn and constitutes the first documented artifact from Oaxaca to appear in a collection and that I have already discussed in relation to the Dupaix expedition in the previous chapter. As with this piece, other objects in his cabinet found their way to the Museo Nacional and helped form the basis of the collections for that institution.[17]

The Count's cabinet was said to have Egyptian and Roman artifacts, and also prints of objects from Egypt that were meant to serve as points of comparison with their Mexican counterparts. This is not surprising, as in the early part of the nineteenth century orientalism was the prevalent approach for interpreting American antiquities. Convinced of pan-Atlantic contacts between the two cultures they sought to vindicate their theories by pointing out similarities in material culture. Early explorers to Mexico, such as William Bullock, Guillaume Dupaix and Jean-Frédéric de Waldeck, all made connections to the ancient culture of Egypt in their discussions regarding the origins of American man.[18] Another follower of this view was the

[16] Author's translation of:
"1 Máscara y una ara muy singular, de obsidiana.
2 Hilos con 45 adornos, de oro, agata, cornelina, coral, serpentina, obsidiana, etc.
1 Máscara de serpentina de colores, con taladro curvo, acaso única en su especie.
1 Candelabro funerario de Mitla, en piedra, y otra porción de objetos construidos por los antiguos en jaspe, mármol, basalto, etc...
Varios manuscritos en papel de maguey mexicano."
José Murguía, *Remate al mejor postor del Museo de curiosidades naturales y artísiticas, que fué del difunto Sr. D. Mariano Sánchez Mora, Ex-Conde de Peñasco* (México: Imprenta de Ignacio Cumplido).

[17] A list of these items can be found in AH/MNA, vol. I, pp. 21-34, *Aumento en las colecciones del Museo desde el año de 1844 hasta 1848*.

[18] For a general discussion of these characters and their interpretive framework via orientalism see Robert D. Aguirre, *Informal Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005) 19-20; and Tripp Evans, *Romancing the Maya*, 24-43.

German illustrator of many of the early Mexican collections, Maximilian Franck (1783-1832?). Other than his birthplace in Munich, Germany,[19] little biographical information is available on this extraordinary artist, although he was author of two published works in Europe.[20] A fellow member of the prestigious *Société de Géographie*, he held lengthy correspondence with the director of this organization, the French scientist Edmé-François Jomard (1777-1862), who was a famous supporter of Jean-François Champollion, decipherer of the Egyptian hieroglyphs. In a rambling letter Franck tries to convince Jomard of the connection between the two cultures based on the similarities between several objects in his own collection[21] with figures in the Zodiac of Dendera, an Egyptian bas-relief that was removed to the Louvre in 1821. He extended this comparison to other objects documented in books on Egypt and even to private collections he had seen while in Philadelphia. To bolster his case he sought the opinion of Champollion, claiming that this distinguished scientist had seen drawings of his objects "covered with real Egyptian hieroglyphs" and was convinced of their authenticity.[22] Nonetheless, Jomard displayed a healthy dose of scepticism:

> Regarding the similarity between the Mexican figures and costumes and those from Ancient Egypt, shown as proof of contact between those two groups, it is a question of history. Mr. Franck should not be surprised that it is still not clear, and open to debate.[23]

---

[19] Maximilian Franck, "Rapport fait à la Société de Géographie," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 15, no. 93-98 (March 1831), p, 116, fn. 1. Also See: Susana Guimares, "Le musée des antiquités américaines du Louvre (1850-1887)" (unpublished master's thesis, Université de Paris, 1994), 59.

[20] The first is a series of portraits entitled: *Maison de Bavière ou des princes qui ont régné jusqu'à Maximilien Joseph, père du roi actuel;* and the second is a series of lithographs published in Munich in 1809, entitled: *Biographie des plus célébres artistes allemands.*

[21] In 1832 Franck sold his collection of 542 Mexican artifacts to the Louvre in Paris for the sum of 8000 francs. While some of the objects remain there, others have been dispersed to other museums in the city. In Susana Guimares, "Le musee des antiquités américaines du Louvre (1850-1887)," p. 59.

[22] "Extrait de la lettre de M. Franck à M. le President de la Société de Géographie, à Paris," In, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 15, no. 93-98 (March 1831): 285.

[23] Author's translation of: *"A l'égard de la ressemblance entre les figures et costumes des Mexicains et ceux de l'ancienne Egypte, donnés en preuve des communications supposées entre ces deux peuples, c'est une question d'histoire, encore assez obscure, et sur lequel il est permis d'embrasser des opinions très-différentes, sans que M. Franck puisse en êtres surpris."* BN/FR, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Tome Huitième publié sous la direction de M. De Larenaudière, Paris, Chez Arthus Bertand, Éverat, Imprimeur, Rue de Cadran, no. 16 (1827): 289.

Franck's unfounded theories on pan-Atlantic contacts received little attention, but an extraordinary set of drawings he produced, illustrating the collections from the Museo Nacional and local private holdings between the years 1826-1827, caused a stir among scholars and antiquarians. Today these beautifully executed, black and white plates are held by the British Museum.[24] The drawings, using the technique *crayón du conté*, appear on 81 large leaves and over 600 objects are illustrated, but without any apparent order. In a detailed description of this work, Jomard classified the drawings in the following way:

180 figures of men and women
50 heads of men and women
30 masks and busts
20 animal figures
75 vessels
40 ornaments
6 relief carvings
6 fragments
33 *flageolets* (bark beaters) and whistles
A large number of instruments and diverse objects[25]

Franck used his considerable talent as an illustrator as a calling card to document local archaeological collections during a two-year visit to Mexico, where he stayed as the houseguest of the American minister to Mexico, Joel R. Poinsett, who also possessed an extensive archaeological collection that was deposited to the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia when he was recalled in 1830.[26] According to his report to the Société de Géographie Franck illustrated part of this own holding and claims to have helped Poinsett compile his collection through direct excavation and by purchasing objects from other local parties. Franck also reported that his illustrations were shown publically at the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia,[27] which would constitute one of the first expositions of Mexican archaeological artifacts in the United States.

[24] Despite the great acclaim the drawings received at the time, they remain unpublished and are currently in the library of the Anthropology Department of the British Museum in London, England. To date there is no information regarding how they ended up there.

[25] Maximilian Franck ,"Rapport fait à la Société de Géographie," 116.

[26] John Finley Freeman, "Manuscript Sources on Latin American Indians in the Library of the American Philosophical Society," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* vol. 106 (1962): 523.

[27] Extract of a letter from Maximilian Franck to the President of the Geographic Society, Edmé-François Jomard, 6 May 1831, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 283.

The other objects illustrated in these plates were in the Museo Nacional or private collections, such as Luciano Castañeda's (Dupaix's artist) and those of three English businessmen who lived in Mexico at the time, Rich, Exeter and Marshall. The first two names are probably confounded, because in plate 67 Franck illustrates a Zapotec urn (Figure 11, lower left) from the collection of a "Monsieur Richards [sic] Exeter," a prominent English merchant.

A total of 40 objects in the leaves illustrated by Franck come from the collection of the Count of Peñasco, and several of these plates show artifacts from Oaxaca, such as Zapotec funerary urns and a unique stone effigy discussed in chapter 2 (see figure 5), indicating that this was one of the most extensive and diverse archaeological collections of the time.[28]

Figure 11: Drawing by Maximilian Franck, 1827, plate 67.

Photograph courtesy of the British Museum.

[28] Reported in "Rapport fait à la Société de Géographie," 116.

Figure 12: Zapotec effigy vessel in the Peñasco collection drawn by Jean-Frédéric Waldeck.

In Claude Baudez, *Jean-Frédéric Waldeck, peintre. Le premier explorateur des ruines mayas*, 1993, fig. 6.

Franck may have had an acquaintance with Jean-Frédéric de Waldeck (1766-1875), the eccentric French explorer who also drew objects from the Count's collection in the recently inaugurated museum. In 1825 Waldeck arrived in Mexico, at the age of 59, and began to work as a machinist for an English mining company, but he was quickly let go due to incompetence. In Mexico City he dedicated himself to a wide range of activities, including singing opera in the local theatres, documenting his life and drawing antiquities, moving "fitfully" as Pasztory notes, from the "scientific" to the "aesthetic."[29] In Mexico City Waldeck formed part of a competitive intellectual com-

[29] Esther Pasztory, *Jean-Frédéric Waldeck. Artist of Exotic Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 13.

munity of foreigners that was actively immersed not only in collecting and documenting the pre-Hispanic past but also other aspects of Mexican life: the Germans Carl Nebel, Carl Uhde, Johann Moritz Rugendas, and Maximilian Franck, and the Swiss amateur artist and collector Lukas Vischer.[30] In this highly competitive atmosphere objects were not only traded among collectors but were also being acquired by the incipient Museo Nacional. Waldeck spent a great deal of time documenting the collections of the Museo and private collectors and these men must have known each other, although neither has mentioned the other in their writings. One plate of Waldeck's drawings includes objects from Peñasco's collection and illustrates a Zapotec urn that Franck apparently had passed over (Figure 12).[31]

The Oaxacan collections in the Museo Nacional

From the early pictorial evidence it is clear that many objects from Oaxaca had been deposited in the Museo Nacional shortly after its founding in 1825, consisting of the occasional donation made by a private collector and Dupaix's expedition material, although Latour Allard had dispatched some of this to France. The following brief recounting of this Museum's history will suggest that, aside from a few key artifacts, for most of the nineteenth century the collections from this region were sparse and often confused in terms of their specific provenance.

The Museo Nacional was originally conceived of as an establishment with two parts: a conservatory of Mexican antiquities and a cabinet of natural history, and in addition to these collections there was a section devoted to industrial arts and a botanical garden. When Lucas Alamán reformed the museum in 1831 he appointed a board of five directors, a full-time curator (Isidro Ignacio de Icaza), a specialist in botany, a director of natural history and a conservator who doubled as the secretary. The new institution was also set up with its own modest operating budget, part of which was used to acquire new collections. Ignacio de Cubas, the country's leading archivist, spearheaded the plan to expand the museum's holdings. With the objective of making the collections representative of the country's archaeological diversity he petitioned the various state governments for monuments and artifacts;

[30] Leonardo López Luján, "La arqueología mesoamericana en la obra de Nebel," *Artes de México*, no. 80 (2007): 25.

[31] Claude F. Baudez, *Jean-Frédéric Waldeck, peintre* (Paris: Hazan, 1993), p. 59, fig. 6. Baudez expressed some doubts regarding the authenticity of the object, though it is unlikely that fakes were being made at this early date.

collections were also acquired from the nearby Mining College and as far away as the Islas de Sacrificios in the Gulf of Mexico.[32]

The first surviving description of the section on antiquities dates to 1838—thirteen years after the Museo Nacional's inauguration—and was authored by a retired military engineer, Rafael María Calvo:

> It conserves more than thirty originals of these precious monuments with hieroglyphics and figures… the collection of drawings from the expeditions of Captain Dupaix, recently lithographed by Mr. Baradère in Paris and Lord Kingsborough in London. Ancient Monuments—Besides the colossal statue in basalt of the goddess Teoyamiqui, the triumphal stone named after the sacrifices, the serpentine head of the goddess of the night, the statue that gave its name to the street of the "Sad Indian," more than 100 small statues of penate gods and images of some of their deities and heroes in serpentine and basalt; there is a great number of relief carvings, coats of arms, signs, burial urns, figures of animals, etcetera. Close to one hundred masks of obsidian, serpentine, marble and basalt, a collection of Mexican marble vases, and a more copious amount of domestic utensils made of ceramics, stone and wood, another of weapons, instruments of some of the arts; collars and ornaments in agate, corral and shell; another of molds in stone, diverse musical instruments of wood, marble and clay, another multitude of little idols, amulets and talismans, and a special collection of antiquities from Palenque, Mitla and Oaxaca.[33]

At this early date the Museo Nacional housed a diversity of antiquities, but overall the holdings were relatively modest in comparison to the grand storerooms of its counterparts in Europe and the United States. The "special collection" mentioned was probably acquired from the Dupaix expeditions that had been stored in the Mining College, and from Calvo's description we can appreciate that outside the centre of Mexico, Oaxaca was the only peripheral area of the country represented.

There are surprisingly few early images of how these objects were displayed. A lithograph from the artist Casimiro Castro entitled "Antigüedades mexicanas que existen en el Museo Nacional de México. 1857" (Mexican Antiquities that Exist in the Museo Nacional, 1857) shows that the overriding concern for arranging the objects was aesthetic and that other types of clas-

[32] The sources for the early days of the Museum come from AGB/IPBA, box 56, file 24, p.1; file 16, pp. 1-5; Rosa Casanova, "Memoria y registro fotográfico en el Museo Nacional," *Alquimia* 4, no. 12 (2001): 9; Luis Castillo Ledón, *El Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía 1825-1925* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1924), 10-12; Luisa Fernanda Rico Mansard, *Exhibir para educar...*

[33] Rafael María Calvo, *"Plano general de la Ciudad de México…"* The statue he referred to as "Teoyamiqui," is known today as "Coatlicue."

sifications, material or cultural, may have been ignored. In this image we can observe at least one Zapotec object in the collections, a bat effigy vessel that is in the bottom left of the frame (Figure 13).

Figure 13: Lithograph of the collections of the Museo Nacional by Casimiro Castro

A small Zapotec urn can be seen on the bottom left, just above the word 'Mexican'. In Casimiro Castro *et al*., *México y sus alrededores* (México: Decaen Editor, 1855-1856), plate XXX.

With little idea of their cultural adscription or systematic methods for their classification, many objects from the Museo Nacional were used for their decorative attributes, adorning publications that emphasized antiquity as hidden treasure in picturesque settings. For example, a small Zapotec urn from Dupaix's collections was employed as prop in the exotic scene of the frontispiece for *El Museo Mexicano* (Figure 14).[34]

[34] This object was illustrated by Luciano Castañeda in Guillaume Dupaix, *Expediciones acerca de los antiguos monumentos de la Nueva España, 1805-180*, vol. II, plate LV, figure no. 104.

Figure 14: Frontispiece for *El Museo Mexicano*, 1846.

A small urn from the Dupaix expedition can be seen in the lower left corner.

Other motifs from ancient Oaxacan cultures, such as the Zapotec glyph C, were modified and integrated into European designs, such as the bust that overlooks a picturesque garden scene from the frontispiece of *México y sus alrededores* (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Frontispiece of *México y sus alrededores*, 1855-1856.

The bust on the pedestal integrates a Zapotec glyph into its design.

The Museo Nacional, with its proximity to the Academy of San Carlos, was no doubt a treasure trove of visual material for aspiring art students who used these objects and motifs to embellish their notions of the country beyond Mexico City.

Despite a glorious beginning, from 1833 to the time of the French invasion in 1862, the Museo Nacional underwent substantial stress and decay. The building was used for political purposes, as a place for local meetings and voting, and even in one instance as a military barrack. The foreign travellers who passed through its exhibition halls were rarely impressed, and while their descriptions illustrate the state of the museum through time, they also evidence the biases of the writers. The French itinerant traveller, Mathieu De Fossey, published this opinion:

> This is a poor Museum, not offering anything of interest except the section on the antiquities of the country, although this needs a lot to be complete. For example, I notice that one cannot see any of those well-worked trinkets of gold and silver that were talked about with such admiration by Cortés in his letters to Charles V.[35]

In his account De Fossey presents a detailed recounting of the section on antiquities and repeats Rafael María Calvo's 1838 description verbatim, which suggests that this text was published in pamphlet form and was probably available at the Museum's entrance. He also made note of drawings from Dupaix's trips to Palenque[36] and Mitla, and he specifically mentioned a collection of copper axe heads that he had also seen in Zapotec graves while travelling through Oaxaca. Comments such as these from itinerant travellers show an emerging interest in connecting the jumbles of objects in the Museum to the ancient material remains encountered in the field.

The general disorder and a lack of a classificatory scheme that would help guide the visitor through the Museum are some of the characteristics most often mentioned in traveler's accounts. Fanny Calderón de la Barca, the English wife of a diplomat, visited the Museum in 1840 and gently complained about the deplorable state of the collections "owing to the want of arrangement and classification in the antiquities, and the manner in which they are crowded together in the different rooms of the university."[37] However, she also optimistically spoke of the plans to enrich and rearrange it by moving the objects to the old building of the Inquisition. But things may have been decidedly worse in the institution than the diplomatic tenor of Calderón de la Barca's comments would suggest. The American Brantz Mayer was much more derisive when he described the poor quality and confusing display of the Museo Nacional in the same year as Calderón de la Barca's visit:

[35] Mathieu De Fossey, *Viaje a México* (México: CONACULTA, 1994), 120.

[36] De Fossey mentions the name Palenque but considered this to be a vulgar reference to the archaeological site, and preferred to use the designation of Culhuacán. Today we know that the Maya site of Palenque has nothing to do with Culhuacán.

[37] Fanny Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico, during a Residence of Two Years in that Country* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1843), 218.

> You see a mimic tree, with a stuffed bear climbing up it; a bleached and hairless tiger skin dangling from the ceiling; half-a-dozen Indian dresses made of snake skins, fluttering on the wall; and, amid all this confusion, towers aloft the grand Indian idol of Teoyaomiqui… on the benches around the walls, and scattered over the floor, are numberless figures of dogs, monkeys, lizards, birds, serpents, all in seemingly inextricable confusion and utter neglect.[38]

He may have accurately captured a snapshot of the Museum's mismanagement, and in particular he was critical of the curators, charging that in earlier times they had profited from selling off the Museum's antiquities. The head curator at the time of these visits was Isidro Gondra, who Mayer complained neglected his responsibilities and would just sit quietly in the corner and smoke a cigar (though he did concede that he had a miniscule budget to care for the artifacts).[39] The American diplomat observed that people who entered the Museum would just wander from case to case and throw up their hands in frustration from the lack of explanatory text.

More than fifteen years later Edward Burnett Tylor, an early giant in cultural anthropology, described and illustrated many of the objects he saw in the Museum. In general he was not impressed with the quality of the holdings and compared it with a European collection he had seen: "Mr Uhde's Museum at Heidelberg is a far finer one than that at Mexico, except as regards the picture-writings."[40] He told of how in 1856 the Museum had been turned into a barracks by a Government in need of space for the military, and described the same ground floor scene as Mayer:

> The soldiers had laid several of the smaller idols down on their faces, and were sitting on the comfortable seat on the small of their backs, busy playing at cards. An enterprising soldier had built up a hutch with idols and sculptured stones against the statue of the great war-goddess herself Teoyaomiqui, and kept rabbits there.[41]

Unfortunately he peppered his work with bigoted comments, such as comparing the Mexican soldiers to animals. His intolerant attitude was eventually enshrined in his famous anthropological theory that posited that culture evolved from the simple to the complex, and passed through three stages:

[38] Brantz Mayer, Mexico *As It Was and As it Is*, 84-85.

[39] Ibid., 106.

[40] Edward B. Tylor, *Anahuac: or Mexico and the Mexicans, Ancient and Modern* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 235.

[41] Ibid., 222.

savagery, barbarism, and civilization, a position long since rejected as academic racism. Even though many of these negative comments were published in foreign venues, they had an impact in Mexico. Significant change came to the institution with a radical shift in the country's political history and the imposition of the emperor Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph of Austria, backed by Napoleon the III.

Maximilian's reign ended tragically, but there is no doubt that his passion for culture left an indelible mark on the nation he struggled to comprehend. He was responsible for reconditioning the Museo Nacional, at the same suppressing the link with the University. The project was so personal that he developed the tendency to refer to the institution in the first person possessive, which irritated his detractors.[42] In December of 1865 Maximilian removed the Museum to one side of the National Palace on Moneda street, in a building formerly occupied by the mint, and made it more accessible to the public by expanding the visiting hours; and to emphasize the point, he renamed it the Museo Público de Historia Natural, Arqueología e Historia. Dr. G. Bilimeck was appointed the new director and the first conservator of archaeology was Dr. Ginon Reinsch. Initially there was a push to augment the collections, but this effort quickly fell to the wayside when the State's purse grew thin, and all initiatives ceased when the Emperor was executed in 1867.

A wave of change came to the Museo Nacional with the beginning of the thirty-year dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz in 1877, when the Museum was divided into three departments: Natural History, Archaeology, and History. The installations were renovated and modernized, and gas lighting was added so researchers could work long into the night.[43] Before the Museum was transferred to its new home on Moneda it is not known whether they functioned with formal or informal catalogues,[44] but as the collections started to grow during the *Porfiriato* inventories were introduced, a process that coincided with the publication of the journal *Anales del Museo Nacional.* In the first issue (1882) a guide to the Museum's collections appeared that included descriptions by the curators Gumesindo Men-

[42] Luis Castillo Ledón, *El Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía 1825-1925* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1924), 21.

[43] Ibid., 24.

[44] Felipe Solís, "Eduard Seler y las colecciones arqueológicas del Museo Nacional de México." In, *Eduard y Caecilie Seler: Sistematización de los estudios americanistas y sus repercusiones*., edited by Renata von Hanffstengal and Cecilia Tercero Vasconcelos (México: CONACULTA-INAH, 2003), pp. 211-222, p. 213.

doza and Jesús Sánchez.[45] In one section they mention a "Collection of Various Objects from Mitla." The first object listed was "a Goddess painted with vermillion, and adorning its head a tiger and a eagle," description that coincides with a polychrome Zapotec effigy vessel that Eduard Seler reported as being discovered by Captain Dupaix (Figure 16).[46]

Figure 16: Zapotec effigy vessel from the Dupaix expedition.

Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City, cat. no. 10-61327, 47 cm. Provenance: Mitla, Oaxaca. Drawing by author.

[45] Gumesindo Mendoza and Jesús Sánchez, "Catálogo de las colecciones histórica y arqueológica del Museo Nacional de México," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, tomo II (1882): 445- 486.

[46] Eduard Seler, "Die Archaologischen Ergebnisse meiner ersten Mexikanischen Reise," *Gesammelte Abhanlungen zur Amerikanishen Sprach-und Alterthumskunde*, Band 2. A. Ascher & Co., Berlin (1904): 302, plate. XXXVI.

The remaining objects, numbered 2 to 20, were designated *candelabros funerarios* (funerary candelabra, Dupaix's term for funerary urns), were also acquired by this explorer during his expedition to Mitla.[47] As we have already established, Dupaix was careful to record the provenance of the objects he found, and the majority of those materials were not from Mitla but Zaachila, where he excavated extensively. The museum curators had difficulty to accurately designate provenance of this collection and they did not often refer to Dupaix's own publication for guidance, but rather used Mitla as the generic origin for all the region's ancient artifacts, an assumption that was widely held in the nineteenth century.

In 1896 the director of archaeology for the Museum, Jesús Galindo y Villa, published another list of the Zapotec-Mixtec collection on exhibition at the Museo Nacional that examined the content of the display case number VI (Zapotec Civilization) in the section dedicated to ceramics.[48] Although it is difficult to get a specific idea of how many objects he was talking about, the holding appears to be relatively small. The large collections, owned chiefly by private individuals, were still in Oaxaca.

The situation changed dramatically when the Museum began to acquire these collections, beginning with Francisco Belmar's in 1902. Four years later an effort was made to classify the Oaxacan collections and an inventory was produced that gave a much more precise picture of their holdings. The task was given to Francisco León Calderón, the conservator of the State Museum in Oaxaca and brother of the well-known bibliophile and director of the Morelia Museum, Nicolas León. In a 1906 memo León Calderón reported to the Museum officials on the progress of his classification and in his own words these were his principal accomplishments:

> 1. Separation of the Mixtec-Zapotec objects and those that pertain to other civilizations, which were found to be mixed.
> 2. Selection and classification of fragments of ceramic, numbering 3 145; we have filled twelve shelves in four exhibition cases.
> 3. Selection and classification of stone objects, not yet placed, numbering 610.
> 4. Classification and placement of 133 cinerary vases, in four exhibition cases.
> 5. Classification and placement of 97 polychromed ceramics in one exhibition case.[49]

[47] Gumesindo Mendoza and Jesús Sánchez, "Catálogo de las colecciones," 465.

[48] Departamento de Arqueología, 1896, Escaparate XVI, "Civilización Zapoteca," AH/MNA vol. 10, file 34, pp. 142-143.

[49] Revalidación de encargado de clasificar colección zapoteca a Francisco León Calderón, January-May 1907, AGN/IPBA box 153, file 27, pp. 1-2.

According to León Calderón there were still 2 000 objects to be placed, and he calculated two months to finish the job. The curator also broke the collection down in terms of type. The following table shows the amount of objects from in each category:

Table 1: Breakdown of the Museo Nacional's Oaxaca collection into type (1907).[50]

Type	**Number of objects**
Pottery: Fragments, cinerary urns, polychrome objects, ceramics in general and the Huave collection	2 941
Stone: Collars, trinkets and amulets	810
Metals: Gold and copper objects	310
Objects of various materials and origins:	2 009
Total	**6 070**

Before León Calderón started his classification we cannot be sure of the state of the collections but it would appear that he imposed some sort of order on what was utter disarray. The Museum asked León Calderón for a manuscript of his classification, a document that would be useful for controlling the objects. If he wrote one it has now been lost to time, and given his ambiguous response to the Museum official's request, it is possible that none was ever made.[51]

León Calderón finished his classification towards the end of February 1907. It had taken him three months and he was paid 150 pesos monthly. By way of comparison this was half of what the German philologist Eduard Seler earned a year later to classify ceramics from other regions of the country as well as the artifacts in the Hall of Monuments; at the end of the job he had registered an astounding 10 122 objects.[52] With new collections arri-

[50] Ibid., 12.

[51] Ibid., 9-11.

[52] Information reported in: *Reporte del alumno de arqueología, Carlos Solórzano Morfin*, 5 March 1908, AGN/IPBA, box 152, file 66, p. 25, and *Gratificación a Eduard Seler para la clasificación de piezas arqueológicas*, 1907, AGN/IPBA, box 168, file 44, pp. 33.

ving almost monthly the work did not cease. In July the enormous private collection of Fernando Sologuren was acquired, consisting of Mixtec and Zapotec antiquities totaling over 2 000 artifacts. A few months later part of his collection was already opened to the public, because the collector himself had meticulously classified the objects before selling them to the Museum.

Classifications were always a point of contention among competing curatorial staff and various memoranda show it was an overriding concern in the Museo Nacional's internal politics and cause for general bickering. Seler's work was criticized by the Institution's Director, Genaro García, because he claimed Seler did not follow the established guidelines. On the other hand the Director lauded the Archaeological Inspector, Leopoldo Batres, for faithfully applying the guidelines, noting that Seler and Batres often had quite different opinions about the objects they were classifying.[53]

Figure 17: Leopoldo Batres' reconstruction of a Zapotec tomb in the courtyard of the Museo Nacional, ca. 1921.

Fototeca de la CNMH/ M-395, CNCA-INAH-MEX; reproduced by permission of the Instituto Nacional de Antroplogía e Historia, Mexico City.

[53] Genaro García to the Secretary of Public Instruction, 18 March 1909, AH/MNA, vol. 269, file 67, p. 314.

A few years later, when Batres' power base was seriously reduced by the events of the Mexican Revolution, Ramón R. Mena, the Director of Archaeology for the Museum, proposed a new classification scheme to replace what Batres had accomplished. In one of his reports to the Director he stated: "There is no reason for Mr. Batres to be so obstinate and impose his classification. By chance is he infallible?"[54] During his tenure Mena had undone much of Batres' museum work, including dismantling a reconstruction of Zapotec tombs and shrines in the patio that displayed many of the carved stones retrieved from Monte Albán arranged in ways that did not necessarily reflect their original archaeological contexts (Figure 17).

He also banished to the servants' bathroom, a display of pre-Hispanic fakes the Inspector had assembled.[55] The animosity between the two men was the result of a long-standing feud that initiated while Batres was still a powerful figure. In 1910 they had a public row during the XVII International Congress of Americanists in Mexico City that almost ended in physical violence:

> …At that moment Mr. Leopoldo Batres appeared. He opened the door of the salon that was closed and saw who was inside. In he went and greeted the President [of the conference, Genaro García] and two or three other persons, and then he went directly up to Mr. Ramón R. Mena, and without any warning said out loud: "I will not shake your hand Sir because you are a miserable bastard" and then he made a gesture as if he was going to hit him. At that point the President, naturally fraught with surprise at this inexplicable act, got up and reprimanded Mr. Batres for his conduct. He made him leave the room, but without being able to stop Mr. Batres from continuing to insult Mr. Mena and telling him that he would wait for him outside where he was prepared to hit him.[56]

Batres' had a history of belligerence, and this coupled with his personal connections to Porfirio Díaz made it all but inevitable that he would be pus-

[54] Ramón Mena, *conservador* of the Archaeology Department, report, 4 February 1918, AGN/IPBA, box 107, file 54, p. 11.

[55] Ibid., 4.

[56] Author's translation of: *"En ese momento se presentó el Sr. D. Leopoldo Batres, quien abrió la puerta del salon que estaba cerrada, vio quiénes estaban adentro y penetró, saludó al Sr. Presidente y a dos o tres personas más, y se dirigió resueltamente al Sr. Lic. D. Ramón R. Mena, y sin motivo alguno, le dijo en plena voz: "A U. no le doy la mano, porque es un miserable," e hizo el impulso de darle un golpe con la mano: que el Sr. Presidente, repuesto de la natural y explicable sorpresa que lo imprevisto de este hecho le causó, se levantó y reprendiendo al Sr. Batres su conducta, le hizo salir del salon, no sin que el propio Sr. Batres continuara insultando al Sr. Lic. Mena, y sin que le dijera que lo iba a esperar afuera para pegarle."* Ángeles González Gamio, *Manuel Gamio, una lucha sin final* (México: UNAM, 2003), 36-37.

hed aside by a younger generation who were intent on erasing his vision at the Museum.

In the first half of the twentieth century the Museum changed its sole focus on acquiring objects and began to offer courses on a variety of historical topics. Its mission was soon to be defined as the recollection, conservation, and exhibition of objects related to History, Archaeology, Ethnology, and the Industrial Arts concerning Mexico, as well as the study and teaching of these subjects. In 1905, acting upon an initiative by Justo Sierra Méndez, the Secretary of Public Instruction, courses in anthropology, ethnography, Náhuatl language and pre-Hispanic history were added. These educational endeavors operated until 1915, when the turbulent times of the Revolution shut them down.[57] Many of the educational functions of the Museum were taken over by other institutions, such as the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) and the Escuela Nacional de Arqueología e Historia (ENAH). In sum, with the Revolution the era of acquiring large cabinets of antiquities had come to a close.

A PRIVATE "MUSEUM" AND A SOUVENIR SHOP

The emphasis on museums and collecting at the end of the nineteenth century led to the rise of some of the first "antique" shops around the country that specialized in selling ancient artifacts. The appearance of these establishments is important because it now meant that there was a wider demand for antiquities beyond the established collectors, primarily the Museo Nacional and the private cabinets of the wealthy. These shops catered to the tourist looking to buy something curious, and their presence indicates that tourism to Mexico was steadily on the rise in the last decades of the nineteenth century, facilitated by the improvements in rail transport and by a plethora of guidebooks in many languages.

Often these antique shops were thinly disguised as museums in order to entice a better clientele and, of course, command higher prices. A good example is Eugène Boban's "Scientific Museum," established on Violeta street in the Guerrero neighborhood of Mexico City. Boban was a French citizen who spent 25 years of residence in Mexico collecting and selling antiquities. He also operated out of New York. His Scientific Museum was divided into four sections, including an ethnographic section, a library, an exhibition with a large

[57] *Reglamento del Museo Nacional. Formulado por el Subdirector del Establecimiento y aprobado provisionalmente por la Secretaría de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, México,* Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1907, in AGB/IPBA, box 168, file 9, p. 2; Ángeles González Gamio, *Manuel Gamio, una lucha sin final,* 24.

collection of Mexican and European antiquities, and a special room dedicated to human remains that included four mummies from the ex-Convent of Santo Domingo and one Egyptian mummy.[58] He once boasted to be the "antiquarian to His Majesty the Emperor" Maximilian of Hapsburg. In that sense Boban was a dealer and not a collector and his museum could be characterized as a high-end antiquities shop.

Boban has a connection with Oaxacan material culture because he purchased a large holding of Zapotec antiquities in France, referred to in the introduction of his 1886 catalogue as *"the Zapotecas series of Funereal Vases, obtained from the heirs of Monsieur Martin, formerly Consul in Mexico."*[59] He attempted to sell this material in the Leavitt Art Gallery in New York, but with much of it unsold he looked to William H. Holmes, the director of anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution as a potential buyer. The catalogue he sent Holmes, now in the Smithsonian's archives, is heavily annotated with sketches of the objects described as well as the names of some of the buyers from the New York sale. Included in this documentation are photographs of the objects sitting on shelves while they were in the Leavitt Art Gallery.[60] Boban worked hard to convince Holmes to purchase the Zapotec ceramics, which included a spectacular standing ceramic effigy labeled "Statue of the God of War of the Zapotecas," measuring 72 cm high,[61] but he was asking the hefty price of $400 dollars for it; Holmes came back with an offer of $225. He was clearly interested in purchasing the urn because he made extensive notes around the border of its photograph (Figure 18).

However Boban was in no mood to haggle and replied with veiled disgust: "If at the Smithsonian, one could not be that kind or nice to me, I would respond by saying please return to me the objects, or pay the marked price."[62] The objects were unsold and sent back to France, but in a curious twist of fate

[58] Catalogue of Eugenio Boban's Scientific Museum, 6 August 1885, A/AASC, file no. 7547.

[59] Boban purchased the Martin collection in 1879, after the death of the Consul and his immediate family.

[60] Letters and photographs of Boban's collection of Zapotec antiquities, in SIA, William Henry Holmes Papers 1870-1931, Correspondence A-Nel. Box. No. 1, file 7.

[61] Pascual Mongne suspects that this object is a fake partly because of its checkered past, in "Le faux zapotèque et la collection Gustave Bellon: Iconographie, thermoluminescence et nouvelles considerations." *Techne* 11 (2000): 60. However, I have personally inspected the urn and consider it to be authentic, given that it shows many signs of antiquity, including ancient fractures.

[62] Eugène Boban to W.H. Holmes, 23 June1887, in SIA, William Henry Holmes Papers 1870-1931, Correspondence A-Nel. Box. No. 1, file 7.

the urn was to eventually return to the Smithsonian: George Heye bought the piece at a Paris Auction in the 1920s for his Museum of the American Indian in New York and the Smithsonian acquired this collection in 1994 when the museum closed its doors.[63] Posthumously, Boban has gotten a dubious reputation for having sold fakes at his store. At the end of his museum catalogue he emphasizes a "large crystal skull…unique in the world," but it turns out this was one of many forgeries he sold to unsuspecting museums.[64]

Figure 18: Zapotec effigy vessel from the Eugène Boban collection with notes by W. H. Holmes, ca. 1887.

Photograph courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Suitland, Md. (2003-37068).

[63] The objects from this transaction are held in their Cultural Resource Center in Suitland, Maryland.

[64] Jane Maclaren Walsh, "Crystal Skulls and Other Problems, Or, Don't Look It in the Eye." In *Exhibiting Dilemmas, Issues of Representation at the Smithsonian* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 116-139.

Another popular antique store belonged to William Niven, a Scottish amateur archaeologist who lived over forty years in Mexico, selling his finds to tourists in a small shop on Gante street. This place was decidedly lower brow than Boban's establishment, and in 1920 was described as a "shed" on top of ramshackle building with rough tables and battered show-cases piled with artifacts; on the floor bushels overflowed with jade beads, obsidian knives and bronze bells.[65] Later, he too was denounced for peddling fakes. The presence of such shops meant that there was an active market for pre-Hispanic antiquities, high scale and low scale. The demand for more unique materials undoubtedly had an effect on those who had been amassing large collections for decades, as the economic pressures to sell their wares became more enticing.

Foreign travelers passing through Mexico would often describe museum collections and their accounts are useful for establishing the conditions of these institutions and extent of the holdings that existed from Oaxaca. As we have seen, early in the century specific comments regarding objects from this region in the collections of the Museo Nacional are rare, perhaps because up until the French intervention in the 1860s this institution was in a general state of disarray, and few inventories have survived, if indeed they were ever produced.[66] Furthermore, the process of assigning cultural affiliation to archaeological artifacts did not begin in earnest until the last decades of the century, so categories of Oaxacan indigenous groups such as Zapotec, Mixtec or Huave are generally not part of early descriptions. (As we shall see later on, the task of separating material according to cultural affiliation was first carried out by the private collectors.) A similar situation existed in the Museo de Oaxaca, even though most of the material it possessed came from the confines of the state. For the better part of the nineteenth century their collections were largely abandoned, and not only were they starved of some of the finer examples of the region's archaeology by Mexico City, but at various points in their history they were victims of an anarchic political situation, where artifacts and documents were wantonly damaged, destroyed or stolen.

The panorama changed dramatically towards the end of the *Porfiriato*, when all Mexico's museums flourished, acquired larger collections, expanded galleries, renovated their buildings and were generally placed in order. The participation of Mexico in a number of foreign expositions greatly hel-

[65] Katherine Anne Porter, *The Days Before* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952), 268.

[66] Felipe Solís, "Eduard Seler y las colecciones arqueológicas…", 212-216.

ped this process along, enhancing the country's standing in the world, and the ensuing prestige motivated the government to redouble their support of the cultural institutions.

CHAPTER 4
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MUSEO DE OAXACA

Parallel to the founding of the Museo Nacional, and in the same spirit of projecting a small cabinet of antiquities into the public's eye, the first museum in Oaxaca was created within the context of the Instituto de Artes y Ciencias, founded by the government of José Ignacio Morales. Officially inaugurated in August 1827, the Institute's first locale was in the convent of San Pablo on Fiallo street, near the main square of the city. (Today commemorated by a modest plaque on the exterior of this building.) Before the existence of the Institute, higher education in Oaxaca was squarely in the domain of the religious orders, with instruction focused—for men only—on theology and metaphysical philosophy. If no military career was in the offing, many men went on to study in the Seminary College of Oaxaca to become priests, an occupation that was expected of a talented and bright young man at the beginning of the century.[1]

The move away from a religious education toward an emphasis on humanities and sciences was no doubt influenced by the intellectual enlightenment that flourished in seventeenth-century Europe and eventually filtered down to the remote areas of the Americas. The students of the Institute learned French so that they could read Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau; and English to read Jefferson, Franklin, and Adams. With the new ideas, many rejected the stifling grip the church had over all aspects of daily life; and Oaxaca's youth began to openly question the establishment's authority. In 1833 the city's mothers reacted to the situation citing their children's moral decay in the hands of the "Institute of prostitution," and clamored to have religion re-imposed on their sons.[2] Paradoxically, it was segments of the church that played an active role in changing the face of the state's educational institutions. Many of the Institute's promoters and initial directors were religious men: The first director was a priest, Father Francisco Aparicio, and

[1] Margarita Dalton, *Oaxaca, una historia compartida* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Mora, 1990), 91.

[2] Ibid., 93.

the inaugural speech was given by a politically liberal priest, José Juan Canseco, who would be key in setting up the archaeological cabinet within the school.[3] In this climate of change, the people of Oaxaca began to feel the shifts in the country's intellectual crust.

There is little information about the first collections that were housed in the Institute while it was still in the convent of San Pablo. A modest holding that may have occupied at most a room within the building, the very earliest donations, documented in June of 1832, were mostly geological collections destined for the "Cabinet of Natural History and Museum."[4] Mixed in with those geological collections were archaeological specimens from Mitla donated by Antonio Valdés y Moya, and the Frenchman Louis Guillemaud. But it was the Institute's eighth director, José Juan Canseco (1834 to 1835), who was responsible for the first archaeological collections.

José Juan Canseco

Information about Canseco's collecting comes from small snippets and footnotes that are part of longer descriptions of archaeological objects in the unpublished work of Manuel Martínez Gracida (1910). The earliest date Martínez Gracida attributes to an object collected by the priest is 1800, almost two decades before Dupaix began his explorations.[5] After Canseco's death in 1856[6] his children donated his collection to the Museum, as per his wishes. We do not know how the cabinet was displayed or how much material was in this collection, but some objects have been identified in contemporary holdings, including the famous Zapotec effigy that is erroneously known as "the scribe of Cuilapan" (see Chapter 7).

Many of the artifacts Canseco possessed were excavated from locations in and around the town of Ejutla where he had been raised and served as the community's priest. Martínez Gracida recounts the story of how a "sacred

[3] The information on the founding of the Institute comes from several sources: Gustavo Pérez Jiménez, *Historia Gráfica del Instituto de Ciencias y Artes Erigido en Universidad Autónoma "Benito Juárez" de Oaxaca* (México: Carteles Editores, Oaxaca, 1999); and Cayetano Esteva, "Apuntes Históricos del Instituto," *El Centenario,* no. 1 (1910), 34-35. A copy of the inaugural speech by Canseco is in BN/FR in the La Fragua collection, no. 703, 1827, 23 p., 20 cm.

[4] Martínez Gracida: "Relación de las piezas que se han remitido al Insituto de Ciencias y artes del Estado para la colección en el Gabinete de Historia natural y Museo, mandado formar por disposición de E. S. Gobernador del mismo," (3 pages), in AHM/APP, microfilm roll 11.

[5] Martínez Gracida, *Los indios oaxaqueños*, AHM/APP, microfilm roll 13, plate 85

[6] Ángel Taracena, *Efemérides oaxaqueñas*, 117.

whistle vase" was discovered on the site known as Aunt Bruña's "pyramid" or "mound," situated to the west of the town's main square. A whistling pot is generally made of two vessels, one with a whistle attached, so when water is poured from the first chamber the trapped air in the second vents and causes the whistle to sound. On that day in 1853, Canseco and the town's governing board were present when the unique object was retrieved from a tomb. A worker washing the object inadvertently activated the whistle. He was so startled that he dropped it damaging the appendages of the effigy that were attached.[7]

The use of secondary sources to identify the objects Canseco collected is hindered because the specific volume that illustrated Martínez Gracida's notes on the artifacts has gone missing. Nonetheless, the historian gives ample descriptions of those objects as well as a sobering account of their fate during the War of the Reform. This conflict between Liberals and Conservatives is also known as the "Three Year War," and took place between 1858 and 1861. The conservative faction took the city of Oaxaca by force in 1858, and their leader, General José María Cobos, declared himself governor and promptly shut the Institute down.[8] When the city was retaken in 1860 it was an administrative disaster, with the streets destroyed from lack of maintenance, buildings in dire need of repair and an economy paralyzed from three years of inter-factional war.[9] During the occupation there was an incursion into the Institute's halls by what Martínez Gracida calls "reactionary soldiers" who destroyed, mutilated, and stole some of the artifacts. Martínez Gracida states that he had illustrated some of those stolen and destroyed objects—many from Canseco's collection—by copying them from a work by the artist Lucas Villafañe, *El atlas de antiguedades zapotecas*. Unfortunately this document is also nowhere to be found, so we have no idea what these renderings may have looked like.[10] With both visual registers lost, we are limited to reconstructing the original collection based on the verbal descriptions supplied by Martínez Gracida.

After the traumatic experience of the war the Institute was moved to a different building, formerly the Seminario Pontificio de la Santa Cruz, on the corner of Independencia and Macedonio Alcalá streets. The building now houses the State University "Benito Juárez" (Figure 19).

[7] Martínez Gracida, *Los indios oaxaqueños*, AHM/APP, microfilm roll 13, plates 60 and 61.

[8] Cayetano Esteva, "Apuntes Históricos del Instituto," *El Centenario*, no. 1 (1910): 34.

[9] Margarita Dalton, *Oaxaca, una historia compartida*, 152.

[10] Martínez Gracida, *Los indios oaxaqueños*, AH/APP, microfilm roll 13. The references to Canseco's collection are on plates 60 and 61, 70, 71, 85, 98, 102 and 103, 104.

Figure 19: The Instituto de Ciencias y Artes, Oaxaca, as it was in the nineteenth century.

Photograph courtesy of the Fundación Bustamante Vasconcelos, Oaxaca.

Juan Bolaños directed the Institute from 1853 to 1856 while the school was still housed in the convent of San Pablo, and Manuel Ortega Reyes was in charge during the transitional year of 1860. During their tenures both these men donated parts of their natural collections to the school,[11] and we know that Ortega Reyes may have also donated part of his sizable collection of pre-Hispanic antiquities, but as we shall see this arrived at a later date. Shortly after the Museum moved it began to acquire archaeological objects and fossils from the distinct districts of the state, as well as paintings from the surrounding convents. In 1859, with the introduction of the church reform laws, they created the State library, transferring to the Institute the ecclesiastic libraries from Santo Domingo and from other orders from around the city.[12] (Today the tide has swung back out and much of this library is back in the ex-convent of Santo Domingo.)

[11] Ángel Taracena, *Efemérides oaxaqueñas*, 135-136.

[12] See Andrés Portillo, *Oaxaca en el Centenario de la Independencia Nacional* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1910), 147; Francisco Belmar, *Breve reseña histórica y geográfica del Estado de Oaxaca* (Oaxaca: Imprenta de Comercios, 1901), 40; Jorge Fernando Iturribarría, "Exclaustración de las órdenes y aproximada valoración de los bienes del clero en Oaxaca." In *Oaxaca, textos de su historia*, vol. III (México: Instituto Mora, 1990), 263.

After fifty years in operation the Institute with its collections and gardens formed the nucleus of the city's cultural offerings. We are fortunate to have a partial description of what a visit was like in 1881, from Adolf Bandelier, a student of the famous anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan. Here he paints a vivid impression of the menagerie that existed in the patio:

> The courtyard of the Institute, like that of the Museo Nacional of Mexico, forms a small garden. There the so-called Calendar stone of Tecomavaca has been set up, and this I am having photographed. Likewise, General Meijueiro had presented the Institute with several live animals which he had brought from Tehuantepec, a bright colored turkey-cock and two auras which go about freely; the harpy, the terrible hooded eagle of the Isthmus, is kept in a strong cage…With outstretched neck, beak opened wide, head feathers ruffled, it directs a look of such wild malice at the spectator that one unconsciously steps back from the bars of the cage.[13]

The calendar stone of Quiotepec

An early photograph taken by Antonio Peñafiel shows the stone just as Bandelier would have seen it in the garden: the artifact's provenance is stated to be Quiotepec, Cuicatlán (Figure 20).[14]

Quiotepec and Tecomavaca are towns located on the Río Salado in the river basin known as Cuicatlán, just north of the Central Valleys of Oaxaca. Separated by a distance of about seven kilometers, both towns are near a large archaeological site often referred as the "ruins of Quiotepec" or "Cerro de las Juntas,"[15] so this is the most obvious source of its origin. There is more to the story. Before the calendar stone found a home in the Institute it was part of a fountain in a park that was constructed by the Governor Antonio León in front of the Cathedral in 1843 (called Alameda de León) and designed by Antonio P. Heredia to replicate the great Alameda park of Mexico City. Martínez Gracida described how the stone "in the form of a clock and with various characters" was integrated into one side of the fountain, along

[13] George P. Hammond and Edgar F. Goad, *A Scientist on the Trail. Travel Letters of A. F. Bandelier 1880-1881* (Berkeley: The Quivira Society, 1949), 132.

[14] Antonio Peñafiel, *Arqueología Zapoteca* (México: Secretaría de Fomento, 1893), plate 68. This stone is still in the State Museum of Oaxaca but no longer exposed to the elements.

[15] Constantine Rickards, "The Ruins of Quiotepec." In *International Congress of Americanists*, vol. I., pp. 625-626; Charles Spencer, *The Cuicatlán Cañada and Monte Albán*, 39-40.

Figure 20: “Calendar stone” in the central patio the Instituto de Ciencias y Artes reportedly from Quiotepec, Cuicatlán.

In Antonio Peñafiel, *Arqueología Zapoteca*, plate 68.

with a small stone "lion."[16] The date of the construction of the fountain coincides with the state road commission that surveyed the area around Quiotepec and Tecomavaca in 1843. These surveyors walked up the mountain to the archaeological site, and by their own admission were "passing out" on the trail because of the heat, therefore it is unlikely that they brought the stone down with them, and may have picked it up in one of the towns. There is some evidence from oral history that the stone was once in Tecomavaca. In 1917 the Sub-Inspector of Monuments for Oaxaca, Jesús Vargas, tabled a report on the region and mentioned a memory of the local people: "According to information I was given and the word of a few people, some time ago a stone was carried off to Oaxaca that was thought to be used for the sacrifices in Tecomavaca."[17] If this information references the same stone that was first used in the fountain of the Alameda, then that "some time ago" would have been at least 74 years, a reasonable amount of time for an elder to remember.

The Museo de Oaxaca during the *Porfiriato*

The Institute was undergoing a major renovation the same year that Bandelier saw the calendar stone in the garden. Although the learned traveller was very interested in archaeology, he made no mention of these collections, so it is possible they were been closed to the public or were of little interest. Substantial archaeological collections were installed in the Museum after it was inaugurated on the 15th of September 1881, under the administration of General Francisco Meixueiro. The General was highly criticized for his handling of the city's affairs, and according to Cayetano Estevez, under his tutelage the teachers worked for free, not for love of their profession but because their modest salaries were never paid. A much more efficient governor soon replaced him: Porfirio Díaz. He established an entrance exam to make sure professors were qualified and created permanent tenure for those who excelled in their jobs.[18]

During Díaz's administration the Museum got a boost in its collections. One source was from the *jefes políticos* (head administrators) of the State's diverse districts who were encouraged to collect archaeological specimens either through direct excavation or by purchasing them—most likely at a pittance—from local

[16] Martínez Gracida, *Los indios oaxaqueños*, AH/APP, microfilm roll 13, plate 158.

[17] AT/DMP/INAH, microfilm roll 50, tomo LXXXV, vol. II, Estado de Oaxaca, Varios 1917-1949.

[18] Cayetano Esteva, "Apuntes Históricos del Instituto," 34.

citizens. Pablo Meijueiro, the *jefe politico* of Tlacolula, an area rich in archaeological sites, sent artifacts to the museum and his inventory was published in the newspaper (see appendix 1). A reading of the list shows that he was actively excavating within his district, and recovered a large "*danzante*" stone from Teotitlán del Valle.[19] He also mentions purchasing material from local townspeople who had inevitably encountered ancient evidences through the course of their daily lives, digging foundations for their houses or farming. Other individuals from the area were involved in the process, including Manuel Cortés, a priest who donated a pair of skulls found in tombs from a nearby mountaintop. As the list shows, these spurts of unsystematic collecting yielded substantial amounts of material. Individual collectors with close ties to the Institute and the Governor himself accounted for the other donations.

Manuel Ortega Reyes (1819-1908)

Celebrating the founding of the Institute of Oaxaca in the framework of Mexico's 1910 centennial, Andrés Portillo—chronicler for the city of Oaxaca—mentioned that in 1880 Porfirio Díaz had acquired an impressive archaeological collection from his father in-law, Dr. Manuel Ortega Reyes, for the state museum.[20] His personal and political relationship to the powerful leader allowed him to reap vast social and economic benefits that would propel him throughout his career, and his rise in the Porfirian power structure was closely intertwined with the fate of his natural and archaeological collections. How he divested these holdings illustrates the beginning of a steady process that occurred during the late nineteenth century to aggregate private collections in public museums.

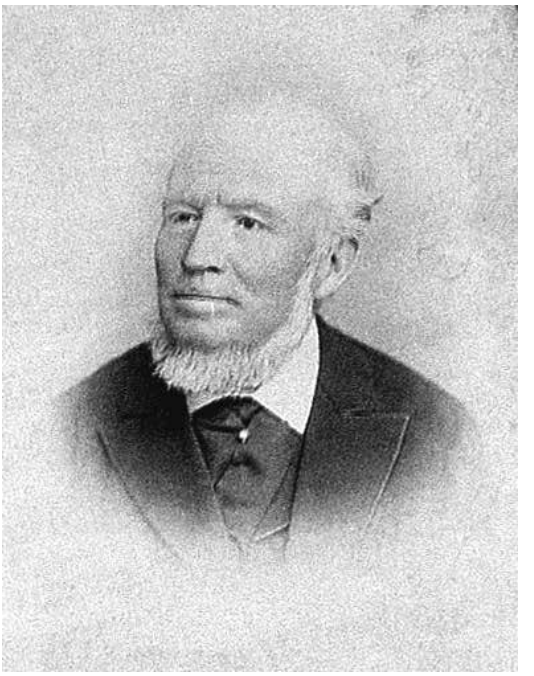
Ortega Reyes, a medical doctor, was also a naturalist and an able cartographer (Figure 21).

In Oaxaca he lectured on Natural History at the Institute and on two occasions directed the school, first in their transitional year of 1860 and later between the years 1870-1871. Politically he was a stanch supporter of the

[19] The term *danzante* is widely used, even by English speakers, to refer to the figures that appear to be in movement carved on many of the large stone monoliths found in Oaxaca, principally at Monte Albán. In his book *The Danzantes of Monte Albán* (Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1978, p. 22), John F. Scott claims that Leopoldo Batres was the first to use the term in print in 1902, but Pablo Meijueiro's use of the word shows that it had a much earlier origin.

[20] Andrés Portillo, *Oaxaca en el Centenario de la Independencia Nacional*, facsimile 1998 (Oaxaca: Ayuntamiento de Oaxaca de Juárez, 1910), 147.

Figure 21: Manuel Ortega Reyes (1819-1908).



In Berta Tello Peón, *Santa María la Ribera*, 1998, p. 88.

liberal cause and a close ally of Díaz in his rise to power. The family tie began in 1867 during a siege of Mexico City, when opportunely, during lull in the battle with the French occupiers, General Porfirio Díaz wed Ortega Reyes's daughter, Serafina Arteaga de Ortega.[21] The marriage lasted twenty years until Delfina, as she was known, died giving birth in the family's residence in the upscale neighborhood of Santa María la Ribera, Mexico City.[22] Díaz eventually took another wife, but the relationship between father and son in-law, based on respect and political favor, endured long after.

With Delfina as first lady the doctor's career wagon was hitched to a star, and from Oaxaca he soared to important positions in the nation's capital, first as congressman and later as director of the Mint; at an advanced age he also served in the Senate.[23] He was deeply involved in politics in Mexico City, but from his formative years in Oaxaca and throughout his life he maintained a

[21] Ethel Alec-Tweedie, *The Maker of Modern Mexico* (London: Hurst and Blackett Limited, 1906), 235.

[22] Berta Tello Peón, *Santa María la Ribera* (México: Clío, 1998), 88.

[23] Ángel Taracena, *Efemérides oaxaqueñas*, 135-136.

deep interest in the natural sciences, archaeology and collecting. In 1883 David Hunter Strother, the talented artist and U.S. consul general in Mexico City who used the pseudonym Porte Crayon, struck up a friendship with Ortega Reyes and in his diary revealed some of their time spent together:

> At the hour appointed called on Dr. Ortega Reyes & spent an hour very pleasantly looking at his drawings & prints of Oaxaca & Environs. The Zapotecas he says were a far superior people to the Aztecs. Their Art Work and Architectural remains far Grander than any Aztec remains. A parchment of their picture History was also very well done & interesting. Altogether I must visit Oaxaca if possible before I leave this Country. In the doctor's parlour he showed me a photographic portrait of his daughter the late Madame Porfiolio [sic] Diaz whom I knew shortly before her death.[24]

When he lived in Oaxaca the doctor carved up his home into various areas that reflected his profession and his diverse interests: one floor served as his medical practice where he is said to have received many of the City's poor. Another room was an art gallery and below this area he kept his cabinet that was composed of natural curiosities and pre-Hispanic antiquities. He also maintained an impressive library with many rare books, including a sixteenth-century linen codex known as the Genealogy of Malcuixóchitl,[25] most likely the "parchment" with pictures that Porte Crayon had seen in his home in Mexico City.

What we know about Ortega Reyes's archaeological collection comes mostly from travelers' narratives and the richest in detail is from the baron Johann Wilhelm von Müller, a native of Germany and a doctor of Natural Science who mid-century journeyed throughout the Americas, arriving in Oaxaca in February of 1857. In the company of Ortega Reyes and a local engineer, Gilberto Torres, they visited the ruins of Monte Albán, using the doctor's skill as a cartographer to produce a map of the site that was later published in the account. Thanks to information from Louis Ayme, an American who made collections of Oaxacan antiquities for the Smithsonian Institution, we also know that Ortega Reyes frequented these ruins and often "mined" them for artifacts, and was accused at the same time of causing

[24] John E. Stealey, ed. *Porte Crayon's Mexico* (Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 2006), 653.

[25] Ron van Meer, "La genealogía de Macuilxóchitl y la colección privada del Dr. Ortega Reyes." In *Pictografía y escritura alfabética en Oaxaca*, edited by Sebastián van Doesburg, Oaxaca (México: Fondo Editorial del IEEPO, 2008), 117-150.

Figure 22: Ceramic effigies in Manuel Ortega Reyes' collection. In Johann Wilhelm von Müller, *Viajes por los Estados Unidos, Canadá y México,* 1992, p. 82.

The Leipzig-based mapmaker Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus signed his name to the published inkdrawings so presumably these had been copied from von Müller's original sketches.

great destruction to the structures.[26] In their rambles around the ruins von Müller had a different opinion from the doctor regarding the structures they encountered, and supposed that these were originally defensive fortifications rather than sumptuous palaces and temples his Oaxacan host believed them to be (a position now vindicated by current archaeology).[27] The difference of opinion regarding the monuments as well as other disagreeable incidents created a tension between the two men, and von Müller charged that the doctor was overly protective of his collection:

> Mr. Ortega…possesses a beautiful collection of Mexican antiquities among which there are some very curious pieces. Unfortunately, their owner is not very generous about conceding permission to use his collection for scientific purposes, and a special negotiation through a third party was necessary so that I could draw some of the idols.[28]

He reproduced ten of those drawings in his book on his travels, representing some of the earliest illustrations of a private collection of pre-Hispanic artifacts from Oaxaca (Figure 22).

Contradicting aspects of von Müller's account of those drawings is Teobert Maler, another traveler to Oaxaca between the years 1874-1876. His position is that Ortega Reyes did not concede permission to the German to draw his collection but that von Müller was able to procure the images from another source, and that he later published them against the doctor's wishes.[29] If this is true, the source may have been Lucas Villafañe's *Atlas of Zapotec Antiquities*, an illustrated album—now lost—by a "humble artist" that von Müller mentions having met while in Oaxaca.[30] Little is known about him or his work. A year before meeting von Müller he had been appointed to a prestigious position in the Institute of Arts and Sciences as a provisional professor of art.[31] Martínez Gracida describes his *Atlas* as composed of drawings

[26] Louis Ayme to Spencer F. Baird, 24 June 1884, in SIA acc.15230, p. 2.

[27] Johann Wilhelm von Müller, *Viajes por los Estados Unidos, Canadá y México* (México: Codex editores, 1998 [1864]), 57.

[28] Ibid., 80-81.

[29] Teobert Maler, *Viaje del Capitán Maler de México a Tehuantepec, 1876*, unedited manuscript conserved in the the Ethnographic Museum of Hamburg, Germany (59 pages), transcribed by Franz Termer in 1959, and published in Eckehard Dolinski, *Teobert Maler, Vistas de Oaxaca* (Oaxaca: Casa de la Ciudad, 2004), 26.

[30] Johann Wilhelm von Müller, *Viajes por los Estados Unidos, Canadá y México (De Puebla a Oaxaca, Oaxaca)* (México: Codex editores, 1998 [1864]), 79.

[31] Ronald Spores, ed. *Benito Juárez, Gobernador de Oaxaca. Documentos de su mandato y servicio público* (Oaxaca: Archivo General del Estado de Oaxaca, 1987), 64.

of archaeological sites and objects, including some artifacts that had been damaged and destroyed when soldiers invaded the Museum in the mid-nineteenth century.[32] Because of the time frame, it is reasonable to suppose that this work also contained examples from Ortega Reyes's collection.

Today objects from his collection are part of museum holdings in Mexico, the United States and Europe, suggesting that the doctor divested some items to individual buyers and that Porfirio Díaz had not purchased the entirety of the holding. The trail of evidence for this dispersal begins with ten objects—all Zapotec urns—that were selected for illustration in von Müller's travel account. The drawings are not particularly accurate, having been redrawn once by von Müller from Villafañe's *Atlas* (as surmised above) and then copied again by Brockhaus, but there is enough detail to identify the majority of them in present-day collections, summarized in table 2.

Table 2: Objects in Manuel Ortega Reyes' collection that are now in different museums.

plate I	Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City, cat. 6-259
plate II	Smithsonian Institution, Washington, cat. 115149.
plate III	Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City, cat. 6-2108
plate IV	Museum für Volkerkunde, Vienna, cat. 55.163
plate V	Museum für Volkerkunde, Vienna, cat. 274
plate VI	?
plate VII	?
plate VIII	Museum für Volkerkunde, Vienna, cat. 55.161
plate IX	Museum für Volkerkunde, Vienna, cat. 55.162
plate X	Museum für Volkerkunde, Vienna, cat. 55.159

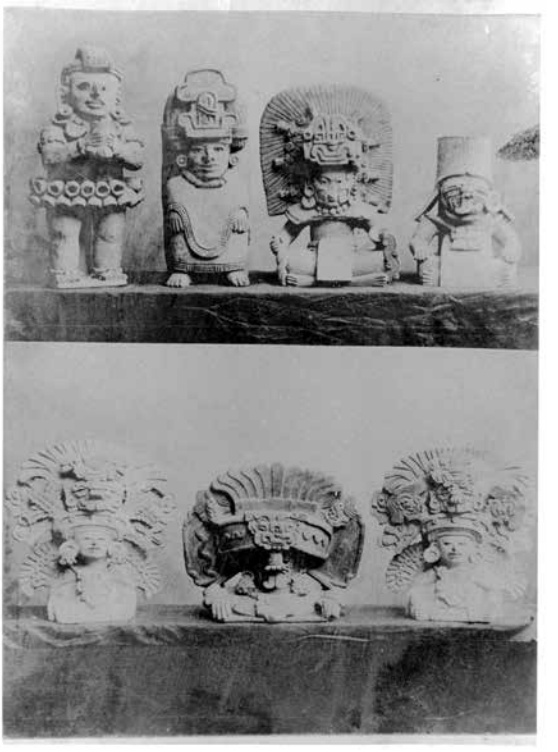
The objects in plates I and III formed part of the collections of the Museo de Oaxaca and eventually ended up in the Museo Nacional in Mexico City. One of those urns, a large standing figure (56 cm tall) was often remarked upon because it sported what was interpreted as a "Napoleonic hat."[33] In the

[32] AHM/APP, microfilm roll 12, *Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos*, vol. I, Cerámica, 1910, plate 98.

[33] Since the nineteenth century many have drawn a similarity between the French dictator's iconic hat and the headgear worn by the effigy in this urn. I have argued that it shows two deer's heads in profile, joined at the middle. See, Adam Sellen "The Lost Drummer of Ejutla." *Baessler-Archiv*, Band 51(2003), Berlin (2005): 128-129.

nineteenth century it was frequently drawn, photographed and described by travelers who visited the museums where it was displayed, and it was chosen to showcase in Madrid for the 1892 exhibition whereupon it was heavily restored for the occasion. But then in the twentieth century, inexplicably, it dropped out of sight and a series of forgeries loosely based on its design began to surface in its place. Only recently has the original urn returned to the exhibition space in the Museo de Antropología in Mexico City. The object in plate II, a unique anthropomorphic figure with canine attributes is now in the Smithsonian Institution, purchased by Louis Ayme sometime in 1884. Finally, the objects in the plates IV, V, VII, IX and X all appear to have ended up in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna. A photograph in the Berlin Ethnographic Museum's archives shows these pieces and others with a caption that states they are from the collection of "L. Guillaume" (probably Louis Guillemaud) (Figure 23).

Figure 23: Objects from the collection of L. Guillaume.



Photograph courtesy of the Ethnographic Museum, Berlin, cat. Mex-ZV-33a (VIII E 2380).

The objects were donated by George Haas, according to the Museum's records that also state a provenance from two tombs on the hill known as "La Carbonera," the scene of a great battle on the 18th of October 1866, near Etla, Oaxaca, where General Porfirio Díaz defeated the French army.

In von Müller's book there is another series of ink drawings, in the same style as the previous artifacts drawn by the German mapmaker Brockhaus, rendering five carved stones that also may have been copied from Villafañe's *Atlas*. Today these recognizable stones are part of the collections of the Museo Regional de Oaxaca, and an early photograph among the papers of William Henry Holmes shows these relief carvings in the garden of the museum sometime in the late nineteenth century (Figure 24).

Figure 24: Carved stones from Etla, Oaxaca, in the Museo de Oaxaca.

Photograph courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Suitland, Md. (2003-37069).

The various threads that make up this story not only clarify the provenance of these stones but also suggest that the Museo de Oaxaca maintained documents that referred to some of the objects in their collection prior to 1857, although the evidence for this assertion can only be inferred through secondary sources. Von Müller claims he found these stones among the ruins of Quiotepec, a hilltop site located in the Cañada de Cuicatlán, in February

1857, shortly after his arrival to the State,[34] but their provenance has not been firmly established. In 1904 Eduard Seler reported they came from Tlacolula, but cast doubt on his own assertion when he added that he had seen a stone similar to the ones in the Museum embedded in the wall of a house in Etla.[35] His keen observation regarding the Etla stone coincides neatly with another authoritative voice, that of Martínez Gracida, who surmised that the relief carvings formed part of a tomb structure, and mentioned a manuscript—lost during the Three-Year War (1857-1860) when soldiers invaded the Museum—that explained the full story of their discovery. He went on to say:

> The Oaxacan Museum does not have a register of the provenance of these five slabs; but in the collection of drawings of Antiquities of Lucas Villafañe, one can read this note [signed by the author]: "Brought in June of 1857 from the Palaces discovered in the Valley of San Lázaro Etla…"[36]

Lending some further evidence to Martínez Gracida's historical documentation are iconographic studies that suggest that the distinctive decorative capes worn by the figures carved on the stones can also be seen on a ceramic urn figure found in the Etla area.[37] But in the face of these other, more plausible origins, how do we explain von Müller's account that he found the stones at Quiotepec? Given Maler's statement that the German traveler procured images of objects in Ortega Reyes's collection from another source—most likely Villafañe's *Atlas*—then it is possible that he copied renderings of the stones from the same work and embellished his narrative so it would appear the he had discovered the stones while visiting Quiotepec (months before).

By the time Ortega Reyes died in 1908 little remained of his archaeological collection, and his daughters, Trinidad and Manuela Ortega Reyes, offered the

[34] Johann Wilhelm von Müller, *Viajes por los Estados Unidos, Canadá y México*, 33-36. The original version, *Resisen in den Vereinigten Staaten, Canada und Mexico*, was published in 1864 in Leipzig, Germany.

[35] Eduard Seler, "Die Archaologischen Ergebnisse meiner ersten Mexikanischen Reise," *Gesammelte Abhanlungen zur Amerikanishen Sprach-und Alterthumskunde*, Band 2. A. Ascher & Co., Berlin (1904): 369; Ferdinand Anders, Maarten Jansen and Aurora G. Pérez Jiménez, *Crónica Mixteca: El rey 8 Venado, Garra de Jaguar, y la dinastía de Teozacualco-Zaachila* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992), p. 236.

[36] AHM/APP, microfilm roll 12, *Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos*, vol. I, Cerámica, 1910, plate 52 and 56.

[37] Marc Winter, "Oaxaca: la herencia mixteco-zapoteca." In *México en el mundo de las colecciones de arte*, vol. 1 (México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, IIE, UNAM-CONACULTA, 1994), 118; Adam Sellen, "Images of Deified Kings from the Valley of Oaxaca," *Quaderni di Thule*, no. I, Argo Editore, Perugia (2002): 233-237.

National Musuem what was left of his legacy. This included one archaeological object, a quartz pendent in the shape of a heart, a painted codex that was unnamed but was probably the genealogy of Malcuixóchitl, and a number of rare books and manuscripts. Ramón Mena, professor of archaeology of the Museum inspected the items and thought the codex and some of the books were worth acquiring, although he thought that the prices were exorbitant.[38]

Nicolás León and the Museo de Oaxaca

By the end of the century the collections in the Museo de Oaxaca had grown substantially, from a few dozen idols in 1861 to four times that amount in 1886, including fragments of ceramics, copper artifacts, at least a dozen stones with hieroglyphic writing, and "figures," as well as photographs and plans of the more well-known sites such as Mitla.[39] A photograph from the period shows the general state of the displays when they were in the Institute around the turn of the century. Carpentry tools can be seen on the floor by the open window indicating that the room was undergoing renovation (Figure 24).

Certainly more emphasis had been placed on augmenting the collections than properly classifying them, so in 1891 Oaxaca's governor, Gregorio Chávez, took advantage of the availability of Nicolás León, the director of the state Museum in Morelia, Michoacan, and invited him to take on the task of reorganization.

A medical doctor by profession and a man of letters, the talented intellectual had a wide range of interests in history, ethnology, archaeology, and the natural sciences. He was also an antiquarian who possessed a formidable library.[40] León made frequent trips to Oaxaca where he had family, but he also had good cause to accept the governor's invitation. His last year as head of the Morelia museum was turbulent, and eventually he was forced out of the position by a hostile congress. In November of 1891, while still acting director for the Morelia Museum, León asked for leave to attend to the offer

[38] AGN/IPBA, box 154, folder 69, p. 25.

[39] Fernando González Dávila, "El Museo Oaxaqueño y su fondo de origen. Documentos para su historia." *Tempus*, no. 3, primavera (1995). See the inventory lists for the years 1861 and 1886 on pages 170 and 173.

[40] For information on León's life and work see: Ignacio Bernal, *Correspondencia de Nicolás León con Joaquín García Icazbalceta* (México: UNAM, 1982); Hans Roskamp, "El doctor Nicolás León y los documentos pictográficos de Oaxaca." In *Cuadernos del Sur*; "Nicolás León," Biblios (México: UNAM, 1999), 115-116.

Figure 25: The collections of the Museo de Oaxaca around the turn of last century.

Fototeca de la CNMH/ 0104-010, CNCA-INAH-MEX reproduced by permission of the Instituto Nacional de Antroplogía e Historia, Mexico City.

in Oaxaca,[41] although his primary intention may have been to distance himself from the venomous political situation in Michoacan. When León arrived at the Museum he found it in a state of abandon, and blamed the disorder on the previous administrations. In a letter to a friend he claimed that the task of reorganizing was causing him a great deal of frustration,[42] but within a six-month period León had classified the collections in the Museum into eight sections: Anthropology, Archaeology, Ethnology, History, Botany, Zoology, Mineralogy, and Fossils. This constituted a fairly modern classification system even by today's standards. Belmar described the archaeological collection as consisting of 1 253 ancient objects: 92 objects placed in the display cases, six idols, another six miscellaneous antiquities, 43 photographs of archaeological objects, one copy of an ancient *lienzo*, and one copy on card-

[41] Hans Roskamp, "El doctor Nicolás León y los documentos pictográficos de Oaxaca," *Cuadernos del Sur*, 6 no. 15 (2000): 77.

[42] Nicolás León to Joaquín García Icazbalceta, 11 February 1892. In Ignacio Bernal, *Correspondencia de Nicolás León con Joaquín García Icazbalceta* (México: UNAM, 1982), 263.

board of an ancient codex.[43] He was also alleged to have acquired a number of Oaxacan antiquities for the Museo Michoacano en 1889.[44]

León produced a catalogue of the Oaxacan Museum's holdings, and a copy of this document can be found in the Technical Archive of the INAH in Mexico City, mistakenly identified as a list of objects in his own collection.[45] He probably created the inventory in 1892 when he began his work classifying the collection, although within the inventory there are notes that are written and dated by his brother, Francisco León Calderón. The earliest date is 1st of November, 1903, and we know that Franciso was curator of the Museo de Oaxaca from 1896 to around 1910.[46] He had also worked in the Morelia Museum as a taxidermist, was dedicated to photography, and like his brother, dealt in antiquities. Therefore it would not be surprising that the two brothers worked together to form the inventory, and there are other instances where the two brothers mention each other on collaborative projects.[47] The other possibility is that Nicolás León started the list and Francisco, as curator, completed it as new information became available.

Despite the attempts to reorganize the Museum at the time of Mexico's Centennial (1910) it was still a modest institution, and Andrés Portillo

[43] See Francisco Belmar, *Breve reseña histórica y geográfica del Estado de Oaxaca* (Oaxaca: Imprenta de Comercios, 1901), 94-95; Nicolás León, "Un nuevo documento, Geroglífica Maya," *Memorias de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate,*" tomo X, 1896-1897, Imprenta del Gobierno Federal en el ex-Arzobispado, México (1897): 355.

[44] Antonio Arriaga, "El Doctor Nicolás León y el Museo Michoacano," *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* 12, no. 41 (1959): 35.

[45] AT/DMP/INAH, microfilm roll 50, tomo LXXXV, estado de Oaxaca, Varios 1917-1949, vol. II. The Index to the Archive claims the 236 page document to be "An inventory of the archaeological objects of the collection of Dr. Nicolás León" (Moll 1982: 59, no. 658), but the first page of the document states: "General inventory of the archaeological objects that pertain to the Institute of Sciences and Arts of the State of Oaxaca, and that was formed more than fifty years ago by Mr. Nicolás León. Copy sent by Félix Martínez Dolz." The last page of the document says: "I attest that there are one hundred and seven pages in this inventory = F. León C. = signed = Oaxaca. Dec. (?) 1941. This is a simple copy of the original." Since the document has 236 double-spaced typed pages we can suppose that the original was perhaps handwritten on ledger paper. This copy was forwarded to the INAH by Félix Martínez Dolz, Director of the Oaxacan Museum, on the 7th of November 1942.

[46] Nicolás León, "*Arqueología Zapoteca*. Memoria leída por el Dr. Nicolás León en la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística la noche del 24 de abril de 1900," no. 4, Tipografía de "El Tiempo," Cerca de Santo Domingo, México, 1900, p. 164.

[47] Nicolás León mentions his brother Francisco in a study they carried out together on pre-Hispanic metalurgy. They also took a trip together to explore the ruins and a cave near Teotitlán del Camino, but in this case Nicolás León takes care not to mention his brother by name in his report, possibly to avoid charges of nepotism, in AGN/IPBA, box 151, folder 11, pp. 146-183.

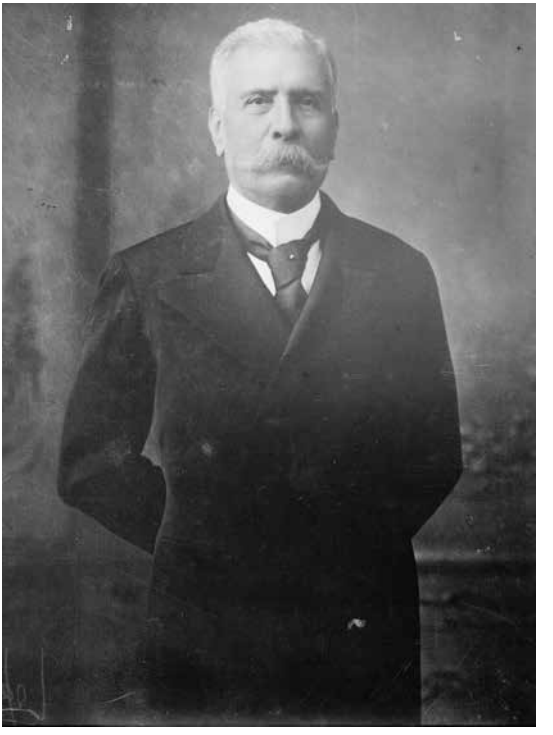
would describe it as "not quite as extensive and varied as it could be, but it certainly contains a number of historical and ancient pieces, as well as works of art, and a variety of natural products that reveal what the State of Oaxaca has and what it can be."[48] While the Museo de Oaxaca continued to be an anemic institution, the truly large collections remained in private hands.

[48] Andres Portillo, *Oaxaca en el Centenario de la Independencia Nacional*, facsimile 1998 (Oaxaca: Ayuntamiento de Oaxaca de Juárez, 1910), 34.

CHAPTER 5
THE *PORFIRIATO* AND THE POLITICS OF ARCHAEOLOGY

An intensive era of archaeological collecting and discovery occurred throughout Mexico—and in particular in Oaxaca—during the *Porfiriato*, a political and historical period named after the dictator-president, Porfirio Díaz (Figure 26).

Figure 26: Porfirio Díaz in civilian dress, 1907.



United States Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Online Catalog.

Díaz was omnipresent in the country's politics for three and a half decades, and re-elected to the presidency seven times, from 1876 until his self-imposed exile to France in the summer of 1911. At the beginning of this era, Mexico was a nation whose confidence was badly shaken, torn apart by war and internal divisions. Then under the slogan of "*poca política y mucha administración*" (little politics and lots of administration), Díaz imposed order on the embattled nation and implemented a host of political and economic changes. Generous lines of credit became available and foreigners were encouraged to invest in the country's growing infrastructure, leading to a renewal of confidence in the financial markets and the stabilization of the peso. These measures, coupled with the construction of hundreds of miles of railroad, and investment in mines and factories, ushered in an era of great prosperity for those who had the means to tap the opportunities produced. The Rickards family, two generations of English miners in Oaxaca, is typical of the foreign investors that flourished during the era. Constantine Rickards Jr., a well-known collector of antiquities whose wealth was wiped out by ill-timed investments and the Revolution, reflected on life under the leader:

> [After Juárez] came the wonderful rule of General Porfirio Díaz who made Mexico safe from the northern State of Chihuahua to the border of Guatemala. During his regime, Mexico was developed and credit was acquired and Mexico was respected by all the world and considered as one of the civilized nations… it is useless for people who did not see the benefits the Díaz regime to talk about the wonders of the Revolution. To be able to make comparisons, one must have seen both. All educated and decent Mexicans will tell you this.[1]

Men like Rickards thrived in the halcyon days of the Porfirian regime, in part due to notable improvements that occurred to his home city of Oaxaca during the last decades of the nineteenth century, when electricity and drainage systems were installed, a theatre, a market, a park, a branch of the National Bank and a new building for the Institute of Arts and Science were all constructed. While the city was modernizing, the population also grew by 2 percent annually. The introduction of the railway had made the city much more accessible, especially the narrow-gauge line that connected the city of Puebla with Oaxaca via Tehuacan in 1892, built with British capital. An international cocktail of Spaniards, French, Americans, Germans and English flooded the State and invested in the mining and agricultural industries, while others opened up shops to equip these industries and introduced

[1] Constantine Rickards in 1933. Unpublished document in the possession of his grandson, George Rickards.

the local population to a wide variety of imported goods.[2] In 1900 there were 866 foreigners living in Oaxaca, but ten years later this figure had more than doubled to 2 026.[3] The benign political climate and relative calm that reigned in Mexico was also conducive to advancements in the arts and sciences; museums and theatres sprang to life, and during Díaz's rule over fifty scientific organizations were created, resulting in an impressive array of publications on every subject.[4]

Hans Gadow, an English naturalist who journeyed through Mexico with his wife at the height of the *Porfiriato*, between 1902 and 1904, gives us an idea of the intellectual and social life of the time. While visiting Oaxaca the pair took advantage of the hospitality of Abraham Castellanos, their cicerone during their stay. A dinner party was thrown for the English couple (mortified at having to attend an elegant affair in their camping clothes) where they rubbed elbows with the crème de la crème of the state's society, the Governor, directors of institutions, several consuls and all their wives. This is Gadow's snapshot of the social interaction that took place that evening:

> …the conversation during the long and choice dinner was as animated as it was interesting. It was polyglot; you could speak, or at least listen to Spanish, English, German, French, Norwegian, Misteca, and Zapoteca, whilst Sr. Belmar, the linguist, had half-a-dozen other native idioms up his sleeve. Even Latin was attempted as a joke.[5]

From his description we can appreciate that Oaxaca's elite was thriving intellectually, yet despite the considerable advances in the economy and institutions, there was a distinctly darker side to this era of progress, modernization and foreign investment.

During the *Porfiriato* Mexican society was very much divided along the lines of rich and poor: in the top echelon were the wealthy landowners and professional class who embraced a western standard of living, and foreigners involved in a diversity of business ventures; a poor peasant class of Indians and Ladinos occupied the bottom ranks, who were confined to abject poverty

[2] Arthur D. Murphy, et al. *La cabeza de Jano. La desigualdad social en Oaxaca* (México: Instituto Estatal de Educación Pública de Oaxaca, 2002), 39-40.

[3] Francie R. Chassen and Héctor G. Martínez, "Desarrollo económico de Oaxaca a finales del Porfiriato." In *Oaxaca: textos de su historia*, edited by Margarita Dalton, vol. 4 (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, 1990), 50-55.

[4] Eli de Gortari, *La ciencia en la historia de México* (México: Editorial Grijalbo, 1980), 316-318.

[5] Hans Gadow, *Through Southern Mexico* (London: Witherby and Co., 1908), 265-266.

with little hope for social mobility. Again, Hans Gadow recorded a snapshot of this social divide with a sketch of a typical evening in Oaxaca City's main square:

> There were ladies and gentlemen in smart European dress, and amongst them hundreds of bare-footed natives, the women with a dark, mostly blue, *rebozo* (a sort of mantilla) over their head and shoulders, and the men wrapped in *zarapes* of many colors and patterns, and the usual sombrero.[6]

Government policies regarding Indians were often paternalistic and even oppressive. Cultural institutions were created to recuperate and disseminate a version of their pre-Hispanic past but the living indigenous population hardly benefitted, and was channeled toward industrial development under the banner of modernity and progress. In effect, they were exploited as a source of cheap labor. Criticism of these conditions was rarely tabled, although Mexican intellectuals did try to convince Díaz to improve their standard of living.[7] In the countryside a force of mounted police known as the *Rurales* brutally kept any grass roots dissention from forming, however. Ironically, the national and local press blossomed during this period, albeit unevenly, by skirting political issues considered taboo, such as the re-election of the President. The post-Revolutionary demonization of Díaz as a repressive dictator, often shown in the art of the time crushing Indians under a jack-boot, has softened somewhat in recent historical works. Many studies now show him in a more balanced light, and analyze his successes on par with his shortcomings.[8]

The great disparities in wealth were potentially explosive. Dissent could be put down by force, but early on Díaz realized that coercion alone would not bring about political stability. His solution was to foster a class of professionals consisting of doctors, lawyers, government administrators and intellectuals, who were handsomely compensated by political and economic favors for their support of the regime. Within the Latin American tradition his relationship to this professional strata has been characterized as "personalist,"[9] a mode of leadership that relied heavily on his interpersonal skills and

---

[6] Ibid. 263.

[7] See, for example, Thomas Powell, "Mexican Intellectuals and the Indian Question," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 48, no. 1 (1968): 19-36.

[8] For an excellent in-depth discussion on the historiography surrounding Díaz see Paul Garner, *Porfirio Díaz. Profiles in Power* (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 1-17.

[9] Charles C. Cumberland, *The Mexican Revolution, Genesis under Madero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1952), 7.

ability to incorporate his supporters into the state apparatus. Many of these ideas were rooted in the organizational precepts of Freemasonry (Díaz had long been a Mason) that championed the Enlightenment ideals of democracy, public service and patriotism.[10] The personalist strategy was particularly evident with his fellow Oaxacans, several of whom he placed in key positions in both the federal and state governments. This class of professionals thrived during the era, and their good fortune meant they had the economic means to pursue scholarly interests outside of their established professions, such as archaeological collecting.

With Díaz's attempts to reform the state and place Mexico on the world stage a shift in historical awareness also occurred, resulting in a boom in archaeological exploration, the development of large private collections of pre-Hispanic antiquities and an expansion of museums on a state and federal level. The liberal intellectuals who had survived the previous years of turmoil began to pen the nation's history in a different light, focusing on the perceived glories of an ancient pre-Hispanic past.[11] Involved in the rescue of Mexico's past were many antiquarians, historians, museums curators, and other cultural promoters, but the president was perhaps the greatest supporter. Díaz, whose mother was part Mixtec Indian, grew up in Oaxaca where he cut his teeth on local *criollo* politics and served as governor of the State in the war years 1863 and 1866, and twice between the years 1881 and 1883.[12] As one of his admiring biographers described, his inclination to retrieve his pre-Hispanic heritage was a natural tendency and a direct result of his childhood experiences among the Oaxacan ruins:

> The whole valley is riddled with tombs, among which, from Mitla to Oaxaca, the President of Mexico built his boyish castles, and marched his imaginary soldiers represented by ancient arrow-heads, knives of obsidian or painted bits of pottery, while the old tombs served as fortresses in which to hide. Now he regrets the sacrilege and destruction he committed in these mischievous days, and is doing his best to preserve these relics of the ancient past from further harm.[13]

[10] Paul Garner, *Porfirio Díaz. Profiles in Power* (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 28.

[11] Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought*, 412.

[12] The specific dates for Díaz's terms in office as governor of the state of Oaxaca are: Dec. 1, 1863 to Feb. 16, 1864; Oct. 31, 1866 to Dec. 11, 1866; Dec. 1, 1881 to July 27, 1882; Dec. 1, 1882 to Jan. 3, 1883. Source: Cayetano Esteva, "Gobernadores que ha tenido Oaxaca," *El Centenario*, no. 1 (August 15, 1910): 30-31.

[13] Ethel Alec-Tweedie, *The Maker of Modern Mexico*, 14.

A guilty conscience resulting from childhood antics may have come to bear on his interest in preserving antiquities, but a more likely explanation is that he recognized the benefits that could be derived from the opportune use of the past for nation building.

During the *Porfiriato*, popularized accounts of the Conquest became a new way of imaging the nation through a modern lens, and the promotion of a noble and pure ancestry, where virtuous Aztec kings heroically resisted Spanish cruelty, became a major theme in the era's art and politics.[14] The lens was set to project two ways: on the national front it was designed to instill a feeling of pride in a glorious past and to induce a more cohesive and patriotic society, one that would resurface through hard work and education; and on the international front it was designed to project a general vision of Mexico as a cultured and progressive nation.[15] The outward view was a cue taken directly from Western countries that had long since established strong links to their ancient heritage, namely the Egyptian, Greek, and Roman cultures that underwrite their society's principles in law, philosophy and art. Aspiring to be a modern nation with their European and North American counterparts, Díaz saw an opportunity to join the club of nations with an exalted past of its own. Mexico's participation in many of the World's fairs in the late nineteenth century, with extravagant pavilions laden with pre-Hispanic imagery, attest to this desire.[16]

La Inspección de Monumentos Arqueológicos

To fully understand the story of archaeological collecting during the *Porfiriato* it is necessary to examine Leopoldo Batres Huerta (1852-1926), the Federal Inspector for Archaeological Monuments who for twenty-five years dominated archaeological enterprise in Mexico and left an indelible mark on the period (Figure 27).

Batres was an enforcer with discretionary powers to limit and control archaeological exploration, and for this particular history he was the official link between the Oaxacan collectors and the Díaz regime. His central role

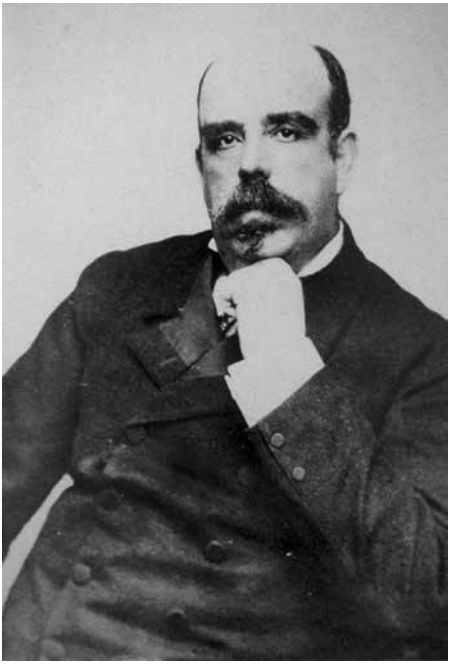
[14] Enrique Krauze, *La presencia del pasado* (México: BBVA Bancomer-Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005).

[15] María del Carmen Valderrama Zaldíver and Ana María Velasco Eizaguirre, *El arte prehispánico en el Porfiriato* (unpublished B.A. thesis) 2 vols. (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1981), vol. I: 5.

[16] Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (United States: University of California Press, 1996).

was implementing the government's program for protecting pre-Hispanic patrimony, but he was also active in disseminating a view of that past to the country and to the world.[17]

Figure 27: Leopoldo Batres Huerta (1852-1926),
the Federal Inspector for Archaeological Monuments.



In *Descubridores del Pasado en Mesoamérica*, 2001, p. 335.

The creation of a Federal Inspection was not an idea that was completely unique to Mexico. Rather, it was a near-universal response by countries with a history of colonization, who felt that their archaeological heritage was being undermined by foreign powers in the late nineteenth century who had sent out great expeditions of excavators and treasure-hunters. In that context a strong parallel to Batres can be seen in Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910), Director of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople and gatekeeper to the Ottoman Empires' archaeological riches. An accomplished painter, Hamdi Bey was educated in Paris and enjoyed a Westernized lifestyle that allowed

[17] Jaime Litvak and Sandra López Varela, "El patrimonio arqueológico: Conceptos y usos." In *El patrimonio nacional de México,* 2 vols. (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997), 137.

him to bridge the gap with non-Islamic colleagues. A diplomat, he held many influential government posts and eventually found himself with control over both the art and archaeology of the Empire, where he rewrote Turkish antiquities laws to prohibit archaeological discoveries from leaving the country. His omnipotent presence in the cultural politics of his country made him spectacularly unpopular with some foreign archaeologists who were barred from excavating, while others learned to work within the new nationalistic framework.[18] A similar situation took root in Mexico.

Early in Díaz's term many in the Government felt the need to shore up the laws and redouble the vigilance that protected the country's heritage, thus a Federal Inspection was a direct response to the growing problem of archaeological looting by both foreign and local agents. The country was opening up and becoming safer, and travel to previously isolated regions increased but, if left uncontrolled, this fresh influx of tourism posed a potential threat to archaeological sites. There was more than a mere perception that souvenir-seeking tourists were responsible for an occasional impropriety; substantial evidence existed that a number of foreign Consuls were taking advantage of their diplomatic status by excavating, collecting, and exporting large quantities of artifacts.[19] As offensive as those abuses were, the harsher rhetoric was saved for Mexicans who destroyed the nation's patrimony out of ignorance. In a proposal for a new museum and to justify some of the work he had accomplished while Inspector, Batres summarized his position on these topics to his superior, Joaquín Baranda, the Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction:

> At first glance the conservation of said [archaeological] monuments is not so hard as it looks, and for a relatively small sum we can appoint a number of caretakers to impede the curious foreigner, with designs to enrich the museums of his own country, and who destroys in order to appropriate the precious objects of our ancient civilizations. On the other hand, we should also avoid the injury and irreparable harm caused at the hands of the barbarian, none other than those sons of our country, destitute of all patriotism, who put aside the interests of their nation and embrace the despicable convenience of saving a few cents in order to purchase [archaeological] stones and other materials to build their huts and fences.[20]

[18] Robert G. Ousterhout, "Archaeologists and Travelers in Ottoman Lands. Three Intersecting Lives," *Expedition*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2010): 9-20.

[19] For a notorious case of abuse of Mexico's laws protecting archaeological artifacts see: Adam Sellen, "Nuestro hombre en México. Las hazañas del cónsul estadounidense Louis Henri Aymé, en Yucatán y Oaxaca," *Península* 1, no. 0 (2005): 147-166.

[20] Batres to Baranda, 13 March 1888, in AGN/SJIB, box 226, file 49, p. 74.

What is most surprising about Batres, a pre-eminent character in Mexico's archaeological development, is that to date no one has produced an exhaustive study about him. A fair amount of ink has been spent on his impact within the context of other works, however.[21] In this varied literature many authors comment on his acerbic personality and the bitter enemies he made of his fellow colleagues and the foreign archaeologists who worked under his watchful eye. Mexican writers tend to overlook his cronyism and extol his virtues as a defender of the country's heritage, while American writers focus on his arrogance and how he disrupted foreign plans to work in the country. Both groups are lukewarm about the depth of archaeological knowledge he left behind. Thus the view of Batres almost seems to depend on the nationality of the person writing about him. Ross Parmeter summed up the view from the North:

> He had worked in the Oaxaca region at the turn of the century and three things he had done there had already earned him Mrs. Nuttall's scorn and enmity. He had blocked her friend Alfred P. Maudslay from excavating in Monte Albán. He had taken credit for work at Mitla that actually had been accomplished by Mr. Saville with the financing of the Duke de Loubat. And at Mitla, Batres had ordered his own name carved in letters of gold on a lintel of the finest palace, the Hall of Columns.[22]

A view from the South is best illustrated by Bernal, in his *History of Mexican Archaeology*, where he characterizes him as the father of archaeological conservation in Mexico and on the American continent through his tireless efforts to procure public funds to restore and protect countless sites. This author also recognizes his failures, within the context of the times in which he worked, and described Batres as being a self-taught archaeologist

[21] For example see Ignacio Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archaeology*, 149-150; Christina Bueno, "*Forjando Patrimonio.* The Making of Archaeological Patrimony in Porfirian Mexico." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90 (2010): 215-245; Ian Graham, *Alfred Maudslay and the Maya*, 216-219; Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, *El pasado prehispánico en la cultura nacional*, vol. I (INAH, México: 1994), 39-44; Luisa Fernanda Rico Mansard, *Exhibir para educar*, 137-151; Leonardo Manrique Castañeda, "Leopoldo Batres" in *La Antropología en México: Panorama Histórico*, edited by Linda Odena Güemes and Carlos García Mora, vol. 9 (México: INAH, 1988): 242-257; Blanca Estela Suárez Cortés, "Las interpretaciones positivistas del pasado y el presente (1889-1919)," in *Antropología de México: Panorama histórico*, edited by Carlos García Mora, vol. 2 (México: INAH, 1987), 28-29; María del Carmen Valderrama and Ana María Velasco, *El arte prehispánico en el Porfiriato*, vol. I, 66-101.

[22] Ross Parmenter, "Glimpses of a Friendship, Zelia Nuttall and Franz Boas." In *Pioneers of American Anthropology* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1971): 110; Nuttall's displeasure with Batres is also evident in her article "The Island of Sacrificios," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vol. 12, no. 2 (1910): 257-295.

who without any benefit of technical skill or seriousness of purpose carried out large-scale excavations at Monte Albán, Mitla, Teotihuacán and Las Escalerillas in Mexico City. He noted that passing visitors would often elaborate better descriptions of his excavations than the Inspector, a point on which other scholars concur.[23] Further negative views on Batres center on his excavating techniques, and he is accused of using excessively heavy-handed methods, such as using dynamite in his 1905-1910 excavations of the pyramid of the Sun in Teotihuacán to make the work move along faster,[24] although Matos Moctezuma claims that this specific charge remains unproven.[25] These two views, on one hand a destructive and brutish force, and on the other, a concerned patriot responsible for conserving many of Mexico's well-known monuments, are at the core of his controversial character.

Nonetheless, our historical assessment of Batres should perhaps allow for a person of more complexity than has been illustrated to date. In my opinion his character changed dramatically during the course of his lifetime and career, from that of a young idealist eager to conserve and manage the country's archaeological heritage to an older and decidedly more paranoid figure who acted with animosity towards many in the field. Accordingly, statements about his character tend to vary depending where one focuses on the timeline of his life. Furthermore, assessments of Batres's work through the lens of present day archaeology will invariably show him in a negative light, and there are many examples, but few assess him from the point of view of his job description, as an inspector and conservator of monuments imbued with the legal power to halt unauthorized excavations. One must recognize, as the government did upon creating his office, that this figure was sorely needed

[23] Ignacio Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archaeology*, 149; Felipe Solís, "La época mexica revelada por los estudios arqueológicos." In *Descubridores del Pasado en Mesoamérica* (México: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, D.G.E. Ediciones, Turner publications, 2001), 337; Jane Maclaren Walsh, "Crystal Skulls and Other Problems." In *Exhibiting Dilemmas, Issues of Representation at the Smithsonian*, edited by Amy Henderson and Adrienne L. Kaeppler (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 125; Daniel Schávelzon, *La conservación del patrimonio cultural en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Arte Americano, 1990), 48.

[24] Daniel Schávelzon, *La conservación del patrimonio cultural en América Latina*, 64; Rubén Cabrera Castro, "La restauración Arquitectónica en Teotihuacán: Análisis Histórico." In *Conservación Arqueológica in situ. Actas de la Reunión 6-13 Abril 1986, México* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia de México e Instituto Getty de Conservación, 1993), 185.

[25] Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, "Teotihuacan." In *Descubridores del Pasado en Mesoamérica* (México: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, D.G.E. Ediciones, Turner publications, 2001), 259.

at that time given the amount of material that was being trafficked to other nations. Finally, few writers elaborate on his connection to the Mexican elite, in particular to the amateur archaeologists and collectors that he favored. With these connections he developed strategies to insure the protection of the monuments and the procurement of archaeological material for the Museo Nacional. These themes are central for understanding how Batres fits in with the Oaxacan collectors and with the development of Mexican archaeology.

On the 8th of October 1885, the Government created the position of General Inspector of Archaeological Monuments and Leopoldo Batres was handpicked for the job. The illegitimate son of Manuel Rubio, the strong man behind the dictator Díaz, Batres considered the president to be his brother-in-law because he had married his father's teenage daughter. While nepotism surely played a strong factor in his selection, there were undoubtedly other considerations whose echo can be found in a forgotten antecedent to the position of federal inspector. In the years 1880-1881 the Oaxacan born Lorenzo Pérez Castro was given the commission of inspector to accompany the French explorer Désiré Charnay on his journey throughout Mexico, beginning in the various sites located on the sides of the volcano Popocatépetl, and then on to Tula, Teotihuacán, Comalcalco and finally Palenque. Pérez Castro was a decorated military engineer who had served beside Díaz in many battles. During the conflict years he had headed a troop of *zapadores*, or trench diggers, and before he took his commission with the Charnay expedition he was the federal inspector of trains, so from the perspective of the government he had all the necessary skills to manage large-scale excavations. Furthermore, because he spoke fluent French, Díaz and the minister of foreign affairs felt that he was the perfect candidate to keep an eye on Charnay, with whose country they had recently reinitiated diplomatic relations.[26] Pérez Castro probably would have been appointed the federal inspector of archaeological monuments in 1885 had he not been murdered a year before. Since he was no longer available I believe the government looked for someone with a similar profile. Batres had a military background and spoke French from having spent time in Paris studying under the anthropologist Ernst-Théodore Hamy. His military record states that as a young man he was designated the Port Captain for Magdalena Bay in Baja California, a rather desolate outpost for anyone with ambition, but before he took his job as inspector he had obtained the rank of Captain of the Auxiliary Cavalry.[27] Batres was also said to come

[26] Information on Pérez Castro's career will be published in *A la sombra de Charnay*, manuscript in preparation by the author.

[27] Information from his military file *Batres, Leopoldo. Secretaría de Guerra y Marina*, in AMH, box 317, D/111-5/4528; and Antonio Payón to the Minister of Defence detailing a

from a wealthy family, an echelon where international diplomacy, commerce and antiquarianism mingled.[28]

Within the Ministry of Public Instruction and Justice the Inspection functioned as a sub-department. The inspector himself was given a diversity of powers: the right to name the sub-inspectors of the different regions and caretakers of the major archaeological sites known at the time; the ability to impede excavations and removal of objects without previous permission from the Ministry; and the obligation to send any artifacts received through donations, purchase or seizure, to the Museo Nacional.[29] This last responsibility conflicted with Batres' role as an avid antiquarian who profited from selling artifacts to private individuals and to the Museo Nacional, evidenced by the receipts that are on record.[30] These transactions raised an eyebrow, and once in 1896 an indignant Jesús Galindo y Villa, Director of the Museo Nacional's department of Archaeology, respectfully inquired if the Inspector was authorized to sell archaeological objects.[31] Anecdotal evidence suggests that he also sold objects to a select group of foreigners:

> It would be difficult to know what authorizations that this Inspector dictated to permit the exportation of artifacts; perhaps in his old office this data exists. Mr. Batres once said that Mrs. Seler-Sach acquired at his home some of the Teotihuacán "metallic reflecting" vases that are now in Berlin...[32]

This evidence would appear to contradict much of Batres' earlier writings where he emphasized a careful management of the country's cultural

history of leave of absences for Leopoldo Batres, Captain of the Calvary 2nd Class, 10 September 1885, in AGN/SJIB, box 226, file 49, pp. 2-2r.

[28] Luisa Fernanda Rico Mansard, *Exhibir para educar*, 137.

[29] Manuel Dublán and José Ma. Lozano, *Legislación Mexicana*, vol. 17 (México: Edición Oficial, 1911), 314.

[30] Receipt for a Zapotec urn made of wood sold by Leopoldo Batres to the National Museum, 20 February 1920, AH/MNA, vol. 33, file 7, p. 17, 20; Receipt written in Batres's hand: "…for the quantity of $100.37 pesos for Zapotec antiquities from distinct localities, acquired by me in the State of Oaxaca and that I have sold to this establishment [signed] Leopold Batres," 10 April 1881, in AH/MNA, vol. 5, file 20, p. 79.

[31] Transcription of Dr. Urbina of the opinion of Jesús Galindo y Villa on the proposed sale of archaeological objects by the Inspector of Monuments, Mr. Batres, 27 July 1896, AH/AMN, vol. 256, file 43, f. 96.

[32] *Historia sobre la sustracción de objetos arqueológicos de la República Mexicana*, unpublished manuscript, 1933, with seals from the Department of pre-Hispanic Monuments. The Author is unknown but is was probably Jorge Enciso, the then Director of the Department, in AHI/DG/INAH vol. II, file 59, p. 196.

patrimony and an aversion to exporting artifacts to foreign interests, belying a common nationalistic discourse that was often ignored when money and objects changed hands.

Guillermo Heredia

The inspector's connection to a web of wealthy antiquarians played a central role in his procurement of archaeological materials for the Museo Nacional. His relationship to Guillermo Heredia, a prominent Mexico City architect, shows how the State's collecting binge resulted in a profitable enterprise for the private collectors and for Batres himself. Heredia came from a long line of architects. His father, Vicente, had converted the church of San Agustín into the Biblioteca Nacional in the second half of the nineteenth century. Like his father before him, Guillermo gave classes in the History of Art at the Academia de San Carlos at the beginning of the twentieth century and one of his students was none other than the Mexican painter Diego Rivera.[33] The most famous work of the architect is the monument dedicated to Benito Juárez, a colonnaded white marble hemicycle in Hellenistic style that spans over five hundred meters on the south side of the Alameda Park in Mexico City.[34] Batres also used the architect's services to inspect his excavations on Guatemala street (in the part known as *las Escalerillas*) in Mexico City, which were feared to be undermining the integrity of the neighboring buildings.[35]

Apart from his architectural endeavors, Heredia was an exuberant collector of the fine arts and was wealthy enough to indulge. In 1902 he lent twenty-one paintings from his private collection to a benefit exposition for victims of the earthquake in the State of Guerrero. The list of paintings included examples from old masters such as Rembrandt, Rubens, Brueghel, Velázquez, Poussin and Van Eyck.[36] He also had interests in collecting archaeological

[33] Details on Heredia's life were gleaned from Israel Katzman, *Arquitectura de Siglo XIX en México*, vol. I. (México: Centro de Investigaciones Arquitectónicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1973) 281, and archival sources, A/AASC 9609 and 9893-7.

[34] Heredia's design for the hemicycle won out another that was based on ancient Zapotec style that the commission judged as 'brave' but inappropriate. See Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, "1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the Centenario," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 97.

[35] "La exploraciones arqueológicas…¿Hay peligro de derrumbe?" *El Imparcial*, November 7,1900.

[36] A/AASC 9588.

objects and according to one assessment accumulated a total of thirty-three separate collections purchased from various collectors throughout Mexico.[37] Wealthy connoisseurs such as Heredia paid middlemen to assemble collections for them via a type of armchair antiquarianism that differed from those who either excavated directly or bargained with *campesinos* for the artifacts they had discovered. Heredia's hired middleman was Wilhelm Bauer Thoma (Figure 28), a German national and self-made expert on antiquities.

Figure 28: Wilhelm Bauer Thoma in Oaxaca, 1902.

Photograph courtesy of the Ibero-American Institute, Seler Archive.

Not only did he procure objects for the architect but he was also charged with the task of cataloguing and documenting them.[38] Bauer Thoma's images of objects that ended up in Heredia's collection show a large number of Oaxacan objects, mostly Zapotec effigies and other elaborate vessels (Figure 29 and 30). He also acquired similar materials for Eduard Seler. Their reputations came into question when many of those turned out to be fakes.

[37] AGN/IPBA, box 155, file 28, p. 12.

[38] Many of these photographs are now in museums in Germany, such as the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin and the Museum in Bremen. See Viola König and Peter Kröfges, "Archaeological and Ethnographic Collections from Oaxaca, Mexico at the Übersee-Museum Bremen."

Figure 29: Ceramic effigy vessels in the Guillermo Heredia collection.

In Viola König, and Peter Kröfges, "Archaeological and Ethnographic Collections from Oaxaca, Mexico at the Übersee-Museum Bremen." *TenDenZen,* 2001, p. 128.

Figure 30: Ceramic effigy vessels in the Guillermo Heredia collection.

Photograph courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, Saville Archives.

Table 3: List of the collections comprising the Heredia collection[39]

1. Tarascan collection from Mr. Ramón Alcázar	10 000
2. Three collections from Mr. G. Bauer	12 000
3. Various collections bought through Mr. Daniel Pérez	10 000
4. Two Zapotec collections from Mr. Abraham Castellanos	2 500
5. One Zapotec collection from Mr. F. Belmar	4 000
6. Various collections bought through Mr. Juan Traslosheros Soto	6 000
7. Various collections from Mr. L. Batres	8 000
8. One Tarascan collection from Mr. P. Prado Tapia	3 000
9. One collection from Mr. Escalante	7 500
10. One Pánuco collection from Mr. A. Gutierrez Cortina	2 500
11. One collection from Mr. A. Ruiz Olavarrieta	8 000
12. One Papantla collection from Mr. Martínez	5 000
13. One collection from Mr. Francisco Reyes	2 000
14. One collection of gold objects from Dr. Schmichtloin	2 800
15. One collection from Mr. Echaniz	1 500
16. One collection from Mrs. Garcia Tervel	1 500
17. One collection from Mr. Hunt Cortés	1 500
18. One collection from the Van Schenek sisters	3 000
19. Various collections from Mr. Meneses	2 000
20. One collection from Mr. G. Dorner	2 500
21. Various collections bought through the Abadiano brothers	3 000
22. One Tlatelolco collection from Mr. Ramos	1 500
23. One Orizaba collection from Mr. Spaulding	600
24. One Tarascan collection from Mr. Villaseñor	600
25. One collection from the Arellano brothers	800
26. One collection from the widow and sons of Alejandro Cesarín	800
27. One Matlazinca collection from the priest of Coatlinchan	500
28. One huipil from Mr. L. Batres	1 800
29. Various misc. objects	4 000
Salary for Mr. Bauer's classification, $150 monthly for four years	7 200
Rent for the houses on no. 8 San Geronimo and no. 15 San Felipe at $60 during five years	
Photographs of the collection	2 000
TOTAL SUM	**125 300**

[39] *Colección arqueológica mexicana del Sr. D. Guillermo de Heredia. Lista de las diversas colecciones refundidas en ella con indicación del precio á que fueron adquiridas y otros gastos originados por la conservación y arreglo de dicha colección*, AH/MNA, vol. 14, pp. 158-159.

Batres was not a salaried 'middleman' like Bauer Thoma, but Heredia was his client. When the architect decided to sell his entire collection to the Museo Nacional in 1909 for the exorbitant price of one hundred and twenty thousand pesos,[40] he compiled a list that documented the different origins of his holding to the Secretary of Public Instruction; the inspector's name appears twice on that list (see Table 3). Heredia noted that all the objects were rigorously selected from the point of view of their aesthetic qualities and their interest to archaeology and boasted that he possessed many unique pieces, such as two complete tombs, a wooden statue, a stone effigy of a *teponaxtle* (a wooden drum), the monument of the "Cacique" and a relief carving from Papantla, Veracruz. In the list he also mentions the Oaxacan collectors Belmar and Castellanos, who had sold parts of their collections to the Museo Nacional in 1901 and in 1902 respectively, so it is not clear whether Heredia purchased selections from these two men before they entered the Museum or in the years after.

The list reads as a veritable Who's Who of wealthy collectors in Mexico. A few of these names are recognizable magnates of their time, such as Ramón Alcázar of Guanajuato who made his money in mining and had a museum installed in his home, and Alejandro Ruiz Olavarrieta of Puebla, the founder of the Monte de Piedad pawnshop, whose collection of over 300 European masters eventually became part of the Academia de San Carlos in 1908.[41] Others belong to Mexico's political and intellectual elite, such as Juan Traslosheros Soto who was a *regidor* in Puebla, and the Abadiano brothers, Francisco and Eufemio, owners of an antiquities and book store in Mexico City who had taken casts of the *Piedra de Sol*. Although we known little about Batres' personal wealth, his association with this group of wealthy collectors suggests that he conflated the antiquities business with the duties of his position to enrich himself.

Batres' discretionary powers were substantial and he could make or break any archaeologist who wished to explore the ancient ruins. Although the

[40] In order to justify the large sum of money he was asking, Heredia made a reference to the part of the collection from the Mixtec-Zapotec cultures that "was two or three times larger than Sologuren's collection purchased in forty thousand pesos" in 1907. He also argued that Eduard Seler and Bauer Thoma had valued the collection at two hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand pesos, significantly more than what he was asking. He was probably inflating Seler's opinion of its worth. Antonio Peñafiel received a letter from Seler in June of 1909 where he quoted the German scholar's opinion verbatim for Justo Sierra. Seler said that he knew the collection well, and that in his view it was worth more than Sologuren's, however he only placed a value of fifty to sixty thousand pesos for the entire lot.

[41] Ana Garduño, "El coleccionismo decimonónico y el Museo Nacional de San Carlos," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 93 (2008): 199-212.

power structure of the Porfirian government was highly vertical, the creation of the office of Inspection was not designed to quell scientific discovery nor smother innovation, rather it was to reinforce the cultural and educational policies of the Secretaría de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes; among whose goals was the notion that the pre-Hispanic past could serve as a tool to foment nationalistic cohesion among the populace. Many have been critical of the politics of the Porfirian government regarding the pre-Hispanic past, and as Schávelzon notes, the State's museum building efforts helped justify the exploitation of the indigenous population by presenting the monuments as a requiem for dead, long-past cultures lacking connections to the present.[42]

With the congressional decree of 1897, known as the *Ley de Monumentos Arqueológicos*, the Inspector's legal position was reinforced. Many of the former laws that governed pre-Hispanic heritage were represented in one all-encompassing measure that was designed to protect archaeological sites from looting and degradation, but most importantly, ruins and artifacts were now decreed property of the Nation. In the beginning, however, the idea of a Federal Inspector was so novel that he spent the first year of his job as Inspector simply informing people of the new department and his authority. In order to comply with his mandate he had to probe the limits of the prevailing laws and procedures governing antiquities, a process that was often wrought with controversy and legislative wrangling.[43] In short, when Batres began his job the task was Herculean, and he tackled his duties with a great deal of energy.

His first year in office illustrates some of the strategies he would later use in Oaxaca. Two months after being named Inspector he had visited the ruins of Huexotla, Texcoco, and Teotihuacán, appointing caretakers at these sites. He immediately ran into trouble with the municipality of Texcoco, where a man by the name of Santiago Varela was opening a road straight through one of the town's larger pyramids, known as *El Cuate*. Batres immediately denounced this as an attack on "science and civilization" and had the operation stopped.[44] However, the pyramid was on land belonging to the spouse of

[42] Daniel Schávelzon, *La conservación del patrimonio cultural en América Latina*, 48.

[43] At the time there were a variety of measures in force to protect antiquities. The Juárez government had tabled a measure in 1868 that specifically protected archaeological monuments by prohibiting private citizens from excavating ruins and exporting antiquities. Furthermore, there was a diversity of checks in the Civil and Penal codes, as well as prohibitions on export enforced by Customs officials. In 1897, the comprehensive *Ley de Monumentos* replaced this assortment of laws by making all archaeological remains property of the Nation.

[44] Batres to Baranda, 20 November 1885, in AGN/SJIB, box 226, file 49, pp. 45-46. Other documents that refer to the case are in box 227, file 3, pp. 15-16; 36; 39-40.

Varela, who by virtue of marriage, insisted on his wife's rights as property owner to continue mining the structure for building material. In this episode we can see some of Batres' initial brilliance, because it was precisely Santiago Varela who he appointed as the "concierge and caretaker" of *all* the archaeological monuments in Texcoco.[45] By placing him in an honorific and supervisory role he expected him to comply with the new measures. Unfortunately the strategy failed, and Varela continued to mine the structure for stone based on the argument that it was their private property, but now Batres was able to challenge him using the very oath he had taken as caretaker to protect the ruins. Ultimately, the Inspector blamed his failure to protect the pyramid on the fact that his authority was a new concept and was still not recognized, but he was not to abandon the strategy of placing the offender in charge of the very ruins they were despoiling, and used it again when he appointed a sub-Inspector for the State of Oaxaca (see Chapter 6).

On the margins of these measures several collectors—many native Oaxacans with direct personal links to the country's leader—were allowed to freely assemble and even profit from their archaeological cabinets, as unofficial compensation for their support of the regime. These gentlemen collectors mingled with travelers who had been dispatched to the artifact-rich area from European and North American museums, some with archaeological training, but many with the same skill sets as their local counterparts. The collecting practices of nationals and foreigners also resulted in an ever-increasing demand for pre-Hispanic artifacts, which in turn established an antiquities market for a class of connoisseurs and dilettanti.[46] The convergence of the intellectual movement with the market forces, coupled with a greater emphasis on cultural institutions such as museums, led to what can be termed as the golden age of collecting.

[45] At the time these were identified as: *"Las ruinas de Texcozingo; Ahuehuetes del Contador; Cerro del Cuate; dos cerros de los Melones situados en el barrio de San Lorenzo; y los Ahuehuetes del mismo barrio; el Cerro que está en el barrio de San Juan y demás monumentos que se encuentren de la Antigüedad en estas cercanías."* Batres to Baranda, 28 September 1886, AGN/SJIB, box 226, file 49, pp. 39-40.

[46] Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, *El pasado prehispánico en la cultura nacional*, vol. II, 23.

CHAPTER 6
"THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CLUB"

In the city of Oaxaca, during the early years of the *Porfiriato*, an informal and highly personalized network of professionals was formed around an obsession with collecting the pre-Hispanic past. Sebastián van Doesburg has coined a name for this group: "The Archaeological Club."[1] There were four men at its core: Fernando Sologuren, a medical doctor, Francisco Belmar, a lawyer, Manuel Martínez Gracida, a government bureaucrat and Abraham Castellanos, a teacher. They were all roughly the same age, Castellanos being the junior, and together they would often make excursions together to archaeological sites.[2] In the historical record their professional lives are not particularly prominent (although Belmar eventually became a Supreme Court judge), and they are better known for the intellectual interests they developed in life: Sologuren had an impressive archaeological museum installed in his home; Belmar was a notable linguist; Martínez Gracida is well known for his many published works on Oaxacan history; and Castellanos, a Mixtec Indian, established himself as a fine poet and author. The members of this circle existed, first and foremost, as an intellectual community with a singular interest in archaeology and the origins of the ancient inhabitants of their state. They put into motion an impressive network of people, documents, and objects that reached far beyond the borders of their state and country. A picture published by Caecilie Seler-Sachs illustrates an outing taken in 1895, and shows the German researcher Eduard Seler and his wife Caecilie enjoying a picnic on Monte Albán accompanied by all three members of the archaeological club and many local personalities (Figure 31).[3] The following is their story.

[1] Sebastián Van Doesburg, "Los lienzos pictográficos de Don Francisco Belmar," *Mexicon*, vol. XX (1998): 52.

[2] Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari, "La excursión a Mitla." In Manuel Francisco *Las Ruinas de Mitla y la Arquitectura* (México: Talleres de la Escuela N. de Artes y Oficios para Hombres, Ex-convento de San Lorenzo, 1895), 27.

[3] The original photo is part of the Seler archive at the Ibero-American Institute. The names of Fernando Sologuren, Manuel Martínez Gracida and Abraham Castellanos are

Figure 31: Archaeological outing to Monte Albán in 1895.

In Caecilie Seler-Sachs *Auf alten Wegen in Mexiko und Guatemala*, 1900, plate VII.

Fernando Sologuren and his archaeological collection

A medical doctor who was prominent in Oaxacan society, Dr. Fernando Sologuren (1850-1918) is without a doubt one of the most prolific collectors of antiquities in Mexican history (Figure 32). The story of Sologuren and his collection shows the beginnings of favoritism in the Porfirian political structure that over time would frame the way archaeology was carried out in the state for almost two decades.

In his lifetime he acquired an impressive variety of ancient materials: hundreds of ceramic effigy vessels, dozens of Mixtec polychrome vessels, a rich array of objects of clay, stone, shell, bone, and precious metals, and even fragments of pre-Hispanic cloth. Two collections existed: the first was formed over a period of three decades during the *Porfiriato* and was acquired

written under the photo. Francisco Belmar's name is notably absent. Manuel Bustamante, the man who owned the land on Monte Albán, is also present, sitting next to Eduard Seler on the picnic cloth.

Figure 32: Fernando Sologuren (1850-1918).

Photograph courtesy of Lucero Topete Vargas.

by the Museo Nacional in 1907; the second, much smaller, was assembled between the years 1907 and 1918 and was inherited by his daughter Mercedes after his death.[4] Today the bulk of his collecting legacy is in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City, either in storage or on display, although many of the objects that were obtained by this institution at the beginning of the twentieth century have been dispersed, via exchanges, to various institutions in Mexico and outside the country, making it difficult to assess the scope of the original collection.[5]

There is little in the way of published information about his life, but fortunately his descendants have provided enriching details.[6] Originally from

[4] Parochial records show that he was 68 when he died on April 10, 1918, in AGN microfilm, Oaxaca, Oax. J.I.T. Sagrario Parroquia, Rollo #33084, Deaths 1915-1924. Book #49. There was also a brief necrology published on April 12, 1918, in the national Mexican newspaper *Excélsior*.

[5] The list is endless, but I have found his material in the Museum of Cultures of Oaxaca, Oaxaca City, the Carlos Pellicer Archaeological Museum in Villahermosa, Tabasco, the Museum of Dolores Olmedo Patiño in Xochimilco, Mexico City, and the Peabody Museum of Harvard, Boston.

[6] I am indebted to Lucero Topete Vargas for much of the personal and geneological information about the Sologuren family. The doctor had one legitimate child, Mercedes, who died in 1964 without producing children, so there are few direct descendents with informa-

Orizaba, Veracruz, at the age of twenty-five Sologuren moved to Oaxaca City with his brother Rafael sometime around 1875. A few years later he completed studies in medicine in Mexico City, specializing in surgery.[7] In Oaxaca he was an important leader in the political community, heading the conservative and pro-Porfirian Catholic Party and occupying the post of Municipal President in 1912. He was also a member of the commission that put together the State's contribution to the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900.[8] One of the few learned physicians in the State at the time, he instructed at the principal educational institutions of the city, the Centro de Educación Normal de Oaxaca, and the Instituto de Ciencias y Artes del Estado. Family members recall that he was the first to introduce injections in the state of Oaxaca, earning him the nickname of "Solopiquete" (a name that translates literally as "just a pin-prick"). According to a local chronicler, Ángel Taracena, he was enamored of any new technology and was always abreast of the latest invention. He was one of the first people in the city to acquire a bicycle, making him popular with the ladies as he made his medical rounds. The chronicler also adds that he had a weakness for "domestics," resulting in several illegitimate children.[9]

The historian Jorge Fernando Iturribarría revealed some of his nobler qualities in this biographical sketch:

> Dr. Fernando Sologuren was one of the most knowledgeable and progressive physicians in Oaxaca. His character was gentle and interesting, typical of a man

tion. Mrs. Topete Vargas is the grandchild of Rafael Sologuren, brother of Fernando. Rafael married María de la Luz Esperón in 1891 but then died a few years later. Also very helpful was Lucero's mother, Ana-María de la Luz Vargas Sologuren. Although she had never met Fernando Sologuren the stories about his life and that of his brother were passed down.

[7] Medical school records show that Fernando Sologuren entered studies December 31, 1875 and completed his degree on November 11, 1879, AEM FEMIA, box 39, folder 31.

[8] Víctor Raúl Martínez, "La educación en Oaxaca. Del Porfiriato a los primeros gobiernos posrevolucionarios, 1890-1930," *Lecturas históricas del estado de Oaxaca, vol. IV, 1877-1930*, compiled by Ma. de los Ángeles Romero Frizzi, Colección Regiones de México (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca, 1990), 439; Ethel Alec-Tweedie, *Mexico As I Saw It* (London: Hurst and Blackett Limited, 1901), 370; Anselmo Arellanes Meixueiro, editor, *Diccionario Histórico de la Revolución en Oaxaca* (Oaxaca: UABJO, IEEPO, 1997), 203; List of persons from Oaxaca who formed the committee from the State of Oaxaca for the work relative to their participation in the Universal Exposition in Paris of 1900, in AGN/EE, box 24, folder 15.

[9] Ángel Taracena, *Efemérides oaxaqueñas*, 161; Martínez Gracida recorded that he married Merced de la Rosa and had three children with her: Fernando, Joaquín and Mercedes. Nonetheless, family members maintain that only Mercedes was legitimate, in AHM/APP, roll 7.2.50.

> of science. He was the first doctor in Oaxaca to visit his clients in horse drawn buggy. He dressed with dignity and elegance. His skin was light colored and he used glasses. He lived and died in this city in the house on Liberty street number 5. He was a man dedicated to archaeological study and possessed a magnificent collection that now bears his name in the Museo Nacional in Mexico. Sologuren was one of the first to explore the archaeological monuments in Oaxaca —under his own financial burden—, and of course, keeping for himself the products of those excavations. But he did not do it for personal gain, but to investigate and augment the size of his collection, of which he was a fanatic.[10]

The doctor had many affiliations in his community, from medicine to politics, but he is remembered for his passion for archaeology. The travel writer Alec Tweedie confirms that he spent all his spare time excavating,[11] and his descendants tell how he would hire donkeys on the weekends to visit the ruins of Monte Albán "*solo de ojo"* (just to look around). With horse and buggy he travelled to outlying regions of the state to visit patients, learning of the locations of previously unexplored graves and ruins.

The doctor not only acquired objects through self-directed excavation, Caecilie Seler-Sachs tells us of how he relied upon a web of family members living in Oaxaca who would collect for him, and that many of his poorer patients paid for his services with artifacts.[12] Once an Indian from the town of Xoxocotlán paid his consultation fee with a fistful of pre-Hispanic golden bells (the type that decorated ancient clothing) which the farmer had been

---

[10] Author's translation of: *"El Dr. Fernando Sologuren. Uno de los médicos más estudioso y avanzado de Oaxaca. Aspecto agradable e interesante, de hombre de ciencia. Fue el primer médico que en Oaxaca acostumbró hacer visitas a sus clientes en coche (no automóvil). Vestia con dignidad y elegancia. Era de color moreno claro, usaba lentes. Vivió y murió en la casa número 5 de los calles de la Libertad de esta ciuda. Fue un hombre muy aficionado a los estudios arqueológicos. Poseía una magnífica colección que llevaba su nombre y que ahora se encuentra en el Museo Nacional de Arqueología en Mexico. Sologuren fue uno de los primeros que empezaron a explorar monumentos arqueológicos en Oaxaca, por su cuenta, por supuesto, reservándose los productos de la explicaciones. Pero no hacía esto por lucro, sino por investigar y aumentar su colección, de la que era un fanático."* Ignacio Bernal, *Correspondencia de Nicolás León con Joaquín García Icazbalceta* (México: UNAM, 1982), 304-305, footnote 3. The information regarding the location of his home may be incorrect. In a document written by Sologuren himself, he asked the city for permission to install running water in his residence, "house number 2 on the second street "La Libertad." In AH/MCO, vol. 2, 1901, file 11, p. 38. This street is now called García Vigil, and puts his home very near the main square and the Cathedral.

[11] Ethel Alec-Tweedie, *Mexico As I Saw It*, 364.

[12] Viola König, "Eduard Seler y Caecilie Seler-Sachs en Oaxaca." In Eduard and Caecilie Seler: *Sistematización de los estudios americanistas y sus repercusiones*. Edited by Renata von Hanffstengal and Cecilia Tercero Vasconcelos (México: CONACULTA-INAH, 2003), 329.

using to load his hunting musket. When Sologuren asked him the origin of the valuable shot, the man took him to a mound and showed him the tomb where he had extracted the artifacts.[13] These snapshots demonstrate that he used a variety of means to acquire archaeological material, but it is difficult to ascertain which artifacts he received through intermediaries and those that were directly excavated by him.

Over the years his collection grew in importance and became a magnet for travelers passing through Oaxaca wishing to see pre-Hispanic artifacts. The American archaeologist Marshall H. Saville described it as the finest private collection of antiquities in Mexico.[14] The collection was much more extensive than the State museum's, and in 1895 the Congress of Americanists, while touring sites in Oaxaca, made a special appointment to see it.[15] Considered a national treasure, many believed it necessary to move the gem to an established museum; some Mexicans wanted it to become part of the national collections in Mexico City, while the English writer Alec-Tweedie, imperiously questioned why it was not destined for the British Museum, in order to save it from "mediocrity."[16] Eduard Seler made the most rational, non-partisan plea: "…[should] the opportunity arise to donate this material, so beautiful and rich, to a public museum, where removed from the vicissitudes of human experience, it will be conserved for posterity."[17]

Sologuren had opened his private museum in his home (on La Libertad street, now called García Vigil), in the city of Oaxaca.[18] A frequent visitor

[13] Gerardo de Esesarte, *Viajes en la zona Maya y Oaxaca* (México: Edamex, 1995), 8.

[14] Marshall H. Saville, "Exploration of Zapotecan Tombs in Southern Oaxaca," *American Anthropologist* 1, no. 2 (1899): 351.

[15] Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, *El pasado prehispánico en la cultura nacional,* México, vol. I, 284.

[16] These views were expressed in the press: "Saqueo de sepulcros antiguos," *El Imparcial*, April 35, 1907, in Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, *El pasado prehispánico en la cultura nacional*, vol. II, 349; and also in travel books: Ethel Alec-Tweedie, *Mexico As I Saw It*, 366; Eugenio Espino Barro, *México en el Centenario de su Independencia 1810-191* (México: Gran Establecimiento Tip-Litográfico de Müller Hermanos, 1910), 312.

[17] Viola König, "Eduard Seler y Caecilie Seler-Sachs en Oaxaca," 334. *"... que se ofreciera la oportunidad de entregar ese material tan hermoso y rico a un museo público, para que, alejado de las peripecias de la existencia humana, se conservara para la posteridad."*

[18] Pascual Mongne wrote that if Sologuren "wasn't a falsifier, he at least was soliciting the production of fakes." The author believes these fakes were fabricated and sold in a storefront in the middle of town. However, there is no evidence that the doctor operated a store in town and to date no object from his collection has been proven to be a fake. Pascual Mongne, "Les Urnes Funéraires Zapoteques: Collectionnisme et Contrefacon," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 73 (1987): 45.

was Caecilie Seler-Sachs who described how the collection had changed over the years:

> …there was the opportunity to examine some private collections. Among these one has to name first Dr. Sologuren's, a capable physician who is equally capable as a distinguished expert on antiquities. In our first stay in Oaxaca we met him and saw his collection, and it already had many marvelous things, however we were now surprised to see the dimension his museum had grown… apart from the forms that are generally well known, it has pieces that are very strange. There is also small precious green stones and other semi-precious stones and even ancient pieces of gold.[19]

Figure 33: Rendering of a fragment of pre-Hispanic cloth in the Sologuren collection.

Provenance: Tlaxiaco, Oaxaca. Drawing by the author.

[19] Viola König, "Eduard Seler y Caecilie Seler-Sachs en Oaxaca," 328-329.

Ethel Alec-Tweedie also described specific objects she had seen in the collection, such as whistling jars, a pair of gold ear spools 4 inches in circumference, and a "prehistoric" skull with bone three times thicker than normal crania.[20] Indeed, the collection included many marvelous items, some of which have never been found in subsequent archaeological digs in Oaxaca, such as a fragment of cloth showing a richly adorned figure drawn in Mixtec-Puebla style (Figure 33).[21]

Alec-Tweedie also gives us a rare glimpse of Sologuren's thoughts about the significance of material evidence he collected:

> Dr. Sologuren told me that all the tombs round Oaxaca look towards the setting sun, emblematic of the setting life. As a rule, five figures of gods or idols are found in each tomb, generally in a squatting position, the same posture, in fact, in which the Indians still sit today, and the idols are usually about two feet high. They are not beautiful, indeed in many cases one might truthfully say they are hideous; but as the types vary very much, the Doctor thinks they were meant to represent the person buried in the tomb.[22]

Sologuren himself never published on his collection, but others made use of the materials. In 1906 Eduard Seler produced an article on his Mixtec polychrome vessels. He analyzed the codex style drawings on their surfaces using an approach that alluded to Central Mexican iconography.[23] In 1910 the León brothers, Nicolás and Francisco, published two articles on objects in Sologuren's collection in *El Centenario*, a special magazine to commemorate a century of Mexican independence. León recognized that the lack of written sources on pre-Hispanic cultures impeded investigation into this past, but wisely understood the benefits of studying archaeological collections. His article focused on metallurgical techniques—lost wax casting and soldering—practiced by the ancient Zapotecs. In an early attempt at experimental archaeology he broke open a gold bead that Sologuren had given him for the purpose and discovered a curious mix of plumbago (another name for graphite) and finely sieved sand inside, deducing that these materials were used to form the mold for the tiny object.[24] He hypothesized that the pre-Hispa-

[20] Ethel Alec-Tweedie, *Mexico As I Saw It*, 366.

[21] Antonio Peñafiel, *Arqueología Zapoteca*, plate 42.

[22] Ethel Alec-Tweedie, *Mexico As I Saw It*, 384.

[23] The English translation of this work "Some excellently painted old pottery vessels of the Sologuren Collection from Nochistlán and Cuicatlán in the state of Oaxaca" is in *Collected Works in Mesoamerican Linguistics and Archaeology*, vol. 4, 1993, pp. 285-290.

[24] Nicolás León, "Arqueología Zapoteca. Técnica del vaciado y fundición entre los zapotecos precolombinos," pp. 164-165.

nic artisans were able to work metals by softening them first with vegetable liquids, and he used amplifications of photographs to study the artifacts' surfaces. In one blowup León detected the presence of the artist's fingerprints pressed into the soft gold as a result of the delicate molding process, and he concluded that usage, rather than the ancient jeweler, was responsible for the "polished" areas on the piece (Figure 34).[25]

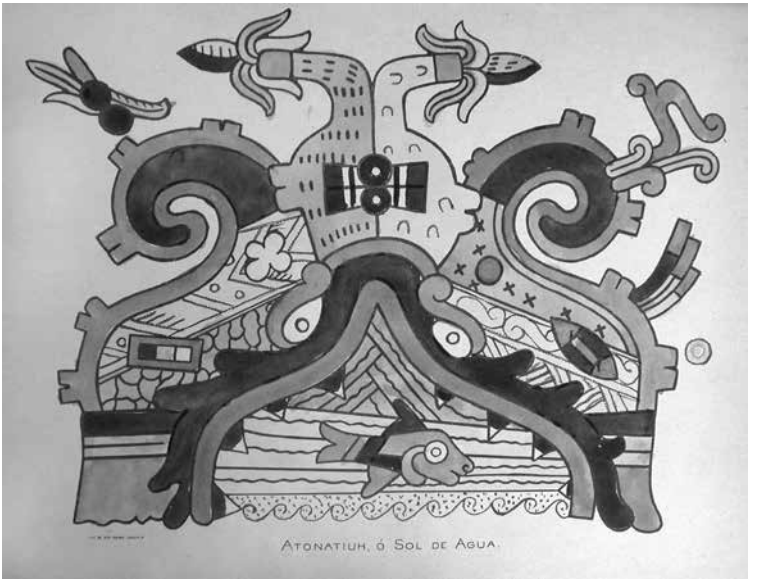
Figure 34: Various gold and silver artifacts from different Oaxacan collections.

In Nicolás León, "Arqueología zapoteca: Técnica del vaciado y fundición entre los zapotecos precolombinos," 1910, p. 163.

[25] An introductory photograph, entitled: "The study of the Zapotec and the application of photography to archaeology" (author's translation), illustrated various pendants, beads, bells and earrings used in the study. The 'application' refers to the enlargement of images of the artifacts to analyze how they were made.

His brother Francisco's article was based on an iconographic study of a polychrome Mixtec vessel in the doctor's possession, the same brightly painted pottery Seler had analyzed.[26] Francisco León's research used Náhuatl terminology and a sketchy understanding of native calendrics to describe the complex paintings adorning the sides of the pot. While his method revealed little about the object, the author accompanied his article with a well-executed color illustration (Figure 35).[27]

Figure 35: Drawing by Francisco León Calderón of a motif on a polychrome Mixtec vessel in Fernando Sologuren's collection.



In Francisco León Calderón "Estudio Arqueológico. Los cinco soles ó edades de la tierra según un documento Mixteco-Zapoteca, Atonatiuh ó primera edad de la tierra," 1910, p. 92.

Moreover, he was able to give some interesting details regarding its provenance, claiming that it had come from Pueblo Viejo, in the vicinity of the

[26] Francisco León Calderón, "Estudio Arqueológico. Los cinco soles ó edades de la tierra según un documento Mixteco-Zapoteca, Atonatiuh ó primera edad de la tierra," *El Centenario, Revista Mensual Ilustrada*, no, 1, year 1, Oaxaca, México (August 15, 1910), 90-92.

[27] A central feature of the Mixtec exhibit in the MNA in Mexico City, this exceptionally preserved object has been published on numerous occasions, for example see Raúl Flores Guerrero, *Historia General del Arte Mexicano:* vol. I, *Época prehispánica* (México-Buenos Aires: Editorial Hermes, S.A., 1962), 141, plate 92; Matos Moctezuma, *Reflexiones en el tiempo: una mirada al arte prehispánico* (México: UNAM, 1993), 137, plate 23.

town of Nochixtlán, and that in 1893 the villagers had opened a rich tomb containing gold, jade and ornate ceramics. The inventory lists of the other members of the archaeological club also referenced material from this place, suggesting that the find was a bonanza, comparable perhaps to the richness of Monte Albán's famous tomb 7. Unfortunately the contents of this tomb(s) have been dispersed among different collectors.

Though there are few published works about Sologuren's collection, photographs and illustrations of it are plentiful and can be found in various archives in Mexico, United States and Germany.[28] Images such as these are abundant because photographs are desired objects, and in much the same way as the artifacts they depict, collecting them was commonplace among a western scientific community eager for empirical knowledge. As Mydin puts it: "Photographs of collections were obtained from all over the world to be studied in the metropolis, and considered "raw" data, collected, swapped and archived for the common scientific good."[29] This situation was particularly prevalent in Mexico, where local collectors and agents of foreign institutions were engaged in a frenetic competition for archaeological materials.

Some of the images that are available appear to have been taken by the American photographer Charles Burlingame Waite, who around the turn of last century took two wide-angle views of the collection (Figures 36a and 36b).

[28] There are many photographs of the Sologuren collection, some published in obscure works and others located in archives. The earliest photographs were printed by Antonio Peñafiel, first in 1890: vol. 1, 111, and then later he compiled a more complete set of albumen prints for the Chicago Exposition in 1893: plates 11-20, 22, 23, 42, 45, 52, 53, 56, 64, 65 and 70. This publication is important because it mentions the provenance of many of the objects. The American photographer Charles Burlingame Waite produced some the later images. One small set is found in the Fototeca of the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (AGN/F *Piezas y Esculturas Arqueológicas*, numbers 1, 2, 3, 12 circa 1904). However, the classification states the photographer was P.A.L. Schlattmann (of Hermanos Schlattman Inc.) and the geographical location given is Mitla. This information is undoubtedly incorrect as the photographs clearly illustrate the collection when it was located in Sologuren's home in Oaxaca City. Furthermore, the panorama shots are identical to those in an album located in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania (Catalogue number 913.727 So45, Oversize), and that are attributed to C.B. Waite. As was his custom, Waite burned his name and photo number onto some of these impressions. A problem of identification occurs with two similar sets of photographs in Germany that have been attributed to the German collector Wilhelm Bauer, circa 1903. One set is in the Bremen Museum and the other is in the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin. Since these are identical to the Pennsylvania collection they may also have been produced by Waite's hand, or for that matter both photographers could have been involved.

[29] Iskander Mydin, "Historical Images—Changing Audiences." In *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920*, edited by Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 250.

Figures 36a and 36b: Two views of Fernando Sologuren's archaeological collection, ca. 1900.

Photographs courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, México.

Other sets of photographs show an assortment of arrangements with a hastily placed black backdrop of the various objects on shelves, and the German intermediary, Dr. Wilhelm Bauer Thoma, may have taken these sometime around 1903.[30] These pictures have greatly facilitated the reconstruction of the overall collection. Added to this source, there is also a valuable bank of data in Martínez Gracida's unpublished work, where the author described individual objects in Sologuren's holding and provided details on their discovery. Eduard Seler also produced many sketches and watercolors of objects that interested him,[31] and because the original color of the artifacts was reproduced in his illustrations they have also proved to be invaluable record.[32] Finally, the key source of information is the collector's own inventory list that he wrote just before sending the entire collection to the Museo Nacional in Mexico City.

Sologuren: the sub-Inspector

Sologuren was not merely a collector, he was appointed sub-Inspector of Archaeological Monuments for the State of Oaxaca, and with this responsibility he played a central role in the archaeological affairs of the state: he was involved when repairs were needed on ancient structures[33] and present when foreigners visited the nearby archaeological sites; he also had the authority to police them, and is on record denouncing those who were caught red-handed trying to smuggle cultural materials out of the country. How Sologuren obtained this position, and the many benefits he reaped from it, is key to

[30] See János Gyarmati, "Wilhelm Bauer, a German Collector and his Mexican Collections," *Baessler-Archiv*, Band 52 (2004): 50.

[31] The drawings of objects in his collection are another source of information. One group was made by Eduard Seler in 1888, and is now part of his personal archive in the Ibero-American Institute; the other group is in Martínez Gracida's unpublished work in Oaxaca's Public Library. Most of these drawings were crafted by the artist Sabino Soriano and are accompanied by detailed descriptions written by Martínez Gracida. Unfortunately, many of the illustrations corresponding to the Zapotec effigy vessels and the Mixtec polychromed tripod vessels were lost when this particular tome went missing.

[32] For example see reconstructions based on Seler's drawings in Adam Sellen, "The Lost Drummer of Ejutla: The Provenance, Iconography and Mysterious Disappearance of a Polychrome Zapotec Urn," *Baessler-Archiv*, Band 51(2003), Berlin (2005): 115-138, and Javier Urcid and Adam Sellen, "A Forgotten House of Ancestors from Ancient Xoxocotlán," *Baessler-Archiv*, Band 56 (2008): 117-224.

[33] In 1907 he supervised the installation of iron beams in the doorways of the building. See Memorandum, *Batres le paga 25 pesos para dos vigas de acero*, 5 July 1907, in AGN/IPBA, box 152, file 50, p. 2.

understanding his role in the Porfirian political structure, his relationship to the federal authority, and ultimately, the fate of his collection.

The event that began Sologuren's association with the government was the 1886 discovery of a spectacular pre-Hispanic tomb in Xoxocotlán, a town 5 kilometers south of the City of Oaxaca. Found by a farmer, Pablo Villanueva, while apparently searching for gold on his property, the structure consisted of an elaborate façade with an imposing stucco bust flanked by two stucco glyphs in relief. The entrance to the tomb was sealed by a large slab, carved in relief on one side with hieroglyphics. The find revealed a wealth of material evidence: on the roof of the structure, attached just above the façade, there were four large ceramic urns, composed of elaborate effigy lids that rested on boxes; and in the interior, they recovered human remains, ceramic vessels, and a wide diversity of objects of gold and jade. An analysis of this material evidence and the tomb's architectural context within a prominent mound, suggests that it was used by successive generations of a Zapotec royal court, sometime between AD 650 and 850.[34]

The discovery quickly involved Dr. Sologuren, who employed Villanueva and others to excavate the structure, and who selected the most intriguing of the objects found for his collection. The event was reported in the national press and soon after the site became a local tourist attraction, with people arriving daily to observe the excavation and ponder the peculiar façade.[35] More significantly, the tomb's unearthing also coincided with a watershed of change in the Mexican government's involvement in archaeological matters. Eight months before the discovery a new federal authority known as the Inspección General de Monumentos Arqueológicos, had been created to control and conserve the Republic's archaeological heritage, and on the 8th of October 1885, Leopoldo Batres Huerta took charge as federal inspector. The new position brought with it significant powers for curbing unauthorized excavations by both foreigners and nationals, as now all explorations would require an official permit before proceeding. Those who were approved by the government would be accountable for their progress according to a detailed plan that was submitted prior to digging. The Inspector's job was to oversee the excavations and to make sure that the findings were properly conserved while they were explored, and with the new rules all objects found would be accounted for and duly dispatched to the Museo Nacional for safekeeping.

[34] For a fuller account of this story and a reconstruction and analysis of the tomb's contents, see Javier Urcid and Adam Sellen, "A Forgotten House of Ancestors from Ancient Xoxocotlán," *Baessler-Archiv*, Band 56 (2008): 117-224.

[35] "Cripta," 28 May 1886, *El Monitor Republicano*, in Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, *El pasado prehispánico en la cultura nacional*, vol. I, 125-126.

Within this framework the discovery of the tomb at Xoxocotlán is an important event in the history of Mexican archaeology because it was one of the first major finds to appear before the Inspection. Consequently, the policies governing public and private access to ancient material were put to the test, and measures for conserving monuments had to be created. Government correspondence held by the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City shows that the tomb at Xoxocotlán was the first archaeological monument in the country to receive public monies for its conservation under the auspices of the Inspection, a slice of institutional history that appears to have gone unnoticed by many who have assumed that it was Mitla.[36] Moreover, the overall history of this important find has been overlooked. Scholars have focused on the work of the American archaeologist Marshall H. Saville who excavated the site in 1897-1898,[37] but make no mention at all of the tomb's initial discovery and subsequent excavation by Villanueva and Sologuren, nor the Mexican effort to conserve it. What follows is a brief account stitched together from those documents in Mexican archives that refer to the tomb's discovery and its attempted conservation.

Within a week of the discovery of the tomb Fernando Sologuren had attempted to make a formal "claim" of the find with the Ministry of Justice, the arm of the government responsible for all archaeological monuments. Through the office of the Governor of Oaxaca the Ministry responded.[38] They advised Sologuren that the law (article 856 of the Civil Code) was not clear on these matters because he was claiming not only the objects from his excavations but also an entitlement to the entire tomb structure, and informed him that while his petition was under consideration he was to desist from further work and send a list of the objects retrieved.[39]

[36] Nelly Robles García, *The Management of Archaeological Resources in Mexico: Oaxaca as a Case Study*, translation by Jack Corbett, SAA online publications, 2004; Daniel Schávelzon, "Historia de la conservación en el valle de Oaxaca." In *Sociedad y Patrimonio Arqueológico en el valle de Oaxaca, Memoria de la Segunda Mesa Redonda de Monte Albán*, edited by Nelly M. Robles (México: CONACULTA-INAH, 2002), 27.

[37] Andrew Balkansky "Saville, Boas, and Anthropological Archaeology in Mexico," *Mexicon* 27 (2005): 86-97; Stephen A. Kowalewski, "Valley-Floor Settlement Patterns during Monte Albán IIIa." In *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*, Kent V. Flannery and Joyce Marcus editors (New York: Academic Press, 1983).

[38] Sologuren's original claim to the Ministry is not included in the AGN file that refers to the case, but because the Ministry's reply used the term, it is probable that he had also used it in his original petition.

[39] Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction to the Governor of the State of Oaxaca, 28 May 1886, AGN/IPBA box 227, file 3, pages 22-23r.

The case was turned over to Batres who quickly provided an opinion. He was adamant: "…in virtue of the prevailing laws, the antiquities that are found in all of the Republic cannot, by their very nature, be claimed by a private citizen, therefore we must completely reject on all points the alleged complaint made by Sologuren…"[40] Batres also made sure that the Ministry of Justice understood his authority in the matter, and that he alone was responsible for impeding the excavations from taking place. With diplomatic tenor he praised Oaxaca's governor, the General Luis Mier y Terán, for his patriotism and foresight in having implemented measures to protect the ruins from further incursions; he was not so kind to Sologuren, however, and referred to him as a "lawbreaker" who was excavating without proper authorization, and demanded that he hand over all the objects collected thus far to the local representative of the tax department. The Inspector would then make the trip to Oaxaca to retrieve them for the Museo Nacional and at the same time inspect the ruins. Finally, Batres requested that the Ministry publicly announce his appointment by publishing the edict from the superior court outlining his authority. He argued that by publicizing the law, and the corresponding procedure for carrying out archaeological exploration, that they would avoid these types of situations; and, he concluded, once this was done no one would be able to allege ignorance of the law.[41] His recommendation was immediately acted on and published in the Nation's official newspaper *El Diario Oficial*.[42]

After Batres' response all the work on the tomb stopped cold, yet for some reason he did not make the trip to Oaxaca to inspect the site until seven months later. In the interim the tomb's façade, now exposed to the elements, was beginning to deteriorate due to heavy rains and landslides.[43] Finally, Batres

[40] Author's translation of: "*... en virtud de las leyes vigentes sobre la materia, las antigüedades que se encuentran en toda la Republica y siendo por su naturaleza no denunciables se debe desechar por completo y en todas sus partes la pretendida denuncia del C. Sologuren*...", Batres to the Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction, 9 June 1886, Ibid., pages 25-26.

[41] Ibid., page 25.

[42] Ibid., Memorandum from Baranda (Minister of Justice) to Batres with copy to the *Diario Oficial*, 12 June 1880, pages 27-28.

[43] Two letters sent to the Ministry of Justice three months after the initial discovery confirm this. In the first letter, the municipal President of Xoxocotlán stated: "yesterday, in the cave that exists in the *mogotes* in Pablo Villanueva's property, a great chunk of wall fell on the gallery that covers the door of that cave, breaking the roof beams of that gallery." Author's translation of: "*que la cueva que existe en los mogotes de la propiedad de Pablo Villanueva el día de ayer se derrumbó un gran trozo del paredón sobre la galería que cubría la puerta de dicha cueva, lo que hizo se rompieran los morillos de dicha galería*."

arrived in Oaxaca on the 14th of December 1886, and went directly to the site to check on the condition of the structure. Two days later he sent a telegram to the Ministry: "Urgent necessity to conserve important monuments Xoxo… carry out excavation and name keeper…salary $20…cost of work $400…"[44] In a more detailed report, Batres spoke of how these ruins should be conserved at all cost, starting with the widening of the retaining walls of the mound so that these would not continue to collapse. Included with his report was a breakdown of costs for equipment and 15 workers who would labor over a period of four months.[45] For now, the tomb seemed to be safe from the vicissitudes of the elements.

As part of his mandate, Batres was invested with the authority to name sub-inspectors for the different States, although these positions were strictly honorary. One of the first sub-Inspectors he appointed was in Oaxaca, and in a surprising move he chose the man who he had earlier referred to as a 'law-breaker,' Fernando Sologuren. In a letter to his new employee, Batres laid out the three principal responsibilities of a sub-Inspector in the context of Oaxaca: 1) Impede all excavations, landslides and extraction of material for construction, from the monuments that consist of the small artificial mounds referred to as *mogotes*, without previous permission from the Ministry of Justice; 2) advise when a foreigner or national attempts to contravene the laws prohibiting the export of antiquities from the Republic; and 3) communicate at the end of each month any news that occurs.[46]

The choice of Sologuren was unusual given Batres' initial reaction to his activities, but perhaps there was some logic to it. Sologuren would make an ideal inspector because he could count on a network of many vigilant eyes, thanks to his extensive web of family ties in the State, and as a medic, his practice took him to faraway communities where he would be informed of new discoveries. The doctor was also on the same nationalistic page as Batres, and would insure that foreigners were neither excavating nor exporting archaeological material. Perhaps most importantly, Sologuren had a

(Memorandum from the Governor of Oaxaca to the Ministry of Justice, 15 September 1886, Ibid. pages 38-38r). At the end of the month the Governor himself sent a memo to the Ministry, requesting that the Inspector hasten to the State in order to check on the tomb, which was having its entrance obstructed as a result of heavy rains and landslides (Memorandum from the Governor of Oaxaca to the Ministry of Justice, 29 September 1886, Ibid., pages 44-44r).

[44] Ibid.,Telegram from Batres to the Ministry of Justice, 16 December 1886, document without page number.

[45] Ibid., Batres to the Ministry of Justice, 16 December 1886, pages 53-55.

[46] Ibid., Batres to the Ministry of Justice, 23 December 1886, pages 56-56r.

close relationship with Porfirio Díaz, and to this man all their fortunes were wed.

Nonetheless, in historical retrospect, Sologuren's legacy as sub-Inspector of Monuments in Oaxaca was a serious conflict of interest, tantamount to placing a fox to guard the chicken coop. There is a great deal of evidence that he retained almost all of the archaeological material from explorations he and others carried out in the State for his own personal collection. In particular we can cite the bonanza that resulted from the excavation of the Xoxocotlán tomb, artifacts that were supposed to have been handed over to the Museo Nacional. In his inventory list there is a total of 140 objects from this find, such as: "two fine jade earplugs, 4 1/2 cm, found in the great grave of Xoxocotlán," and "great funerary sculpture, 59 cm, with urn of the great pyramid; was found with vases and pots." Today these objects are dispersed among different public holdings in Mexico, but it is still possible to anchor many them to his inventory list with the use of photographs and the collector's own descriptions.

Another case of conflict of interest occurred in 1907. At the beginning of the year Sologuren had purchased a large quantity of jade, obsidian and ceramic artifacts from a group of Americans who had been looting the ruins of Tecomavaca and Quiotepec. Indignant that foreigners had visited the ruins and excavated without advising the appropriate authority, the sub-Inspector sent a series of urgent telegrams to Batres informing him of the impropriety.[47] A note in the newspaper also covered the event, but with a notable difference in fact: instead of Americans it was local Indians who had carried out the plunder. The newspaper also stated that Batres and Sologuren had recovered all the objects and that the looters had been detained. The press was especially sympathetic to Sologuren and declared that he had "decided to generously open his wallet in order to prevent any object of merit from falling into the hands of the foreigner."[48] His nationalism was self-serving because his own collection inventory shows he kept these materials for himself (74 pieces of jade and 13 incense burners). The money he invested to purchase the jades was soon to be recuperated, as he sold his entire collection to the Museo Nacional a few months later.

Batres allowed Sologuren to retain these objects for his own collection, rather than send them directly to the Museo Nacional as the law stipulated,

[47] Telegrams from Sologuren to Batres, 20-22 February 1907, in AGN/IPBA, box 152, file 50, pp. 5-10.

[48] See "Saqueo de sepulcros antiguos," *El Imparcial*, April 25, 1907, in Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, *El pasado prehispánico en la cultura nacional (memoria hemerográfica, 1877-1911),*), vol. II: 347-350.

no doubt because he considered the collector-inspector as the ideal administrative figure for keeping Oaxaca's archaeological heritage in the country. He most likely reached an agreement with the collector from the outset, where he would have a free hand to excavate and augment his personal archaeological collection as long as he promised to sell this to the Museo Nacional at a later date. Verbal agreements such as these are almost impossible to prove and can only be inferred, but circumstantial evidence exists. Over the years Sologuren had always resisted selling parts of his collection, and Eduard and Caecilie Seler wrote that attempts to ply objects out of his hands were fruitless because his asking prices were prohibitively high, perhaps as a way to discourage buyers without revealing his arrangement with the Inspector.[49]

In the end, the doctor profited handsomely from the sale of his collection when he sold it to the Museo Nacional in 1907 for $40 000 pesos, a considerable sum of money in those days. His intention to sell took place much earlier, and there are archival documents from the Museo Nacional dating from 1902 evaluating the worth of his collection:

> The important collection of Dr. Fernando Sologuren consists of 2 234 objects of ceramic, stone, wood, bone, marble, obsidian, jade, copper, shell and gold. His polychrome vessels are very valuable, as well as the collection of 50 funerary pieces, 15 large and the rest medium sized, but all of delicate execution. From this collection we can confirm that only the ceramic part is worth 40 thousand pesos…[50]

To arrive at the price they compared the collection to a smaller one of 800 Mixtec-Zapotec objects belonging to Guillermo Heredia and concluded that Sologuren's holding was much more significant, arguing that the Ministry had paid only $3 000 pesos for Francisco Belmar's collection in 1901 that was comprised of 1 500 objects.[51] The final deal seemed to have been especially good in view of the fact that higher prices from foreigners were tendered. The New York magnate, the Duke de Loubat, offered $60 000 pesos for his collection, $20 000 more than the Ministry's price. When Sologuren turned him down he was again lauded in the press for his "nationalistic sentiment" for conserving his collection in the country.[52] While that well may

[49] Viola König, "Eduard Seler y Caecilie Seler-Sachs en Oaxaca," 329.

[50] Report on the Sologuren collection, 24 June 1902, AH/MNA vol. 14, p. 155.

[51] Agreement between Francisco Belmar and the National Museum, 14 December 1901, in AGN/IPBA box 149, folder 37, p. 4.

[52] "Saqueo de sepulcros antiguos." In Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, *El pasado prehispánico*,349.

be true, it is more likely that Sologuren declined the richer offer because of his previous commitment with Batres who had allowed him to collect with impunity for decades. Over the years the two men had grown close (Figure 37) and it comes as no surprise that it was Batres' son, Leopoldo, who aided Sologuren in the labeling and packing of his entire collection for shipment to Mexico City.[53]

Figure 37: The archaeological Inspectors for Oaxaca (dressed in black). Leopoldo Batres (right) and Fernando Sologuren (left) in Mitla, ca. 1900.

Photograph courtesy of the Ibero-American Institute, Seler Archive.

As the mass of objects was being crated, an inventory was made, the only surviving textual record of the original holding, a treasure of data that includes short descriptions, measurements and provenance for almost all the material.[54] The information recorded in the inventory probably came from

[53] The cataloguing was carried out in the first two weeks of May 1907. The collection was then packed up into 50 wooden crates and sent off to Mexico City. Memorandum, 30 April 1907, in AGN/IPBA box 153, folder 46, p. 8.

[54] Catalogue of the Sologuren collection, typewritten, AH/MNA, vol. 90, pp. 208-259.

labels that were pasted directly on the objects, and as the pieces were being packed Sologuren may have complemented some of the information on the labels with his own reminiscences, making this list an important tool for understanding the holding overall.

The Sologuren collection at the Museo Nacional

The doctor's collection arrived at the Museo Nacional in July of 1907 and opened to the public two months later. Two large iron and glass cases were custom built for the ceramics and the exhibit had a special commemorative plaque.[55] Sologuren himself was contracted to install the objects but he had asked to be relieved of this task due to a family crisis in Oaxaca.[56] His absence at this critical juncture was the first setback the collection would suffer at the hands of the institution. The workers installing the objects in the exhibition cases were reminded by the Museum's director to conserve the identification labels Sologuren had adhered to each object so that they could be linked to the inventory.[57] Needless to say his memo would probably not have been necessary had the collector himself been present, but since he was not, some of these important identifiers were removed, perhaps for esthetic reasons; at later date an overzealous restorer may have removed a label, and others, over time, could have simply fallen off. The long and drawn out divorce between the labeled objects and the carefully elaborated inventory resulted in a massive collection of archaeological orphans, and today much of this material can no longer be tied to a specific provenance. As we shall see further on, the undoing of the correspondence between Sologuren's inventory and the objects has had long-lasting implications for research.

After the Mexican Revolution the collection began to lose its prominence in the Museum, the special exhibition cases were dismantled and the objects were merged with the overall holdings from Oaxaca. Select pieces were transferred to the American Museum of Natural History in New York and the Field Museum in Chicago in exchange for North American material. An early wide-angle photograph of the collection while it was still in Oaxaca,

[55] Agreement, 21 October 1907, AH/MNA, vol. 262, file 43, p. 119.

[56] "Nueva sección en el Museo Nacional," *El Imparcial*, October 26,1907, in Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, *El pasado prehispánico en la cultura nacional*, vol. II, 397; "Annual Report for the Department of Archaeology, National Museum," 1907, AH/MNA vol. 12, p. 202; Fernando Sologuren to the Secretario de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, 5 July 1907, in AGN/IPBA, box 153, folder 46, p. 19.

[57] National Museum Memorandum, 18 November 1907, AH/MNA, vol. 262, file. 43, p. 120.

shows a large and well-modeled sculpture of a Zapotec effigy vessel on the floor near the corner of the room that was traded to Chicago's Field Museum in the 1950s, but by this time the information regarding its provenance had been lost (Figures 38a and 38b).[58]

Figures 38a and 38b: Zapotec effigy vessel in the collection of Fernando Sologuren that is now in the Field Museum, Chicago, cat. 241092, 46 cm.

Second photo published in *México en el mundo de las colecciones de arte*, vol 1, 1994. p. 147.

[58] Number 570 on Sologuren's list and reportedly from Santa Inés Yatzechi, Oaxaca.

Over the years many artifacts were dispersed in the same fashion, in particular among Mexico's state museums that were looking to build representative displays of different regions in Mesoamerica.

The inter-institutional movements of objects, and a disregard for the integrity of the data that described their archaeological context, often resulted in a dispersal of important tomb assemblages, exemplified in the case of the materials Sologuren found near the town of La Ciénaga, a few kilometers south of Zaachila. Archaeologists have reported little from this area,[59] but in 1880 Sologuren discovered a tomb there with rich offerings, although it is unclear exactly where the structure was located. The following table, elaborated from his inventory, gives an idea of objects he discovered and their general context (Table 4):

Table 4: Artifacts registered from La Ciénaga in Sologuren's inventory list.

404	Funerary sculpture, 40 cm from a tomb in La Ciénaga, district of Zimatlán.
405	Funerary sculpture, somewhat broken, 29 cm. It was found in the same place as the previous one. This one and the one described before were found with a carved stone, no. 1554.
588	Head in the form of an animal painted white, companion to the numbers 404 and 405.
1554	Tombstone, found in La Ciénaga, District of Zimatlán. It was found with the funerary sculptures 404 and 405.

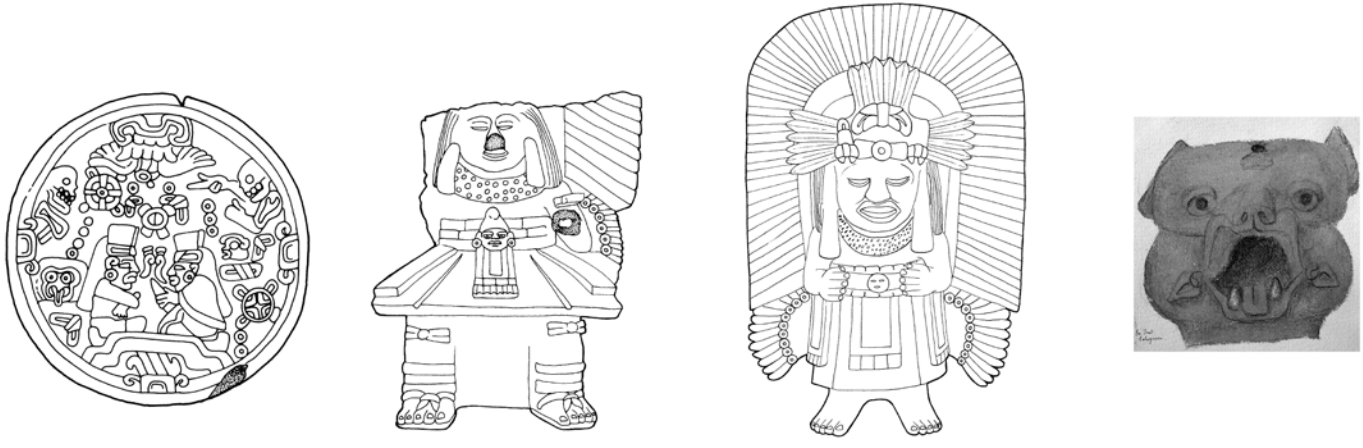
The artifacts mentioned in the list are now in the following Museums (Table 5):

Table 5: Present location of the artifacts from La Ciénaga.

404	Museo de las Culturas de Oaxaca, cat. 6-838
405	Museo Nacional de Antropología, cat. 6-837
588	Museo Regional de Antropología, Carlos Pellicer Cámara.
1554	Museo Nacional de Antropología, Stone CIE-1.

[59] In 2003 the archaeologists Herrera Muzgo and Winter explored three post-Classic tombs by the bus stop *El Sabino*, one kilometre outside of the town of Zimatlán and due south of La Ciénaga. Alicia Herrera Muzgo T. and Marc Winter. *Tres tumbas postclásicas en El Sabino, Zimatlán, Oaxaca* (México: CONACULTA-INAH, 2003).

Figure 39: Artifacts in the Sologuren collection associated with a tomb in La Ciénaga, Oaxaca



a. Carved stone slab, Museo Nacional de Antropología, 43 cm diameter, drawing after Urcid; b. Effigy vessel, Museo Nacional de Antropología, cat. 6-837, 29 cm; c. Effigy vessel, Museo de las Culturas de Oaxaca, cat. 6-838, 40 cm. Drawings by the author; d. Ceramic bat head, Museo de Arqueología Carlos Pellicer, 20 cm. Drawing by Eduard Seler.

In 1886 Eduard Seler took a plaster mold of the carved stone and illustrated some of the ceramics, carefully recording in German and in Spanish their contextual associations (Figure 39).[60]

The scholar stated that the urns 6-837 and 6-838 had similar surface treatments, and mentioned that the bat head was "from the same grave as [numbers] 20 and 21, and like these, smeared with mortar over the red colour."[61] In Spanish he added both the urns were found "*sobre la cripta*" (on top of the tomb), implying that all three ceramic artifacts were discovered on the roof of the structure, a pattern of deposit in keeping with Zapotec burials. Finally, Martínez Gracida, in his unpublished catalogue of Oaxacan artifacts, completed the picture stating that the circular carved stone was discovered in front of the doorway.

THE SECOND COLLECTION

After having sold his collection to the Museo Nacional the doctor did not stop acquiring artifacts, and as Batres' right-hand man in Oaxaca, the honorary sub-Inspector of Archaeological Monuments was able to continue these pursuits with ease. The second collection was much smaller and when he died his only daughter, Mercedes, received it in inheritance. She was a diminutive woman who was often referred to as "Pepita," and according to Alec-Tweedie, a direct descendent of Moctezuma on her mother's side.[62]

In 1931 Mercedes offered her late father's collection to the Museo Nacional. The renown Alfonso Caso appraised it, perhaps because he already had an intimate knowledge of the objects. He wrote that even though the Museum had many similar types in the collection it was a great value because "the objects are authentic and that their provenance is perfectly known."[63] In his description he highlighted a gold disk that was 16 cm in diameter, and two

[60] These notes were penned directly on the drawings which he had numbered the pages as they appeared in his sketchbook, but at a later date the pages were cut up and pasted onto grey coloured boards (by Walter Lehmann, his student), with no apparent concern for their original order, thus the relationship between the items was obscured.

[61] Translation of the German: *Aus der selben Grube, wie 20 u 21, und wie diese, über der rothen Farbe mit mezcla beshmiert.*

[62] Ethel Alec-Tweedie, *Mexico As I Saw It*, 364.

[63] Author's translation of: *"Aún cuando hay muchas piezas que no tienen un interés fundamental para el Museo, pues existen similares en sus vitrinas, la colección en mi concepto, es sin embargo, de un gran valor, porque todas las piezas son auténticas y se conoce perfectamente su procedencia."* Alfonso Caso to the Director of the National Museum, 20 February 1931, AHI/DG/INAH Series: MNAHE/D.A., box 3, file 271, p. 3.

spectacular Zapotec urns, that he said were the largest and most beautiful that he had ever seen. He published these last two pieces in his 1952 work, *Urnas de Oaxaca* (Figure 40).[64]

Figure 40: Two Zapotec effigy vessels from Sologuren's second collection currently in the Museum of Dolores Olmedo Patiño in Xochimilco, cat. 32, 51 cm, and cat. 33, 63 cm.

Drawings by the author.

Despite the rave reviews the acquisition never took place. Mercedes Sologuren was asking $10 000 pesos but Caso had valued it at less than half that price, so unable to secure a sale for the whole lot, she sold it in parts. One buyer was her friend, Machila Armida Van Rhijn, who had worked as a model for the famous Mexican painter Diego Rivera. In 1964 she passed part of the collection on to another one of Rivera's distinguished models, Dolores Olmedo Patiño,[65] and today many of these objects can be seen in her former home, now a museum in Xochimilco, in a southern suburb of Mexico City.

[64] These urns are illustrated in Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal, *Urnas de Oaxaca* (México: INAH, 1952), 209, fig. 346, and 98, fig. 16. Presently they are part of the exhibition at the Dolores Olmedo Museum in Xochimilco, Mexico City, with the catalogue numbers 33 and 32. In the seventies one of these urns was reproduced on the fifty-peso note.

[65] Personal communication from Patricia Van Rhijn (1999), the daughter of Machila Armida.

Figures 41a and 41b: Effigy vessel from the first Sologuren collection now in the Dolores Olmedo Museum, cat. 63, 17 cm. Provenance: Ocotlán, Oaxaca.

Photograph from Antonio Peñafiel, *Arqueología Zapoteca*, 1893, plate 19. Drawing by author.

We cannot be sure exactly how many objects in the Olmedo Museum originally came from the Sologuren's second collection, but at least one object is from the first, suggesting that he retained some (favorite?) objects when he sold this collection. The small and delicate urn, bathed in hematite, shows a female sitting cross-legged with the calendrical name of two-corn. The same piece appears in an early photograph taken for the Chicago World's Fair of 1892 with a text indicating that it was the property of the doctor (Figures 41a and 41b).

Sologuren's legacy is his massive collection of Oaxacan antiquities, the bulk of which still forms part of Mexico's cultural heritage thanks to Batres' vision for co-opting private collectors. Over the years large parts of that collection have been highly significant to research, and a good example of the impact Sologuren's collecting has had on our understanding of ancient Oaxaca is illustrated by Caso's and Bernal's seminal work *Urnas de Oaxaca* (1952). In their study—a classification, chronological seriation and interpretation of Zapotec effigy vessels—the authors compared objects from their field excavations, primarily at Monte Albán and Mitla, with artifacts from the older collections in Museo Nacional. In total they illustrated 527 artifacts, placing a special emphasis on material from the collections of Seler, Sologuren, Heredia and Martel because these had corresponding catalogues from which provenance information could be gleaned.[66] The authors do not state the amount of material they used from older collections but my estimate is that about a third of the sample in *Urnas de Oaxaca* came from this source. They analyzed over 100 objects from his collection alone, compared to 252 objects from their own excavations. In proportion, therefore, the doctor's collection represents 25% of all the material illustrated, and after excavated materials, it was their primary source of data.

One of the most important aspects of Sologuren's legacy was his careful labeling of his collection with vital archaeological data that later became transformed into an inventory list. Unfortunately, the handwritten original of that list that arrived with the collection is now missing. We know that it was a document that circulated among scholars of the time, because in 1909 Antonio Peñafiel requested a copy from the Museo Nacional in order to assess the Zapotec-Mixtec collection of Guillermo Heredia.[67] Later, in 1931, Alfonso Caso requested another list from Sologuren's daughter, so there may have been two handwritten copies: one belonging to the collector and the other

[66] Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal, *Urnas de Oaxaca*, 11.

[67] The Director of the Museum commissions Ramón Mena and Antonio Peñafiel to examine the archaeological collection of Guillermo Heredia, March-June, 1909, AGN/IPBA, box 155, file 28, pp. 8 and 9.

the Museum. Caso had the manuscript copied by a typist and then returned the original,[68] and today this copy is the only known register of the original collection. The archaeologist realized the importance of the list and would often cite it in his own studies:

> … tomb 3 was looted a few years back and according to reports that we picked up in Mitla, a skeleton covered in laminates of gold and golden bells were found inside, some of which were sold to Dr. Sologuren from Oaxaca. Afterwards these were passed on to the Museo Nacional when it acquired his collection. The objects are probably the ones he refers to in his catalog: "1738—Six bells and eight beads of gold from Mitla."[69]

He was also aware that the collections from Oaxaca were in a state of disarray, so to remedy this situation he chose Eulalia Guzmán, the head of archaeology at the Museum, to carry out the work of matching up the artifacts with the list. She managed to catalogue 777 ceramic objects of Zapotec origin from the catalogues of Sologuren and Heredia, organizing them by type and technique, and created a separate category for objects whose provenance was unknown.[70] Despite her effort, much of the provenance information was never recuperated, and worse, would wind up being lost again. Paddock reported that the careful ordering of the Oaxacan collection that was completed in the 1940s was undone when it was moved from San Ángel to the Museo Nacional.[71] Whether this included objects from Sologuren's collection is unclear, but certainly Seler's ideal of keeping the collection in a museum to safeguard it from the "vicissitudes of human experience" was far from being realized.

---

[68] Alfonso Caso to Mercedes Sologuren, 5 August 1934, AH/MNA vol. 90, p. 208. Also see: Report from the Department of Archaeology, 8 December 1934, AH/MNA vol. 239, f. 147.

[69] Author's translation of: *"La tumba no. 3 (grupo del sur) fué saqueada hace varios años y según noticias que recogimos en mitla, se encontró en ella un esqueleto cubierto con láminas de oro y unos cascabeles del mismo metal, algunos de los cuales fueron vendidos al Dr. Sologuren de Oaxaca y pasaron después al Museo Nacional de México, al adquirirse la colección del mencionado doctor. Probablemente son los que dice en su catálogo: "1738. - Seis cascabeles y ocho cuentas de oro de Mitla."* Alfonso Caso and Rubín de la Borbolla, *Exploraciones en Mitla 1934-1935* (México: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1936), 7.

[70] Report from the Department of Archaeology, 8 December 1934, AH/MNA, vol. 239, p. 150.

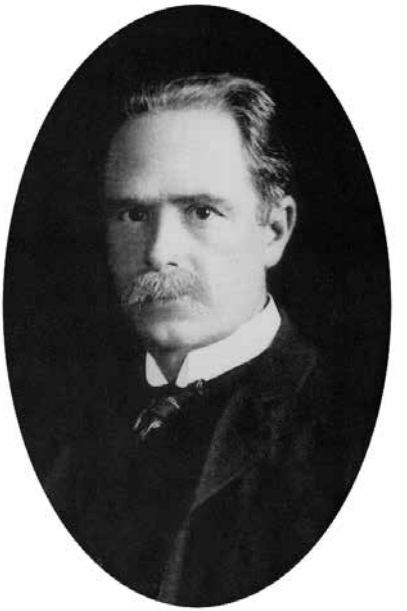
[71] John Paddock, ed. "Oaxaca in Ancient Mesoamerica." In *Ancient Oaxaca: Discoveries in Mexican Archaeology and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 83.

We continue with the other members of the "Archaeological Club" that collected on a smaller scale than Sologuren, but nonetheless had significant holdings of their own.

Francisco Belmar

A prominent and erudite lawyer, Francisco Belmar (1859-1915) is best known today for his linguistic work on indigenous languages in his home state of Oaxaca (Figure 42).

Figure 42: Francisco Belmar (1854-1915).



In Francisco Barriga Puente, ed. *El filólogo de Tlaxiaco. Un homenaje académico a Francisco Belmar*, 2010.

During his life he compiled an impressive number of vocabularies on native tongues, including Chontal, Huave, Trique, Mazatec and highland Zapotec. Apart from his linguistic work, and rarely mentioned in biographies, is Belmar's legacy as a major collector of pre-Hispanic antiquities. He is a key character in the narrative of Oaxacan archaeological exploration and on occasion would talk about his experiences, offering a rare glimpse into the activity of collecting at the time.

Belmar was originally from the town of Tlaxiaco, located in the heart of the Mixteca Alta, a mountainous northern region of Oaxaca. A brilliant student, he received his education in the Literary Institute, and for a time he worked as a magistrate in the State government, and in the outlying town of Ixtlán. Belmar had a close relationship with Porfirio Díaz that resulted in a swift ascent through the ranks, and from the 1890s on he lived permanently in Mexico City where he held a position on the bench of the Supreme Court. He was also very active in the academic circles of the day, the prestigious Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística appointed him life-long secretary to the organization, and he participated in the Americanist conferences of 1892 and 1910.[72] Belmar is credited for founding the philanthropic organization Sociedad Indianista Mexicana in 1910, an institution that was precursor to the intellectual development of the indigenous movement in Mexico under Manuel Gamio, the eminent anthropologist-archaeologist.[73] Despite his talent and modern outlook, Belmar clearly backed the wrong horse, and with the fall of the Díaz regime his life's work was marginalized.[74] In the end he died an unhappy man, embittered by the course history had taken.

In a book he published on the state's geography and history (1901) the lawyer made several references to archaeology and to sites that are represented by objects in his collection. He also reiterated a common complaint that Mexico was losing its archaeological heritage to museums overseas:

> In the valley of Oaxaca, where the towns of Zaachila, Teotitlán and Mitla are situated, the surrounding hills are rich in ancient monuments, evidenced by the infinite number of *mogotes* (mounds) that the traveller encounters at every step; and within these, hidden from our profane sight, are exquisite and sumptuous crypts containing the remains of the principal nobles of the Indian monarchy. Day after day idols and sacred implements are recovered from these tombs to form the State Museum, and to enrich museums in Europe.[75]

---

[72] "Francisco Belmar (1859-?)." In *Biblios* (México: UNAM, 1999), 196-199.

[73] For an in-depth discussion on the origins of this institution and Belmar's role, see: Beatriz Urías Horcasitas, "La Memoria de lo indígena en el discurso etnológico de las élites: la Sociedad Indianista Mexicana, 1910-1914." In *III Encuentro de Historia Cultural: La Memoria y sus Signos* (México: Departament of History, Universidad Iberoamericana, 1998).

[74] Recently this view has changed with a long overdue reevaluation of his linguistic work and other intellectual pursuits. See the collection of scholarly works in Franscico Barriga Puente, ed. *El filólogo de Tlaxiaco. Un homenaje académico a Francisco Belmar* (México: INAH, 2010).

[75] Author's translation of: "*En Valle de Oaxaca en donde se asientan los pueblos de Zaachila, Teotitlán y Mitla, los cerros inmediatos son ricos en monumentos antiguos, como lo atestiguan la infinidad de Mogotes que el viajero ó el explorador encuentran á su paso;*

It is evident from Belmar's writings that he saw himself as a guardian of that heritage, charged with a clear imperative to save antiquities from the foreign governments that were intent on depriving his nation and region of treasures, and he was concerned that there was little interest in preserving the past:

> To obtain and collect ancient objects in the State of Oaxaca, there has not been any willingness whatsoever, and those artifacts that one has been able to tear from the hands of the Indian, and preserve from the destruction of time, can be found in the State museum, in the rich collection of doctor Sologuren, and the author of these notes.[76]

In his writings Belmar's justification for collecting was based on a loosely framed nationalistic argument that sought to place the private Oaxacan collectors as the defenders of pre-Hispanic heritage, and in 1901, when he sold his collection to the Museo Nacional, he portrayed himself in a nationalistic light:

> I have decided to sell all the objects that I now possess; but I believe that my first duty for the eventual sale is to first offer the proposal to the Museo Nacional, which is undoubtedly already rich in precious Aztec artifacts, but not in terms of objects from Zapotec civilization; and as a principal focus of everything that constitutes the history of our race, the Museum should be continually enriched each passing day; unfortunately, however, thousands of objects are taken from us, in violation of the laws of the country, only to augment foreign museums.[77]

y en donde se ocultan á las miradas profanas en primorosas y ricas criptas los restos de los principales magnates de las monarquías indianas, y de donde día á día se extraen los ídolos, y utensilios sagrados que forman los Museo del Estado, y van á enriquecer los Europa." Francisco Belmar, *Breve reseña histórica y geográfica del Estado de Oaxaca*. (Oaxaca: Imprenta de Comercios, 1901), 133.

[76] Author's translation of: *"Para recojer y coleccionar los objetos antiguos del Estado de Oaxaca, no ha habido disposición ninguna, y los que se han podido arrancar de manos del indio, y preservar de la destrucción del tiempo, se hallan en el Museo de Estado, en la riquísima colección del Dr. Sologuren y en la del autor de estos apuntes."* Francisco Belmar, *Breve reseña histórica y geográfica del Estado de Oaxaca*. (Oaxaca: Imprenta de Comercios, 1901), 134.

[77] Author's translation of: *"me ha decidido vender todos los objetos que actualmente poseo; pero creyendo de mi deber que caso de efectuar la venta, ésta debía ser propuesta préviamente para el Museo de la Nación, que aunque rico ya en preciosidades Aztecas, no lo es mucho en objetos de la civilización zapoteca, y que como foco principal de todo lo que constituye la historia de nuestras Razas, debe enriquecerse cada día más; arrebatando miles de objetos que desgraciadamente, y violando las leyes del País, van á enriquecer Museos Extrangeros."* Francisco Belmar to the Ministry of Public Instruction, 6 July 1901, in AGN/IPBA box 149, file 37, p. 6.

His justification for collecting was somewhat self-serving because the same laws that prohibited foreigners from excavating and acquiring archaeological objects also included Mexican nationals. Given his legal background he would have been well-versed in these dispositions, such as those published by Batres in 1885 that directly affected Sologuren, and the 1897 law that stipulated that monuments and artifacts were property of the Nation. And while patriotism may have beat strongly in his heart, Belmar like Sologuren after him profited handsomely from the sale of their cabinets. His asking price to the Museum was $3 000 pesos for 1 426 objects, to which he carefully added that over many years he had invested his meager resources in its acquisition and only wished to recuperate the costs involved.[78]

The Museum was interested in the offer because, as the lawyer argued, they had few objects from this area of Mexico. According to an 1882 museum catalog, only fifty objects from Oaxaca were on display at that time, and most of these were from the early nineteenth century expeditions carried out by Dupaix.[79] They employed three people to evaluate the worth of his holding: two museum employees, Jésus Galindo y Villa and Andrés Díaz Milián, and the Oaxacan bureaucrat, Manuel Martínez Gracida. The first two relied on eight photographs (no longer part of the file and their present location is unknown) and a detailed inventory the lawyer had supplied to make their assessment, but only Martínez Gracida had ever seen the collection;[80] as a close friend of Belmar's and a fellow member of the Archaeological Club, there was a clear conflict of interest.

In a letter Martínez Gracida wrote to the Museum in support of the purchase he cited a number of previous offers Belmar had received, such as an unnamed agent of a Museum in New York (most likely the American archaeologist Marshall H. Saville) who bid $4 000 pesos, and the Duke of Loubat, a wealthy European who funded many archaeological excavations from his own purse, who was willing to pay $5 000 pesos. These offers, he judiciously said, were contingent on the possibility of obtaining a permit to export the collection. He also stated that one particular artifact designated as number 62 in the catalogue, a "priestess," was the largest example of a Zapotec urn he had ever seen, and was being sought after by both Marshall

[78] "*Bien comprendo que, antes de proponer la venta de los objetos á que me refiero, debía acederlos al Museo; pero mis escasos recursos y la cantidades, que aunque paulatinamente he erogado para su adquisición, me hacen concebir la esperanza de rezarcirme en parte, tanto de estos gastos, como del pequeño trabajo de recolección.*" Ibid.

[79] Gumesindo Mendoza and Jesús Sánchez, "Catálogo de las colecciones…," 464-465.

[80] The catalogue exists in two archives: a handwritten original is in AGN/IPBA box 149, pp. 14-24, and a copy of this is in AH/MNA, vol. 11, pp. 17-35.

H. Saville and Leopoldo Batres, each having offered $400 pesos.[81] Of course, one might ask why Batres was trying to purchase objects. Was this for his personal collection or an attempt to secure objects for the Museo Nacional? By citing these buyers Martínez Gracida's ploy was to play on the fear that if the Museo Nacional did not commit to buying the collection it would be broken up and the best pieces would be acquired, either by individuals or foreign interests. In the end the institution accepted this reasoning and paid the asking price.

Buoyed by his success, a few months later Belmar proposed to sell his two Mixtec codices (*lienzos*) for the sum of $4 000 pesos. This was a tougher sale to pitch and Batres interceded on Belmar's behalf with president Porfirio Díaz. He made the usual nationalistic argument but with a twist: if the *lienzos* ended up in foreign hands, Batres stated, the Museum would have to makes copies in order to study them, and a good copy often costs more than the original, never mind the humiliation of having to ask for reproductions of national property from other countries. The Museum replied that they could not afford the documents and Belmar politely asked for them back.[82] It may have been around this time that the relationship between Belmar and Batres soured. Later, in 1911, the Inspector penned a poison memorandum placing the lawyer on a list with those who were "envious" of him.[83]

Some of the objects from Belmar's collection are currently on display in the Oaxaca gallery of the Museo Nacional de Antropología, such as that spectacular urn of the "priestess" that was so sought after by different parties. Considering the dimensions and the distinctive glyph that decorates its front, there is no doubt that the object described by Belmar in his inventory is the same urn that is now a showpiece in the Oaxaca gallery (Figure 43):

[81] *"... conozco la Colección Arqueológica del Lic. D. Francisco Belmar, residente en Oaxaca, y de ella puedo decir á Ud. que la considero de interés y de importancia para el Museo Nacional... La figura número 62 que representa una sacerdotiza es la mas grande que conozco, por ella se ofreció al Sr. Belmar por el Sr. Saville $400, oferta que también hizo el Sr. Batres...Antes de que el Sr. F. Belmar propusiera al Gobierno federal su Colección, se ofreció al dicho Sr. por un Agente del Museo de Nueva York la suma de $4 000 por ella, y después el Duque de Loubat la de $5 000, siempre que obtuvieron permiso para sacarla fuera del país."* Manuel Martínez Gracida to the Minister of Public Instruction, 24 August 1901, AGN/IPBA, box 149, file 37, p. 26-26r.

[82] Francisco Belmar to the Minister of Public Instruction, 14 March 1902, AGN/IPBA, box 150, folder 2, p. 14. Sebastián van Doesburg (personal communication, 2003) has studied the problem of the identity of these two lienzos and has suggested that they may be the Lienzo of Ihuitlán (152 x 244 cm) and the Lienzo of Philadelphia (108 x 118 cm), both of which ended up in the Hearst collection. Also see his article: "Los lienzos pictográficos de Don Francisco Belmar," *Mexicon*, vol. XX (1998): 52-54.

[83] Luisa Fernanda Rico Mansard, *Exhibir para educar*, 151.

62. Sculpture in gray clay with traces of red paint. It represents a kneeling man with his arms on his chest. It has a type of cape with an inscription. His headdress is braided and he has earrings and a collar. This is a unique piece for its type because of its size and the perfection of its execution. It comes from Atzompa, Oaxaca. Height 71 cm by 14 cm at the base. Zapotec Civilization.[84]

Figure 43: Large effigy vessel from the Belmar collection.

Museo Nacional de Antropología, cat. 10-3260, 71 cm. Provenance: Atzompa, Oaxaca. Drawing by the author.

[84] Author's translation of: *"62. Escultura de barro gris con restos de pintura roja. Representa un hombre sentado sobre las piernas con los brazos en el pecho. Tiene una especie de esclavina en la cual tiene una inscripción. Su tocado es trenzado, tiene orejeras y collar. Está pegada del cuello. Este es único en su género por su tamaño y la perfección de su hechura. Procede de Azompa. Distrito del Centro. Oaxaca. Alto 0.71 por 0.14 de ancho en la base. Civil. Zapoteca."* Catalogue of Francisco Belmar's archaeological collection, AH/MNA, vol. 11, p. 26. Presently the object has the catalogue no. 6-388 and according to Martínez Gracida's unpublished work it was discovered in 1896.

Confusingly, Belmar refers to the figure as a "man," whereas Martínez Gracida had always identified it as a female figure. Our current knowledge suggests that this last assessment is correct: representations of Zapotec women in clay typically kneel rather than sit cross legged, and they also place their hair in braids and wear a type of triangular cape known in the Náhuatl idiom as *quechquemitl*. This impressive ceramic urn was published by Caso and Bernal in 1952, where they used it to represent the category of the Goddess "13 Serpent," interpretation based on the glyph and coefficients that adorn the figure's mid-section and their overall argument that the urns represent distinct categories of deities.[85] In the early eighties Joyce Marcus used the same piece to refute their premise, arguing that the inscription was probably the woman's calendrical name and that the urns represent ancestors rather than the deities themselves. Her argument and a drawing of artifact appeared in many subsequent publications.[86] The object has been central in a longstanding debate about ancient Zapotec culture, but throughout this discussion no attempt was made to investigate its origin and it has been routinely—and erroneously—assigned the generic provenance of Monte Albán or the Valley of Oaxaca. We know from Belmar's inventory that it comes from Atzompa, a hilltop settlement that was a satellite of Monte Albán.

Even though we have little information of Belmar's specific archaeological activities, as in the case of Sologuren, there are many clues in his inventory list that help pinpoint where he was excavating. In some of the descriptions Belmar says that he retrieved artifacts from "tombs he sent to be excavated," suggesting that not all these explorations were personally carried out by him but by local people on his payroll. A summary of the provenance of the urns indicates that most of the material is from Zaachila, a site that was heavily excavated in the nineteenth century. He describes one of the objects from this town in detail:

> 31. Ceramic sculpture with traces of red paint. It represents a naked old man with a loincloth, cross-legged and with his hands on his knees, a thick collar around his neck, round earrings, a simple headdress with a band around the front, and at the top of the head a lock of hair that borders the headdress. This piece has

[85] Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal, *Urnas de Oaxaca*, 284, fig. 431.

[86] See Joyce Marcus, "Rethinking The Zapotec Urn," fig. 5.11; *Mesoamerican Writing Systems* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), 282, fig. 9.10; *Women's Ritual in Formative Oaxaca* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1998), 77, fig. 8.53; and Joyce Marcus and Kent Flannery, *Zapotec Civilization* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 210, fig. 247. Recently the curator of the Oaxaca exhibit doubted the authenticity of the artifact and had it tested with thermoluminescence. The result confirmed its antiquity (Personal communication, Martha Carmona 1999).

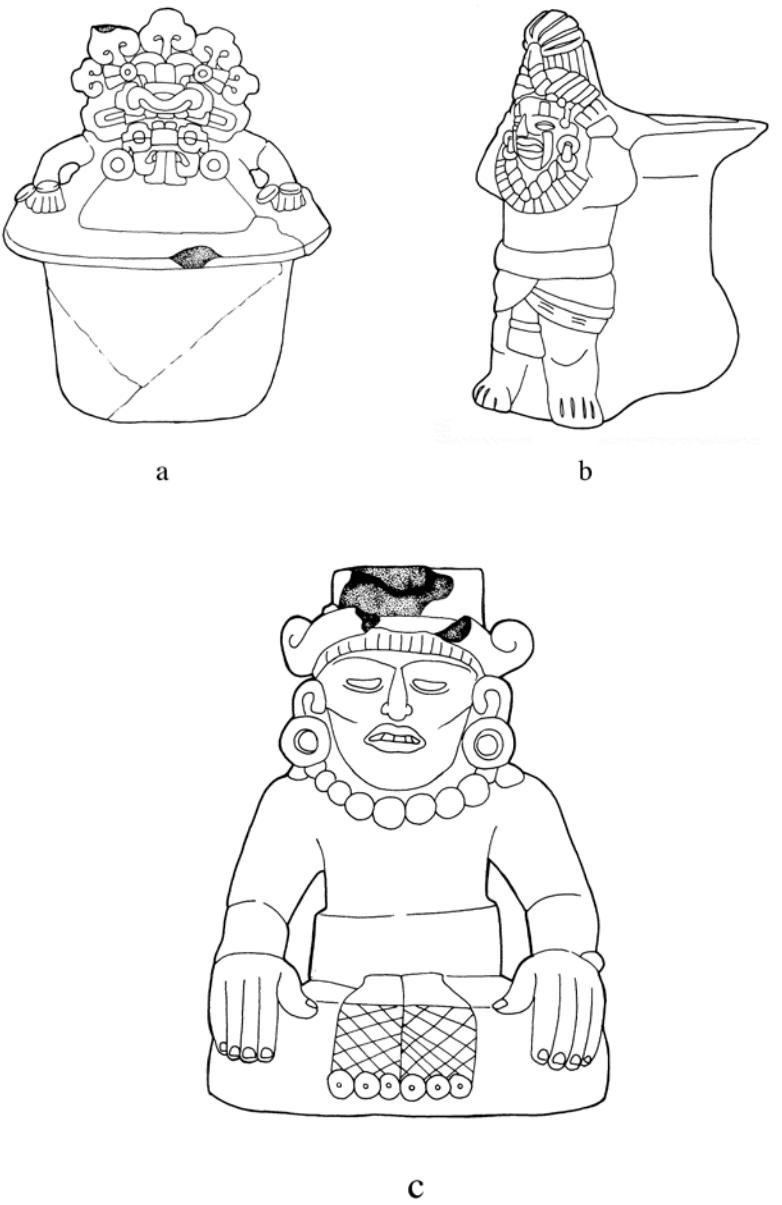
breasts that are very pronounced and the figure seems to be bearded. It is unique because of these features and for this reason it is very valuable among antiquarians. I got it from a tomb I had excavated. It belongs to Zapotec civilization. Measures 27 cm tall by 18 cm wide.[87]

Figure 44: Zapotec effigy vessel from the Belmar collection.

Museo Nacional de Antropología, cat. 6-234, 27 cm. Provenance: Zaachila, Oaxaca. Drawing by the author.

[87] Author's translation of: "*Escultura de barro gris con restos de pintura roja. Representa un viejo desnudo con un taparrabo, las piernas cruzadas y las manos sobre las rodillas, un collar grueso en el cuello, orejeras redondas en las orejas, tocado sencillo, con una cinta alrededor de la frente y en la coronilla una coleta de pelo en que remata el peinado. Esta pieza tiene los pechos ó tetas muy pronunciadas y parece barbada. Es notable por lo raro y por lo mismo muy estimada por los anticuarios. La saqué de un sepulcro de Zaachila que mandé excavar. Pertenece á la civilización Zapoteca (Mide 0.27 de alto por 0.18 de ancho).*" Catalogue of Francisco Belmar's archaeological collection, in AH/MNA vol. 11, p. 22.

Figure 45: Three effigy vessels from Franciso Belmar's archaeological collection.



Museo Nacional de Antropología, cat. a. 6-1546, b. 6-66, c. number unknown.

The descriptions in these types of catalogues are often vague and difficult to match with the objects now in museums, especially since many Zapotec urns were uniformly produced, but thanks to measurements and other unique features such as those just described, we can often match an object with a description (Figure 44).[88]

Other objects in the Museo Nacional's collection, and illustrated by Caso and Bernal in their 1952 work, correspond to the descriptions in Belmar's inventory (Figure 45):

> 21. Grey vase with a human head. From Huitzo, District of Etla, Oaxaca Zapotec civilization (17 cm high, 14 cm wide), object restored.
>
> 22. Yellowish ceramic sculpture. It represents the body of a woman carrying a water jug on her back. From Nochixtlán, Oaxaca. Mixtec civilization (15 cm high).
>
> 38. Sculpture of grey clay. It represents the figure of a woman. It has ear spools, collar and a loincloth. From the ruins of Monte Albán and was excavated by me. This piece is valuable because it is not one of the common ones. It measures 17 cm high by 12 ½ cm wide. Zapotec civilization.

In the absence of photographs, these objects give us a limited snapshot of what Belmar's collection would have looked like.

Manuel Martínez Gracida

Manuel Martínez Gracida (1847-1924) was a top-level civil servant in Oaxaca and a staunch supporter of the Díaz regime. As accounts of him suggest, and his portrait evokes, he was a very serious and dour man, the epitome of a nineteenth-century government bureaucrat (Figure 46).

On the surface he appeared stoic, but he had an extraordinary passion for history and writing. In his lifetime he produced thirty-two published works and left forty-five unpublished. He was also central in initiating and disseminating many of the debates that formed around ancient material culture owing greatly to his revival of a kind of Republic of Letters, a concept born in the renaissance where like-minded scholars could belong to an intellectual nation through learning and shared values. Through copious correspondence

[88] Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal, *Urnas de Oaxaca*, 228, fig. 369. The artifact presently has the catalogue number MNA 6-234.

he also created an extensive network of relationships with the heads of municipalities throughout the state of Oaxaca. His fortunes ended with the demise of the regime, and he found himself unemployed from 1915 to 1919, when, in his last years of life, he was appointed ethnographer in the Museo Nacional. Martínez Gracida's legacy is pivotal for understanding the role of the amateur archaeologist in the late nineteenth century, and thanks to his determination and prolific production there is a substantial body of information on the collectors and their collections.

Figure 46: Manuel Martínez Gracida (1847-1924).

In Manuel Brioso y Candini, "D. Manuel Martínez Gracida. Historiador de Oajaca," 1910, p. 59.

He was born in Ejutla, Oaxaca, and at an early age showed great promise, especially in calligraphy; a sign of a disciplined hand, his unique, clear script is readily identified in correspondence and on artifact labels. After graduating from grade school when the French Empire occupied Mexico, rather than work for a regime he detested, a local priest (possibly José Juan Canseco) encouraged him to enroll in the Instituto de Artes y Ciencias in Oaxaca City, where he benefitted from a universal curriculum: Latin, logic, mathematics, morality, anthropology, astronomy and physics, completing his studies in 1870, three years after the fall of the French. He worked his way up the ladder in various public service jobs in his hometown and in the State

capital, including a position in the post office and local school headmaster. Eventually higher levels of government recognized his talents as an efficient administrator, statistician and historian, and his career took off.[89]

In 1878 Oaxaca's Governor, Fransciso Meixueiro, asked him to take charge of a statistical database for the State. His work in this area put him in contact with almost all the authorities of Oaxaca's towns and municipalities, and in the process of forming those relationships Martínez Gracida claims to have written over thirty thousand letters in search of historical and statistical data.[90] The letters form a significant part of Martínez Gracida's legacy and give voice to many of the concerns of the century regarding Mexico's archaeological heritage. For example, in one letter dated 1892, the mayor of Comaltepec lamented the treatment of antiquities by his fellow citizens:

> Enclosed is an illustration of the tombs that I drew, although very badly. They are close to this town and many of them are found along the foot of the mountain that starts from San Felipe del Agua up to the stonewalls. They are open and have been looted by ignorant men who break the objects they find and spread the bits around on their cultivated lands. Many of the objects found were in good shape, but those who obtained them gave them away, sold them, or used them as toys for their children, who also break them. This is in reference to my town.[91]

---

[89] Information on Martínez Gracida's life was taken from the following sources: Manuel Brioso y Candini, "D. Manuel Martínez Gracida. Historiador de Oajaca," *El Centenario*, no. 1, year 1 (1910): 58-66; "Manuel Martínez Gracida (1847-1923)." In *Biblios* (México: UNAM, 1999), 271-274; Anselmo Arellanes Meixueiro, ed. *Diccionario Histórico de la Revolución en Oaxaca* (Oaxaca: UABJO, IEEPO, 1997), 149.

[90] *"Conozco, nos dice adelante, casi dos terceras partes del Estado, y me conocen también caso todos los particulares y autoridades de los pueblos, por las relaciones que con uno y con otros he tenido durante el tiempo que ha servido en la Secretaría, y a quienes he tratado con cortesía, procurándolos el pronto arreglo de sus negocios. A proposito de estas relaciones, he dirijido durante mi larga carrera de empleado, cerca de 30 000 cartas a autoridades, empleados y particulares, ya en solicitud de datos históricos y estadísticas."* Manuel Brioso y Candini, "D. Manuel Martínez Gracida. Historiador de Oajaca," 61.

[91] Author's translation of: *"Le remito una copia de los sepulcros que formé aunque muy mal, de los que hay cerca de este pueblo; y que hay muchas en toda la línea o falda que empieza desde San Felipe del Agua, hasta las albarradas; están abiertas, y registrados que han sido por hombres ignorantes, han despedazado los objetos que encontraron, cuyos restos, se hallan esparcidos en pedazos muy pequeños por las tierrras cultivadas; muchos de estos objetos se encontraron buenos pero los que los obtuvieron, lo regalaron, los vendieron, y otros los dedicaron a juguete a sus hijos que tambien los rompieron. Esto es referiendome a mi pueblo."* Manuel Albino Martínez to Manuel Martínez Gracida, 28 April 1892, in AHM/APP, microfilm roll 39; Martínez Gracida, *Documentos para la historia de Oaxaca, Civilización Zapoteca. Dibujos de 1891 a 1894*.

The lack of interest in Oaxaca's rural areas for preserving archaeological heritage and its destruction at the hands of "ignorant men" would become a central argument for the collectors, who justified the creation of massive private cabinets as a way to rescue artifacts from oblivion.

Over a twenty-eight year period the bureaucrat also compiled an impressive multi-volume catalogue, *Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos*, a colossal undertaking that remains largely unpublished.[92] The work documents, with image and text, the State's archaeological ruins and artifacts in public and private collections, including his own. Porfirio Díaz and the prestigious Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística bankrolled the edition at an estimated cost of $150 000 pesos, which was destined to be dedicated to the President for Mexico's centennial celebrations in 1910. In anticipation of the publication the press anointed Martínez Gracida with the honorific title of "Lord Kingsborough of the Oaxacan region,"[93] an allusion to the Irish antiquarian Edward King, who in the first half of the nineteenth century produced a luxurious, and costly, nine-volume set entitled *The Antiquities of Mexico*, that included hand-painted reproductions of Mesoamerican codices and a complete rendering of the Dupaix expedition. The comparison was an unfortunate one as Kingsborough died in debtors prison before he saw his life's work finished. Martínez Gracida would not see his work published either, because his patron was forced to flee the country at the onset of the Mexican Revolution. Today the draft of his *magnum opus* can be found in a special section of the Oaxaca Public Library.

The multi-volume work is divided into two parts, text and illustrations, and each one of these was sub-divided thematically into five parts. There are four volumes of text in leather bound, legal size tomes that are accompanied by illustrations in separate volumes rendered by different local artists.[94] Unfortunately, the first volume in this last set has gone missing, which is a tragedy because it contained 159 color plates depicting ceramic artifacts in different collections. The following breaks down the volume themes and their order (Table 6):

[92] A small selection of images with a brief commentary was published by the Government of the State of Oaxaca, see Genaro Vásquez Colmenares, Coordinador, *Manuel Martínez Gracida, Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos* (Oaxaca: Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca, 1986).

[93] "Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos. Notable obra dedicada al Sr. Gral. Díaz," *El Imparcial*, September 27,1910, in Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, *El pasado prehispánico en la cultura nacional,* vol. II, 640-641.

[94] The artists that participated are: Sabino Soriano, E. Ramírez, E. Arias, Juan Ortíz Juárez, C. Montiel, Romero, Ed. Villaseñor.

Table 6: Order and themes present in the volumes for *Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos*.[95]

Volume	Theme	Text	Plates
I	Ceramics: Zapotec, Mixtec, Chochontec, Mazatec, Cuicatec, Huave, Mixe, Zoque and Chinantec	171 pages	159 plates (missing)
II	Artifacts of stone and metal from the same cultures	145 pages	129 plates
	Artifacts of metal from the same cultures	32 pages	
III	Architecture and landscape from the same cultures	209 pages	103 plates
IV	Ethnography from the same cultures	758 pages	140 plates

Martínez Gracida's often-tedious descriptions of objects include his interpretation, measurements and data about the collector. The interpretations were often couched in terms relating to astrology, a hobby of the researcher who had also published books on the subject.[96] From this source, his inventory list, and a diversity of published photographs we can get a general idea of his overall collection.

The scale of his holding was modest, especially when compared to Sologuren's collection, but the objects were exceedingly well documented and carefully labeled. In the same manner as his colleagues, Martínez Gracida classified his archaeological collection with printed labels that had spaces to designate culture, type of object, date the object was found and provenience. In the corner of each label he wrote an inventory number. Artifacts in the museum collections in New York, Berlin and Göteburg still maintain these original labels, in contrast to those from the collections of Belmar and Sologuren that had their identifying labels removed shortly after they entered the Mexican museum. Martínez Gracida's classification by culture (he uses the term "*civilización*" to describe the Zapotec, Mixtec, Cuicatec, Ixcatec, Chocha, Zoque, Trique, Mixe and Aztec) reflected his anthropological training, although he often assumed that the cultural groups inhabiting the areas where the objects were found were the same ones that produced them in antiquity. This system of labeling his wares is a clear indication that an incipient

[95] This data is from an unpublished report elaborated by Sonia Arlett Pérez Martínez, 4 Februay 2002, and is on file at the Historical Archive in Microfilm, Antonio Pompa y Pompa, Mexico City.

[96] Manuel Martínez Gracida, *Pronosticario con la astrología al alcance de todos: Obra curiosa y útil.* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1893).

classification of archaeological material was taking place, and evidence suggests that these labels were shared among the members of the Archaeological Club (Figure 47).

Figure 47: Printed and annotated label on artifact from Martínez Gracida's collection.

Photograph by the author.

Martínez Gracida's collection has been widely dispersed, but fortunately an inventory list exists that includes short descriptions and provenance information for over 500 artifacts.[97] The handwriting on this document, entitled *Inventario de la Colección de antigüedades que constituye al Museo Arqueológico del Sr. Manuel Martínez Gracida*, does not match the historian's, so someone else must have compiled the list. It is undated, but since the latest date recorded for the discovery of an object is 1893, it follows that the inventory was prepared sometime after. In this list, measurements are not

[97] *Inventario de la colección de antigüedades que constituye al Museo Arqueológico del Sr. Martínez Gracida* (Inventory of the collection of antiquities that form the Archaeological Museum of Mr. Martínez Gracida), *Documentos para la historia de Oaxaca, Civilización Zapoteca. Dibujos de 1891 a 1894*, AHM/APP, microfilm rolls 38 and 39.

recorded, which is a useful piece of data for locating artifacts in his original collection, and there is also no continuous numbering in the entries, so we cannot correlate the list with the numbered labels on the objects. This suggests that there must have been another inventory in Martínez Gracida's possession that was based on the labels. The entries, however, often include the date an object was found, an important clue for reconstructing a timeline of the Archaeological Club's excavations. As in the case of Belmar's collection there are no surviving photographs showing all the artifacts together. A few objects of his appeared in Peñafiel's 1893 work, including two impressive carved stones with glyphs from Ayocuezco and Zaachila, both in the district of Zimatlán.[98] He was also known to have many *lienzos*, one of which he donated to the Museo Nacional, but none of these appear in the inventory, probably because he classified them as historical documents and kept them apart from the archaeological collection.[99]

Unlike the other members of the Club, Martínez Gracida did not shroud himself in the flag when it came time to divest his cabinet, but rather, he sold it to different foreign interests; some of the spectacular, large Zapotec urns were divided up among various collectors, and in 1895 Eduard Seler bought what remained. The German scientist, partly financed by the Duke of Loubat who was securing collections for the American Museum of Natural History, remarked to the Secretary of that institution that he had "an opportunity…to buy at a moderate price, the collection of the well-known Oaxacan archaeologist Manuel Martínez Gracida… [containing] two sculptured grave plates and a good number of clay idols and other antiquities."[100] The list of objects he purchased exceeded 3 000 and in accordance with the agreement between Seler and Loubat, a third of the collection was sent to the New York museum and the rest went to the Königliches Museum (Royal Museum) in Berlin (now the Ethnologisches Museum in Dahlem). Seler himself undertook the task of dividing up the collection and mentioned that he had selected all the large and remarkable pieces for New York, because Berlin already had sig-

[98] Antonio Peñafiel, *Arqueología Zapoteca*; Gracida's artifacts are on plates 12, 16, 21, 60 and 61. The last two plates show stones carved in relief.

[99] "*... el Sr. Manual Martínez Gracida ha donado á este Museo un códice post-cortesiano, dibujado con tinta sobre papel español, y en muy mal estado, el cual códice representa el pueblo de Quiotepec, distrito de Micatlán, Oaxaca. Según el donante, este códice prueba que Hernan Cortés visitó á Tehuantepec en el año de 1527, hecho que niega la obra titulada "México a través de los Siglos.*" On the 21st of July, 1909 he donated a colonial codex, drawn on paper with ink and deteriorated, representing the town of Quiotepec, District of Micatlán, Oaxaca, in AH/MNA, vol. 270, file 19, pp. 82-83.

[100] Seler to the Secretary of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, 3 December 1895, AMNH Accession No. 1899-30, Duke of Loubat–gift, Cat. No. 30/7555-7738.

nificant collections representing ancient Oaxaca. Later, in 1922, part of the Berlin collection was further divided to help fortify the Middle American holdings of the Museet Etnografiska in Göteburg, Sweden (now the Museum of World Cultures), where they remain today.

After selling his collection to different collectors, many of the objects took elaborate and indirect routes between buyers and institutions before ending up in several museums in Europe and in the United States. An example of this occurred in the case of a set of four identical ceramic urns that were split up by the collector and then sold separately. In his extensive catalogue of Zapotec urns, Frank Boos registered some of these orphaned objects in different museums and began to make connections. He published a picture of an effigy vessel in the Peabody Museum of Harvard and on the following page he illustrated another in the Smithsonian Institution, an incomplete but almost identical object that he claimed was a "matched figure," and gave the recorded provenance as Zimatlán, Oaxaca (erroneously, as it turns out).[101] In fact there are two of these matched urns at the Smithsonian, making a set of three urns.

Martínez Gracida, however, describes retrieving a group of four large identical urns from a tomb in Zaachila, Oaxaca, in September 1894. Almost immediately he sold three of them: Two urns went to Lucio Smith, who subsequently shipped them to the United States, and one was bought by Luis Raynaud.[102] In the Smithsonian's records it was Edward William Nelson, and not Lucio Smith who donated the two matched urns to the Institution on the 29th of March 1899. Digging a bit deeper we discover that Lucio Smith was an evangelical minister in Oaxaca and an avid collector of botanical specimens, but he died on the 12th of March 1896.[103] Nelson was an ornithologist who had worked extensively in Mexico, so given they were in related fields and had both worked in Mexico it is possible they knew each other. A likely scenario, then, is that Smith sold or gifted the two urns to Nelson. But

[101] Frank Boos, *The Ceramic Sculptures of Ancient Oaxaca* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1966), 29, fig. 2 and p. 30, fig. 3.

[102] *"Se encontró esta urna (de Zachila) en un sepulcro en septiembre de 1894 junto con tres y pertenece á la Colección del Sr. Martínez Gracida. Las tres restantes fueron compradas, una por D. Luis Reynaud y dos por el Sr. D. Lucio Smith, quien las envió a los Estados Unidos. 45 cm. alto x 39 cm. ancho."* The original document has the name written as "Reynaud." *Inventario de la colección de antigüedades que constituye al Museo Arqueológico del Sr. Martínez Gracida* (Inventory of the collection of antiquities that form the Archaeological Museum of Mr. Martínez Gracida), *Documentos para la historia de Oaxaca, Civilización Zapoteca. Dibujos de 1891 a 1894*, in AHM/APP, microfilm rolls 38 and 39, plate 81.

[103] Nimcy Arellanes Cancino, "Entre Cabildos y espacios públicos," *Noticias, voz e imagen de Oaxaca*, 25 July 2006, no. 10621.

what of the urn bought by Luis Raynaud? If we trace back the history of the Peabody urn we discover that this Museum received it in 1929, as a donation from the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Therefore the most likely scenario is that it was part of the Martínez Gracida collection that Eduard Seler split between the museums in New York and Berlin in 1895. Thus, to complete the set of four, we would have still have to discover the whereabouts of the urn that was purchased by Raynaud. A French importer,[104] Louis Raynaud may have sold or gifted this urn to a fellow countryman in Oaxaca: Gustave Bellon. In the catalogue of the Bellon collection there is a photograph of the object, slightly incomplete, and missing different parts from those in the Smithsonian or the Peabody.[105] Sometime in the early twentieth century this urn travelled to France with the rest of the Bellon collection and was later purchased by the prolific collector George Heye at a Paris auction in 1928 or 1929, whereupon he shipped it back to the United States to form part of his Museum of the American Indian in New York. In 1990 the Smithsonian Institution absorbed the extensive Heye collection, and today maintains it as a separate holding just steps from where the two urns bought by Lucio Smith urns are held. Thus, by many indirect channels, all the urns belonging to the original set are now in the United States: (Figure 48 and Table 7).

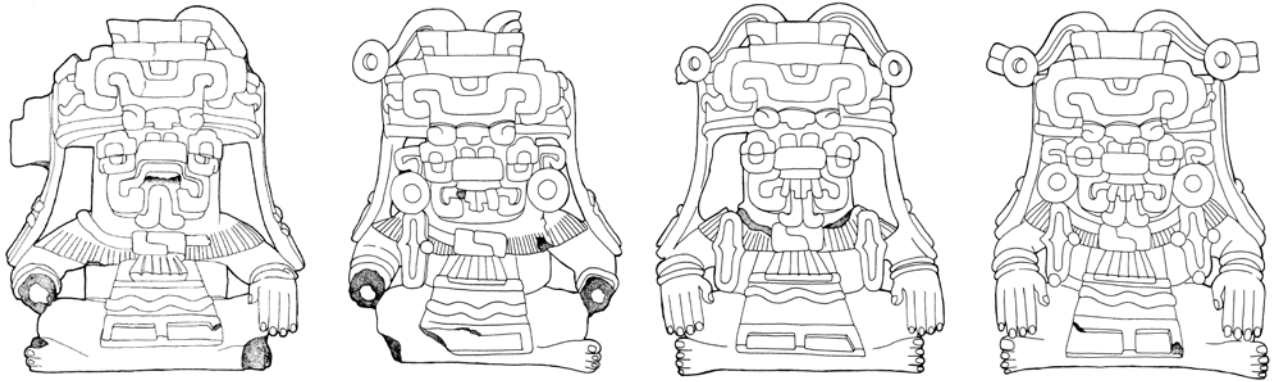
Table 7: Actual location of four urns discovered by Martínez Gracida in Zaachila, 1894.

Collector	Museum	Catalog no.	Measurements
a. Luis Raynaud; Gustave Bellon; George Heye	Smithsonian Institution, former Heye Collection	180086	45 cm x 39 cm
b. Lucio Smith; E.W. Nelson	Smithsonian Institution, Department of Anthropology	198426	44 cm x 38 cm
c. Lucio Smith; E.W. Nelson	Smithsonian Institution, Department of Anthropology	198427	44 cm x 38 cm
d. Eduard Seler	Peabody Museum	10609	44 cm x 38 cm

[104] Francie R. Chassen-López. *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State Unversity Press, 2004), 223.

[105] Catalogue of the Bellon collection, Marshall H. Saville papers in the Historical Archive of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, box 28, no. 301 in the list.

Figure 48: A set of four Zapotec effigy vessels that originally formed part of Martínez Gracida's collection.



Drawings by the author.

Figure 49: Drawing of an incised tomb slab by S. Soriano.

In Martínez Gracida, *Los Indios Oaxaqueños…Tomo I Artefactos de Piedra, Losa Sepulcrales* (sic), plate 59, 1910. Photograph courtesy of the Bibilioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Figure 50a: Statue in Martínez Gracida's collection.

In Martínez Gracida, *Los Indios Oaxaqueños…* plate 63, 1910. Photographs courtesy of the Bibilioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia and the Archivo General de la Nación.

Figure 50b: Statue in Martínez Gracida's collection.

In Charles Burlingame Waite, "Piezas y Esculturas Arqueológicas" (1904-1909), in AGN/F, no. 98, photo #57.

Another highlight of his collection were the two "sculptured grave plates" from San Pablo Huitzo, Etla, that Seler mentions in his letter to the Duke of Loubat and that are currently on display in the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin. The talented artist Sabino Soriano, who often worked with the collector, illustrated these for *Los indios oaxaqueños*... and thanks to the detail in the corresponding notes we learn that the *Jefe político* (political leader) of Etla, Augustín Robles Arenas, gifted the stones to Martínez Gracida after discovering them in 1894. Given that both objects were found in the same year, and that they are of a uniform size (83 x 33 x 11 and 71 x 28 x 10), they may have functioned as doorjambs from the same structure, such as a tomb (Figure 49).

The collector also possessed an object in his collection that perhaps was meant to serve as a didactic device, a curious sculpture—perhaps of his own making—that is a model or mannequin of a Zapotec priest from antiquity. In his unpublished work there is an illustration that bears the title of *Pontifice de Mitla* (Pontiff of Mitla), and shows a man standing on a green pedestal who is dressed in brightly colored clothes with adornments typically found on Zapotec urns, such as a bi-conical hat, a cape, distinctive ear spools and a particular four-cornered medallion hanging from his neck (Figure 50a). The statue is clearly not pre-Hispanic, and several details are incongruous with an ancient effigy, such as the suspiciously occidental features of the face and the Victorian style base. Furthermore the designs on the cape are of Mixtec origin. Martínez Gracida may have placed this plate in his work as a whim, but a black and white photograph taken by the American photographer Charles Burlingame Waite in 1907 confirms that the statue once existed (Figure 50b), although it is difficult to ascertain from the image whether this statue was made of wood, stone, or some other material.

What is striking about the figure is how it emulates statues of saints that are commonly found in temples throughout Mexico. While many questions about this object go unanswered, including its present location, the existence of the statue suggests that the Archaeological Club had an interest in illustrating the past through different mediums.

José Abraham Castellanos Coronado

The junior member of the archaeological club, a Mixtec Indian, José Abraham Castellanos Coronado (1868-1918), was a celebrated poet and educator from the town of Nochixtlán, Oaxaca (Figure 51).

Figure 51: José Abraham Castellanos Coronado (1868-1918).

In Anselmo Arellanes Meixueiro et al. *Diccionario Histórico de la Revolución en Oaxaca*, 1997, p. 49.

In concert with Manuel Martínez Gracida and Mariano López Ruiz, he formed part of an intellectual cadre that was concerned with preserving indigenous oral traditions and cultural history.[106] He was also keenly interested in photography and established a small archaeological collection. At a young age, his family left his native soil in the highlands of Oaxaca and moved to Orizaba, Veracruz, where he spent most of his youth. He was a precocious educator and while still a teenager he opened a night school for adults, beginning a vocation in education that would last a lifetime. Returning to Oaxaca in 1891 he worked as the director of one of the city's primary schools, and then later headed a school for teachers (in the same building that was Porfirio Díaz's birthplace). The credentials he had earned from living in Orizaba prepared him for Oaxacan society, and he fit in well with other colleagues who had similar interests in science, archaeology and linguistics. His friend

[106] Maarten Jansen and Aurora Pérez Jiménez, *La Dinastía de Añute* (University of Leiden: CNWS, 2000), 11.

Fernando Sologuren was also originally from Orizaba, so it is possible that the two families knew each other well and the doctor may have even have facilitated his move back to the state.[107] Evidence of their close relationship is illustrated by a kind gesture Castellanos made when the Museo Nacional was preparing to exhibit Sologuren's collection. He came up with the idea to create a commemorative plaque for the display made from turquoise fragments extracted from a gold artifact he had found on a mountain (Shadaná) nearby the town of Yanhuitlán.[108] Unfortunately the whereabouts of this interesting artifact is unknown today.

Castellanos was a vociferous and passionate advocate for indigenous rights at a time when there was a widespread view that this population constituted an obstacle to progress. Along with Francisco Belmar he helped found the Sociedad Indigenista Mexicana, precursor to today's Instituto Nacional Indigenista*,* to research the causes behind the underdevelopment of Mexico's indigenous populations. At the Society's first congress in 1910, with president Díaz in attendance, he raised a few eyebrows in his address when he pronounced: "I come, gentlemen, to confirm that the indigenous race is abandoned, and that this is not just."[109] In his speech he insisted that education was the key to Mexico's Indian question, and cited many examples of indigenous leaders who had shaped the country with their talents. He believed that progress would be made if only Mexico's educators would abandon the "Helenist methods" that had been imposed on them, and adopt instead a focus on indigenous literature, the study of native languages, ideologies and systems of belief.[110] There is no doubt that Castellanos was more politically radical than the other members of the Archaeological Club. During the Mexican Revolution he lived in Mexico City and was caught up in the events of *la decena trágica* (ten tragic days), when on the 18th of February 1913, rival factions assassinated both the revolutionary president Francisco Madero, and his vice president José María Pino Suárez. Resisting the subse-

[107] General biographical information on Castellanos comes from the following sources: Jesús Romero Flores, *Diccionario Biográfico Mexicano* (México: Biblioteca Nacional), 135-136 [in this publication his birth date is erroneously given as 1871]; Anselmo Arellanes Meixueiro et al., *Diccionario Histórico de la Revolución en Oaxaca*, 49; Hans Gadow, *Through Southern Mexico,* 264-267; Maarten Jansen and Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez, *La Dinastía de Añute*, 11-13.

[108] National Museum Memorandum, 6 August 1907, in AGN/IPBA box 152, file 10, p. 31; Abraham Castellanos to the Museo Nacional, 8 July 1907, AGN/IPBA, box 153, file 46, p. 25.

[109] Thomas Powell, "Mexican Intellectuals and the Indian Question," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 48, no. 1 (1968): 36. A complete account of that evening is in: "Anoche fue inaugurado un notable congreso," *El Imparcial*, October 31,1910.

[110] Cited in Maarten Jansen and Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez, *La Dinastía de Añute*, 12.

quent *coup d'etat*, he was jailed for sedition for a period of months, spending the time to write a book.[111]

Eduard and Caecilie Seler, who frequented Oaxaca on their many trips to Mexico, became good friends of Castellanos and his wife, and photographs in the Seler archive in Berlin document an excursion they took together to Monte Albán. The Mixtec professor warmly dedicated one of the pictures to Eduard, a photo of his hand-drawn map of Monte Albán (1896), showing the elevations of the terrain and all the known structures. Another image shows Castellanos holding a rifle, standing next to his wife at the entrance tunnel to a mound, perhaps the edifice now known as "Building J" (Figure 52).

Figure 52: Abraham Castellanos and his wife (left) standing in front of the cave-entrance to Building J, Monte Albán, Oaxaca, ca. 1897.

Photograph courtesy of the Ibero-American Institute, Seler Archive.

He was an avid collector, although his archaeological collection was noticeably smaller than that of his colleagues, probably because he began much later. An undated photograph of the collection—when it was still in its initial

[111] Abraham Castellanos, *Al caer el sol (desde mi celda) Teogonías Mexicanas dedicadas a la niñez, a los maestros y a los artistas* (México: Imprenta de A. Carranza e Hijos, 1914).

stages—is also part of Seler's papers, and may have been taken around the same time as other photographs the German researcher secured while on his second trip to America, in 1897 (Figure 53).

Figure 53: The Castellanos collection.

Photograph courtesy of the Ibero-American Institute, Seler Archive.

The view of the collection illustrates only about 50 objects, including four spectacular Mixtec polychrome vessels on the second and third shelf. The object on the second shelf, second from the left, a gray ceramic vessel representing a coiled snake with the face of a jaguar, is part of the collections in the Ethnographic Museum of Berlin, which Castellanos must have either sold or gifted to Seler. Martínez Gracida described this curious jaguar-snake effigy in *Los indios oaxaqueños*... and claimed that the Mixtec professor had found it in 1890, in a tomb in Xoxocotlán (Figure 54).[112]

Figure 54: Snake effigy vessel from the Castellanos collection.

In Immina von Schuler-Schömig, *Figurengefässe aus Oaxaca*, 1970, plate 222.

Over the years Castellanos divested parts of his collection to private individuals, but at one point he tried to sell a large part of the holding to the Museo Nacional. What remained after his death was donated to this insti-

[112] Manuel Martínez Gracida, *Los indios oaxaqueños*, plate 38.

tution by his nephews. The first news of his interest in selling his cabinet is a letter he directed to the sub-secretary of Justice in 1902, inquiring if the museum would be interested in buying 284 pre-Hispanic objects for $400 pesos.[113] The list of objects, unfortunately missing from the file, described Zapotec urns and Mixtec vases, and according to the collector's introductory letter, included a pre-Hispanic quiver, which he stressed was the most interesting piece in the collection. In the same file there is a letter from Castellano's friend and colleague, Fernando Sologuren, who was asked to evaluate the collection. Not surprisingly Sologuren deemed Castellano's collection to be of great value, but there is no indication in the documentation whether or not the Museum bought the objects at this time.

Ten years later, in April 1913, Castellanos again proposes to sell part of his collection. This date is soon after he was let out of prison for his participation in the events of the *la decena trágica* and he was probably in need of money. He wrote directly to the head of the Museo Nacional, Cecilio Robledo, but in his missive he offers few details about his motives: "I have the need to get rid of some of the archaeological objects in my private museum. As always, I must give preference to the Museo Nacional to acquire all that I possess of interest to our history…"[114] As we have seen with the other collectors, the appropriate procedure was to first offer the collection to a national institution, and if the proposal were rejected then it would be possible to sell the collection to either private and/or foreign parties, as long as there was an assurance that this would stay in the country, as per the law. At this time Castellanos did not provide a comprehensive list of his collection, except to say that is was made up of artifacts of stone, shell, metal, jade, onyx, as well as ceramic effigies and polychrome vessels. He boasted that his objects would take front row in the Museum, alongside the many outstanding pieces in the Sologuren and Heredia collections that *he* had discovered on his many excursions into the mountains.[115] His reference to these very large holdings, acquired by the Museo Nacional in 1907 and 1909 respectively, suggests that he was actively selling artifacts to other parties. In the case of the Heredia

[113] Abraham Castellanos to the Subsecretary of Justice, 22 May 1902, AGN/IPBA, box 149, folder 45, p. 5.

[114] Author's translation of: *"Tengo necesidad de deshacerme de algunos objetos arqueológicos de mi museo particular. Como en todo caso, en primer lugar debo prefirir al Museo Nacional por ser todo lo que poséo de interés para nuestra historia."* Abraham Castellanos to Cecilio Robledo, 7 April 1913 AH/DG/INAH, Serie: MNA H.E./Dir., box 1, folder 38, p. 1.

[115] *"... y otras curiosidades que pueden figurar en primera línea en el Museo, como figuran muchas notables piezas descubiertas por mi en las Colecciones Sologuren y Heredia, en mis excursiones por la montaña."* Ibid.

collection, Castellanos reportedly sold him two "Zapotec" collections for the sum of 2 500 pesos.[116]

Figure 55: Three effigy vessels manufactured in the twentieth century in the Castellanos collection.

Archivo Histórico Institucional, Dirección General, INAH; reproduced by permission of the Instituto Nacional de Antroplogía e Historia, Mexico City.

Six years after Castellano's death in Pachuca in 1918, his nephews Ernesto Nieto and Mario Guasp offered the rest of his collection, a mere 44 objects, to the Museo Nacional. The plan was to integrate these with the earlier acquisitions, confirming that the Museum had indeed purchased parts of his collection on previous occasions; all these objects would then be reunited and displayed in one of the galleries. The museum authorities promised the nephews a commemorative plaque and a photograph of their uncle to grace the exhibit, and a special reference to the collection would be published within the general catalogue. These honorific measures would be followed

[116] *Colección arqueológica mexicana del Sr. D. Guillermo de Heredia. Lista de las diversas colecciones refundidas en ella con indicación del precio á que fueron adquiridas y otros gastos originados por la conservación y arreglo de dicha colección*, AH/MNA, vol. 14, pp. 158-159.

by a small ceremony to be held in his memory at inauguration of the exhibit.[117] It is unclear if these promises were ever kept. Today there is no evidence of Castellanos' collection in the Museum's exhibition space, although a partial memory of the artifacts he acquired is still available in the card catalogue. Later the Museo Nacional decided to trade some of these objects for materials from other museums. In the 1959 three Zapotec funerary urns from the ex-collection Castellanos were exchanged with the Field Museum in Chicago. Judging from a photograph that documented the items, it would appear that the Chicago museum received three fakes (Figure 55).[118]

Porfirian politics and collection acquisitions

The study of the loosely knit Archeological Club can tell us a great deal about the dynamics of Porfirian politics in relation to Mexico's cultural heritage and the formation of museums, and about how knowledge about the past was being acquired and assimilated. The members of the Club enjoyed a privileged position in the Porfirian power structure and by the grace of Leopoldo Batres were allowed to collect without incurring sanctions. They were also rewarded economically for their collections. We have established that with the exception of Martínez Gracida all three members of the Club sold the bulk of their holdings to the Museo Nacional, and in the case of Belmar and Sologuren, were remunerated handsomely. In the proposals they made to the government they highlighted a duty to the nation as their prime motive, while at the same time playing down any hint of making a profit. Did they divest their holdings to the State solely out of a nationalistic sentiment? While they may have been patriotic, their offers were made with the caveat that if the government were not to accept their terms they would be compelled to sell to foreign interests. The implied consequences may have helped force the Museum's hand for fear of losing the material overseas, and given them the right nationalistic ammunition to justify the purchase to higher authorities.

In the case of Sologuren I have established that he had forged a previous arrangement with the Federal Inspector of Monuments, Leopoldo Batres, one that not only gave him a free hand to collect and excavate in the State but also guaranteed that the fruit of his effort would eventually end up in

[117] Secretary of the National Museum to Mrs. Nieto and Guasp, 24 October 1924, AH/MNA, vol. 46, p. 242.

[118] *Canje de objetos con el Field Museum*, #74, 75, 76, in AHI/DG/INAH, vol. 3 (1959) exp. 15, f. 197.

the Museo Nacional. Martínez Gracida, on the other hand, had no compunction in selling his collection to foreign interests. The recipient of most of these wares, Eduard Seler, somehow sidestepped the strict laws regarding the export of archaeological material and exported an enormous amount of material to Germany. His special relationship with Batres may have helped him, and we know that the Inspector himself reported selling a number of Teotihuacán "plombate" vases to Seler's wife Caecilie, that are now in Berlin's Ethnographic Museum.[119]

In making these transactions the Oaxacan collectors took advantage of other weaknesses in the system and benefitted from the procedures put in place by the Museum for determining the value of their holdings. In one conflict of interest after another, the evaluators of the collections rotated among the members of the Archaeological Club: Martínez Gracida evaluated Belmar's collection and Sologuren evaluated Castellanos' collection, and the overall impression from this process is that it was a foregone conclusion. This endemic practice appears to have ended abruptly after the Revolution. When the Oaxacan collector Constantino Rickards wished to sell his cabinet to the Museo Nacional in 1912, Fernando Sologuren was chosen as the evaluator and enthusiastically endorsed it. The Museum, however, ignored the report and refused to buy the collection.[120] A year earlier, in 1911, Díaz had resigned the presidency and left the country, and a system of cronyism that profited from the country's cultural heritage had come to an end.

As result of that change in political fortunes some of the positive aspects of their collecting and documenting activities were undone. The four collectors we have discussed here made inventory lists of their collections that allow us to identify specific artifacts and determine the overall size of their holdings. When they divested their collections to Mexico's Museo Nacional it was standard procedure to inventory every item, a task that was carried out by copying the information the collectors had dutifully compiled on each object and meticulously recorded on individually numbered labels. Now yellowed and peeling, many of these nineteenth-century tags are still miraculously stuck to the artifacts, confirming photographic evidence—where we can see the labels but not read their content—that virtually every object

[119] *Historia sobre la sustracción de objetos arqueológicos de la República Mexicana*, 10 pages typed with stamps of "Departamento de Monumentos Prehispánicos," unsigned but attributed to Jorge Enciso, then Director of the Department of Pre-Hispanic Monuments, AH/DG/INAH, vol. II, file 59, p. 196.

[120] *Reporte de Fernando Sologuren: El profesor del Museo dice que ha visto la colección Rickards personalmente y es de la opinión que sería una buena adquisición para el Museo*, in AGN box 158, file 33, p. 14.

had been classified. When the Museo Nacional bought the Sologuren collection, the labels, over time, became separated and the link with the inventory list that contained the vital provenance information was obliterated. On the other hand, the objects in Martínez Gracida collection that were exported and dispersed among several museums still maintain their original labels and a memory of their origin is still secure. The printed labels were standardized, suggesting that the collectors shared them and perhaps collaborated on their design. A comparative analysis of the labels they elaborated indicates that these four Oaxacan collectors used the *same* printed labels, constituting a coordinated effort to organize their collections that represents an early—if not the first—systematic classification of archaeological material according cultural affiliation in Mexico.

CHAPTER 7
THE DEBATES ON ORIGIN

The Oaxacan collectors we have just discussed were not solely interested in filling their homes to the rooftops with large quantities of archaeological material, a fetish that is vaingloriously about possession. Their primary purpose in amassing large collections was to create a database to make comparisons—the preeminent scientific method of positivists—with the purpose of understanding intellectual questions of the day, such as the origin of the Native American peoples, and linking material culture to known indigenous groups. In the second half of the nineteenth century the available published works on Mexican archaeology were few (often written by people who had never visited the country), so discussions about the pre-Hispanic past were rooted in empirical evidence, either in the collector's own cabinet or in the local museum. The forum for their debates took place within the scientific societies that flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century and was disseminated in their publications and in the press. The earlier societies formed by antiquarians, such as the Junta de Antigüedades founded in 1808, eventually gave way to broader-based organizations with more inclusive views on material culture. The Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística (1850), for example, is cited as the first institution to organize Mexican research efforts along the lines of western scientific thought;[1] later came La Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate" (1884) and the International Congress of Americanists, founded in France in 1875, with their first meeting in Mexico held in Mexico City in 1895. All of these societies organized conferences and published findings from the intellectual community in Mexico and abroad, and their influence in fomenting science throughout the country cannot be understated.

One of these discussions will be highlighted here because it is indicative of the type of debating that was occurring, and because the argument illustrates

[1] Luz Fernanda Azuela Bernal. "La Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, la organización de la ciencia, la institucionalización de la Geografía y la construcción del país en el siglo XIX." *Investigaciones Geográficas, Boletín del Instituto de Geografía*, UNAM, no. 52 (2003): 153-166.

the lively interactions of the participants. The first debate focused on a ceramic effigy that is now a paragon of Zapotec artistry, exalted in catalogues and part of the Mexican museum experience.

The Scribe of Cuilapan

A controversy began in 1893 that centered on a sole ceramic object, a small clay effigy of a man, completely nude except for his large mitre-like headdress. Seated with both hands on his knees, he emulates the appearance of effigies found in Egypt known to be scribes, and based on that vague similarity some researchers assigned him this vocation, embedding the concept in the objects' identity that remains with us today. Excellently crafted, the figure has finely modeled features, including a glyph inscribed within a cartouche on the front of his headdress and another on his chest; both glyphs are accompanied by the coefficient 13. The object has been extensively published, appearing in a host of catalogues about Oaxacan ceramics from the late nineteenth century to now,[2] but the first discussions about its origin rarely form part of its interpretation, and the early memory of the object in museum collections has been all but forgotten.

As its name conveys the piece comes from Cuilapan, a town located at the southern foot of Monte Albán, but Friend Sleight, in an overview of this area's archaeology, placed even this fact in doubt:

> The "Scribe"…was given to the city of Oaxaca in the 1880s and intended as a nucleus for a city museum. The name of the donor and proof of origin of the piece were lost during the Revolution of 1910 when the city records were burned. Only by oral tradition can the piece be linked to Cuilapan.[3]

[2] The list is long but not exhaustive: Alfonso Caso, *Las estelas zapotecas* (Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, México, 1928) glyphs only; Pat Keleman, *Medieval American Art: A survey in two volumes*, vol. II, plate 123d (New York : The Macmillan Company, 1943); Salvador Toscano *Arte Precolombino de México y de la América Central* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1944), 432; Miguel Covarrubias, *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), fig. 18; Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal *Urnas de Oaxaca*, 337; *Mexican Art, Supplement Catalogue of Exhibition* (The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1953) fig. 53; Ignacio Bernal, *Historia de la arqueología en México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1979), plate 37; Nelly Robles García, "Historia de la Arqueología de Mesoamérica: Oaxaca." In *Descubridores del Pasado en Mesoamérica* (México: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, D.G.E. Ediciones, Turner publications, 2001), 129.

[3] Author's translation of: *"La figura cerámica llamada 'la escríba' de Cuilapan fue donada a la ciudad de Oaxaca en la década de 1880-1890, con la intención de hacerla el*

There is no way of knowing if documents regarding this object perished during the tumultuous events of 1910, but besides the oral traditions cited above, relevant information about the piece is available from nineteenth-century sources, published and unpublished. These texts evidence a vigorous debate that detonated around the artifact, principally over its cultural affiliation: some interpreted the glyphs as Mayan, while others maintained they were undeniably Zapotec, and although everyone agreed that it had been discovered in the valley of Oaxaca, the exact location was disputed.

Figure 56: Effigy vessel from Zaachila

In Nicolás León, "Un nuevo documento, Geroglífica Maya," 1897, p. 357.

núcleo para el museo de la Ciudad. El nombre del donador así como la prueba de su origen se perdió durante la Revolución de 1910 cuando los registros de la ciudad fueron quemados. Solamente por la vía de la tradición oral podemos vincular esta pieza a Cuilapan." Eleanor Friend Sleight, *The Many Faces of Cuilapan* (México: Pueblo Press, 1988), 53.

Nicolás León published a brief article about the piece entitled *Geroglífica Maya* (Mayan Hieroglyphics) in 1897 where he illustrated it with an accurate color drawing (Figure 56).

He had come across the object while in the process of reorganizing the collections in the Museo de Oaxaca and noticed that the piece had been damaged due to years of willful abandon, broken at the neck and chipped, but he repaired it and placed it in a prominent area of the collection's display. His description of the figure focused on the face, which he described as having an aquiline nose, obliquely slanting eyes, thick lips, a mouth partly open, and culminating in an a expression of surprise, characteristics he associated with Asian races without ascribing the object an oriental origin as many scholars of his time might have done. Rather he fixed his sight on the two glyphs that for him were without a doubt of Mayan origin. To prove his theory he used a comparative method, basing his arguments on a sixteenth-century text penned by Fray Diego de Landa, the Bishop of Yucatán, and Alfred Maudslay's recently published catalogue of glyphs. León was unable to determine the object's origin "with the desired certainty," but offered that it was "found buried in a mound in Cuilapan, a Mixtec town some three leagues Southwest of the city of Oaxaca."[4] Other evidence suggests that León was somewhat hesitant about the provenance of the object because at an earlier date he had written in a catalogue entry that it was from Mitla.[5] To get around this incon-

[4] Nicolás León, "Un nuevo documento, Geroglífica Maya," 358. Author's translation of: *"Pude averiguar, aunque no con la seguridad deseable, que este barro se encontró enterrado en un túmulo de Cuilapa [sic], pueblo mixteco distante tres leguas al Suroeste de la ciudad de Oaxaca."*

[5] In a catalogue of the objects in the State Museum, attributed to Nicolás León, the following description appears: No. 758. Idol of gray burnished clay with traces of red paint: it represents a figure of a High Priest sitting cross-legged with his hands on his knees; he has hieroglyphs profiled with incised lines, half open mouth showing four upper teeth with the two middle ones laterally perforated, aquiline nose, oblique eyes in the form of almonds, the facial angle very pronounced, the ears are broken and it appears that they were perforated, the headdress is formed by a flat square miter, decorated on the front by a hieroglyph that is similar, but not the same as the one on the chest, and on the back part by a hanging band that is formed by four stripes. It is broken at the neck. Dimensions: 33 1/2 cm. high. Base: 18 cm. Provenance: from Mitla.

Author's translation of: *"Número 758. Idolo de barro gris pulido con restos de pintura roja: representa una figura de Sumo Sacerdote sentado a la oriental con las manos en las rodillas; tiene sobre unos geroglíficos perfilados con líneas grabadas, boca entre abierta mostrando los cuatro dientes superiores, los dos del centro con perforaciones laterales, nariz aguileña, ojos oblícuos en forma de almendra, de ángulo facial muy pronunciado, las orejas están rotas y al parecer estaban perforadas, el tocado está formado por una mitra plana cuadrada, ornamentado al frente con un geroglífico semejante aunque no exactamente igual al del pecho, y en la parte posterior por una banda colgante formado por cuatro*

venience he surmised that being portable it must have been traded with the Maya sometime in the distant past and originated from either Palenque or Copán, and thus proposed it be called "the Mayan idol from Oaxaca."

That same year, in the next volume of *Las Memorias de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate"* where León had published his article, Martínez Gracida responded by objecting to his conclusion that the object was Mayan. The full text of this counter-argument, as well as other texts and illustrations supporting his opinion, were also included in his unpublished work *Los Indios Oaxaqueños y sus Monumentos Arqueológicos.* Part of this latter documentation incorporated a classification of the object by Leopoldo Batres dated 1886, which anteceded León's opinion by more than a decade. Martínez Gracida included this text so he could refute it as well, but his motive may have been more mischievous, as Batres' earlier text so resembled León's it gave the impression that the former had been plagiarized:

> The Mayan figure's cephalic type [Batres wrote] corresponds to the ethnic type so pronounced in this race: the eyes are arched upwards, the nose is lightly curved and long, just as the general style of the elongated face; also, it has an inscription in a cartouche in the headdress, a writing form specific to the Mayan race.[6]

Citing an argument by Alexander von Humboldt, that analogous similarities prove nothing because throughout history people have repeated the same forms, Martínez Gracida rejected both Batres's and León's assessment.[7] He

cintas. Está roto del cuello. Dims.: Alt. 33 1/2 cmt. Base 18 cmt. Proced. De Mitla."

The title of the catalogue is: Inventory of the archaeological objects that pertain to the Institute of Sciences and and Arts from the State of Oaxaca and that were formed almost fifty years ago by Dr. Nicolás León," Author's translation of: "*Inventario general de los objetos arqueológicos que pertenecen al Instituto de Ciencias y Artes del Estado de Oaxaca y que formo hace mas de cincuenta años el señor Dr. Don Nicolas León. Copia enviada por Félix Martínez Dolz*." AHM/APP, microfilm roll 50, vol. LXXXV, Estado de Oaxaca, Varios 1917-1949, vol. II, p. 115. Unfortunately it has been erroneously inventoried in the finder as an "inventory of objects in the private collection of doctor Nicolás León" (Moll 1982: 59, no. 658). Although this catalogue has no date of when it was made, in all probability it was during the process of reorganization of the Oaxacan Museum that León began shortly after receiving a leave of absence from the Michoacan Museum, in November, 1891.

[6] Author's translation of: *"El tipo cefálico de la figura maya es el correspondiente al tipo étnico tan marcado en su raza; los ojos arqueados hacia arriba, la nariz ligeramente curva, y larga lo mismo que el corte general de la cara que es alargada y además tiene una inscripción catúnica en el tocado, escritura muy peculiar de la "Raza Maya."* Manuel Martínez Gracida cites the following: Documento no. 140 de la Memoria de la Secretaría de Justicia, 1886, p. 295.

[7] Manuel Martínez Gracida cites Humboldt in Orozco y Berra, *Historia Antigua de México*, vol. 2, book V, chapter 4, p. 377.

published illustrations of objects in other local collections to demonstrate that the same facial features occur in many artifacts found in the valleys of Oaxaca. Regrettably, all these illustrations are part of the tome that has now gone missing, but he describes this evidence: it included an effigy vessel from Miahuatlán in Sologuren's collection and a series of over fifty clay heads from his own cabinet and that of Francisco Belmar's. Many of these heads had once been adhered to whistles and clay toys, which Martínez Gracida felt proved that the artisans had modeled these artifacts using the visual material at hand, indicating a local manufacture.

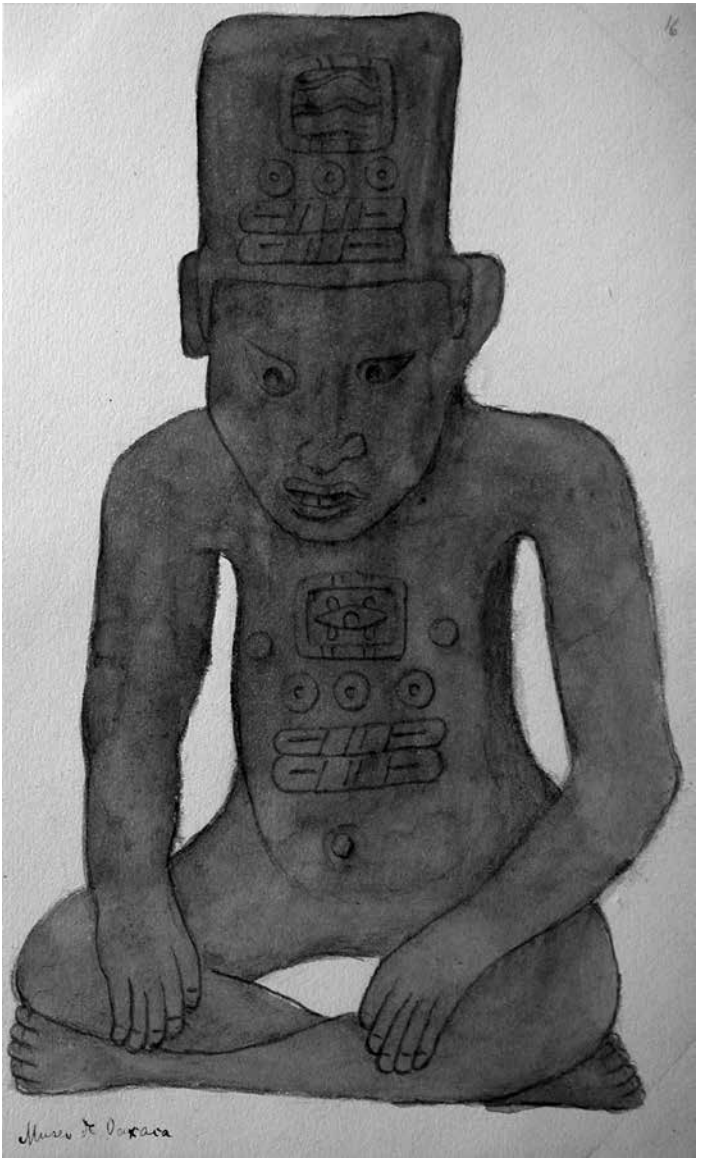
In a writing style that is best described as plodding, the historian spent most of the space in the *Las Memorias*... article simply describing the artifact, which León had already done succinctly with words and an illustration, and he committed an even greater redundancy by reprinting this author's original piece in its entirety. Both of them agreed that the statue represented a high priest, but Martínez Gracida broke with León on its origin, arguing that the glyphs were undeniably Zapotec. He then launched into a convoluted analysis of the symbols, asserting that the glyph on the torso was in fact a tattoo, and further obfuscated this analysis by using the calendric concepts of central Mexico combined with Náhuatl terminology. For example he referred to the "cartouche" as a *Xiuhmolpilli*, a Náhuatl ideogram for "a bundle of years," each bundle representing fifty-two years. He claimed that the glyphs signified dates in the Zapotec calendar, but without explaining how he arrived at this interpretation, and claimed that the date on the chest represented the day the pontiff took office, and the date on the headdress the day he died in 1443, at the ripe age of 93. Although his method for interpreting the glyphs was faulty, he recognized that these forms were of local extraction and used a copious selection of inscribed ceramics and carved stones from other sections of his work to prove his point.

León claimed that the artifact had been imported from a large Mayan center outside of Oaxaca and then deposited in Cuilapan, but even the issue of exactly where the artifact had been found was in dispute, and a review of the artifact's early documentation shows that its ascribed provenance began to shift over time.

The earliest image of the object is a simple watercolor and pencil sketch that Eduard Seler rendered in 1888 (Figure 57). He had little to add in terms of information about the piece but wrote on the edge of the card "Museo de Oaxaca," where León had placed it on display. A few years later in 1893, and one year after León had reorganized the Oaxaca Museum, the first photograph of the object was published in Antonio Peñafiel's *Arqueología Zapoteca*. Surprisingly the provenance Peñafiel gave the object was not Cuilapan

but Zaachila.[8] This corresponded with the very site-specific information Martínez Gracida had supplied at the end of his lengthy description and analysis:

Figure 57: Eduard Seler's rendering of the "The Scribe of Cuilapan."



Photograph courtesy of the Ibero-American Institute, Seler Archive.

[8] Antonio Peñafiel, *Arqueología Zapoteca*, plates 24-25.

> This statue was found in a mound in Zaachila in the year 1850, near the lands that border the village of Cuilapan, and it belonged to the collection of the priest José Juan Canseco. His inheritors donated the object to the State Museum, among with other ancient objects. The statue in question suffered a number of breaks as a result of the wars.[9]

Still an infant in 1850, Martínez Gracida would probably not have been an eyewitness either to the discovery of the artifact or to its later damage in the museum. However, in different parts of his unpublished work the historian supplies us with numerous details of those events, suggesting that some of his sources were eyewitnesses.[10] The priest José Juan Canseco passed away in 1856 so as a young child Martínez Gracida could have known him, but it is more probable that the historian gleaned his information from his immediate family whom he refers to as Canseco's "inheritors." From these sources the historian was able to detail the object's history in the Museum when it was in the Covent of San Pablo, where during the Three Year War (1857-1860) soldiers occupied the building, and damaged and destroyed many of the archaeological objects within. Martínez Gracida concluded that his proof was irrefutable, and that the object should be designated the "Zapotec Statue from Zaachila," rather than the unfounded classification of "Maya Idol from Oaxaca."

A discussion of whether the object comes from the town of Cuilapan, or mounds in Zaachila near the border with Cuilapan, could be seen as an exercise in hair splitting given that these two districts share a border. But what is at issue here is not so much the exact location (although this is of interest to archaeological science), but why Martínez Gracida's more precise and detailed account was suppressed in favor of León's brief and uncertain statement regarding provenance. Simply put, León's data and interpretation had been published more times than his colleague's, in both Spanish and English, and the flowing ink completely drowned out the dissenting view.[11] Unchallenged

[9] Author's translation of: "*Se encontró esta estatua en un túmulo de Zachila cerca de los terrenos que confinan con la Villa de Cuilapan, el año de 1850 y perteneció á la Colección del Sr. Dr. José Juan Canseco. Sus herederos regalaron al Museo del Estado, entre otros objetos antiguos, la estatua de que se trata en donde sufrió algunas roturas con motivo de las guerras."* Manuel Martínez Gracida, "Refutación al Estudio Arqueológico del Sr. Dr. D. Nicolás León, intitulado 'Un Geroglífico Maya,'" in *Memorias de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate,"* tomo XI (México: Imprenta del Gobierno Federal en el ex-Arzobispado, 1897), 96.

[10] Martínez Gracida, *Los Indios Oaxaqueños*, AHM/APP, microfilm roll 13. The references to Canseco's collection and the Three Year War are on plates 60-61, 70, 71, 85, 98, 102-103 and 104.

[11] Nicolás León, "Datos referentes a una especie nueva de escritura jeroglífica en México,"

except by Martínez Gracida, his work provided a foundation for subsequent catalogues that would repeat it *ad infinitum*. Eventually other researchers would replace the cultural affiliation "Maya" in favor of the functional attribute "scribe" leaving us with the current designation.

The story of this artifact helps us comprehend that our archaeological knowledge, everything from hard data to interpretative positions, is subject to the vagaries of history. As with many considered "jewels" that have been in museum collections for over a century, the Scribe of Cuilapan now resists all forms of re-evaluation. That is to say, its continued presence in a museum context and in scholarly articles and catalogues, has imbued the object with an array of unassailable qualities. Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal established it as a representative centerpiece for an entire ceramic period known as Monte Albán II.[12] Other authors had it embody aspects of ancient Zapotec craftsmanship and perceived notions of past elegance, evident in Keleman's description: "the position of the legs, with hands resting on knees…is here graceful and natural. The arms and shoulders are beautifully molded; fingers and toes, carefully detailed."[13] Because the object is elevated to the category of masterpiece, the INAH in Mexico has begun to reproduce it for sale in souvenir shops, which has led to some unintended consequences, such as the use of copies of the object as a support to sell other products (Figure 54).

The aura surrounding the Scribe of Cuilapan is partly a result of a museum culture that constantly repackages artifacts to suit publishing and exhibiting needs, and at the core of that imagined artifact is a perception of unquestionable academic authority.

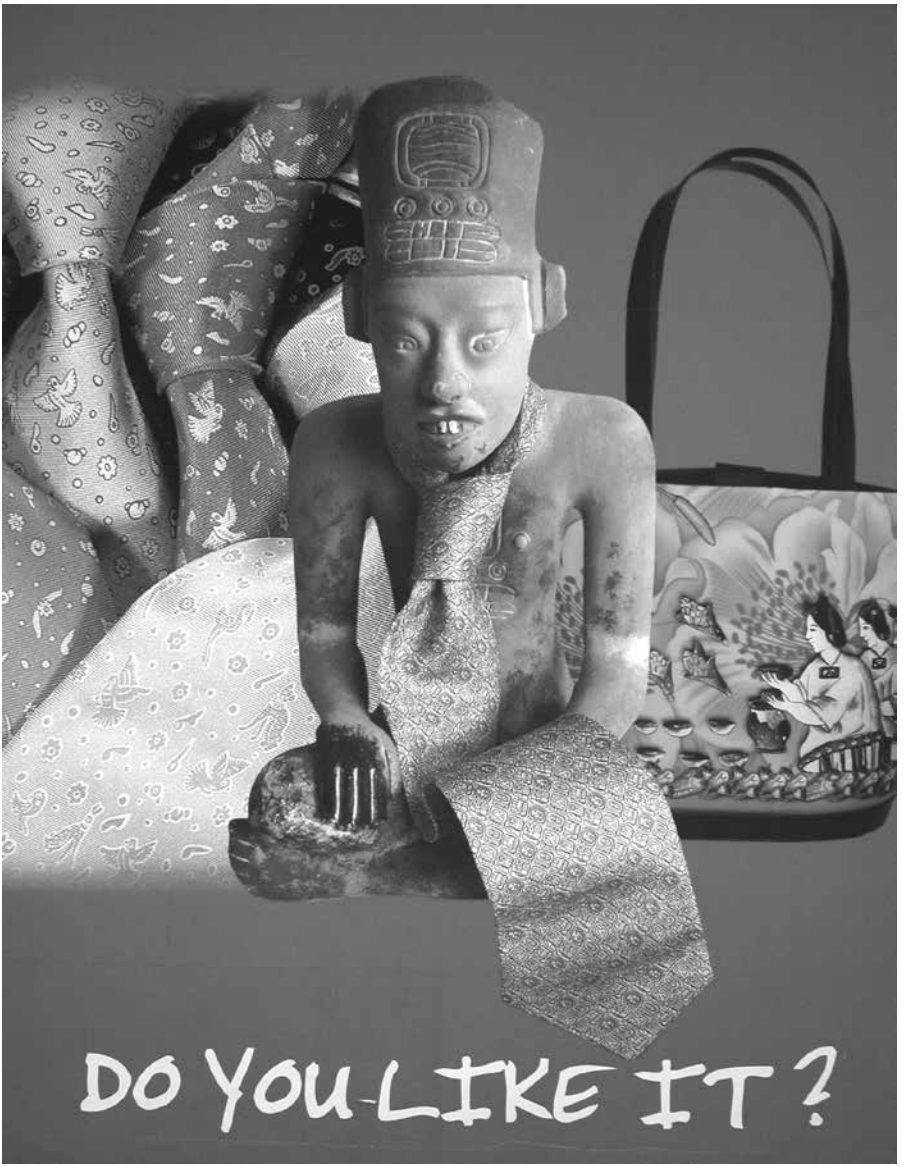
This episode also tells us a great deal about how archaeological knowledge was produced in the nineteenth century. Although their interpretations may have been based on outdated concepts such as Phrenology (the study of the shape and protuberances of the skull), or imbued with Náhuatl terminology from the better-known Central Mexican cultures for comparisons, from the debate we can see that the collectors were basing their arguments on empirical evidence, supported by objects in their own collections, that of their colleagues or in the museum. This suggests that the "Archaeological Club" was more than just a vehicle for making excursions into the field but rather an incipient academic society.

Anales del Museo Nacional de México, tomo II (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1905): 403, figs. 1, 2, 3, II. This same work was also published in English, *Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists*, 13th Session. New York, 1902.

[12] Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal, *Urnas de Oaxaca*, 337.

[13] Pat Keleman, *Medieval American Art: A survey in two volumes*, 173.

Figure 58: “The Scribe of Cuilapan” used to sell clothing in an advertisement at the Mexico City airport.



Photograph by author.

CHAPTER 8
A FINAL WORD ON THE END OF AN ERA

The collectors I have discussed in this book were a product of a national awakening, the gradual realization that the past worth studying was not to be found in the Old World—ancient Egypt or Greece—but rather in the remnants of civilization that lay under their own feet. In their research they used time-tested methods, inherently part of the natural sciences and handed down by antiquarians of every stripe with roots reaching back to the Renaissance. Working in gentlemanly concert they improved on those methods by sharing and systemizing data, demonstrating an understanding of the chaotic world of archaeological remains. Nonetheless, as I argued in the first chapter of this book, many scholars mark the beginnings of archaeological science with the introduction of stratigraphic techniques and the documentation of context, ignoring the crucial contributions of the data-obsessed collector who anteceded those developments. The collector's approach to archaeological material was from a staunch positivist tradition that required the careful register of each item, and even a cursory analysis of the information they left behind—the elaborated labels, the classifications, the ordering of artifacts in special displays, the debates and the experiments—suggests that their aim was to increase the fund of knowledge. Unfortunately, their documentary evidence is precisely what has become unraveled over time, and this is why it is so difficult to appreciate this important feature of their work today.

They collected to make sense of those ruins and shards of clay, but ultimately, through a positivist and humanist lens, it was to better understand the world in which they lived. Another motivation, I believe, was to establish deeper roots to their pre-Hispanic heritage. There was a strong connection to that past, driven by a curiosity to explain the origins of their native ancestry, the American Indian, even though, typically for the time, their social status and positivist belief system helped them maintain a dispassionate distance from the indigenous peoples who were the direct heirs of that legacy.

The distance would dramatically collapse toward the end of their lifetimes. By 1914 Mexico City was occupied by Indians and *campesinos,* and the country's institutions began to take on a revolutionary character. In an act of impudence the post-revolutionary architect, Carlos Obregón Santacilla, cut the side wings off the Porfirian Palacio Legislativo and transformed the domed archway into an impressive monument to the Revolution. The cornerstone of that building, where Díaz had placed a commemorative time capsule, was looted of its mementos: newspapers, watches and coins of the era. Rather than lament their loss, Obregón Santacilla remarked that the objects represented everything that should disappear from the previous regime, upon whose ruins they would build a new ideal city.[1] Artifacts, of course, do not necessarily vanish; often they are simply transformed, given different meanings and used to construct alternative realities. The masses of artifacts from the Oaxacan collectors also underwent this revolutionary metamorphosis, and in the public museum context they were reinterpreted to fit new social, political and scientific narratives. Over the years many of their crucial links to the past were severed, summarily divorced from the collector's lists and unpublished works that documented their origins. Orphaned, the once magnificent collections languished in museum storerooms, largely ignored by a new breed of scholar who saw little use for artifacts that lacked contextual data. Some of the more spectacular pieces were used for their aesthetic value, to grace exhibition halls and delight the museum visitor, but the archaeology of the revolutionary Republic, and the world, was now about theory and method, and it built a new city on the ruined foundations established by the nineteenth-century collectors. The political upheaval caused irreparable damage to the archaeological record.

The other dimension to this story is the politics of archaeology in the nineteenth century. Díaz's destitution was not just a prelude to revolution, but the end of the fortunes of all those who had been beneficially connected to the dictator and his policies. The illustrious collectors who had lived a privileged position in Porfirian society were reduced to common citizens stripped of the possibility to follow their collecting passions, because to advance their amassing of material culture they needed the link to the state apparatus. The best example of this relationship is the collusion between Sologuren, Oaxaca's sub-Inspector, and Batres, the Federal Inspector. Porfirian cronyism had a tight lock on the activity of collectors in the state, and Batres's inflexible attitude towards non-Mexican exploration was treated

[1] Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, "1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the Centenario," 103.

with contempt by foreign archaeologists, and is still cited today by many writers who have researched this period. On the other hand, his strict reading of the law and the close-knit relationships he formed with native-born collectors insured that the bulk of their holdings would end up in Mexico's Museo Nacional, as opposed to overseas. An easy reading of motives is to consider that Batres and his collector friends had the interests of the nation at heart, but we must be careful not to overemphasize their nationalism, because the reasons for divesting their collections were mixed, and given the conflicts of interest and cronyism I have documented, one cannot help wonder if they were often self-serving.

The story of the nineteenth-century collections from Oaxaca ends on a dark note. At the beginning of the twentieth century, with many of the large collections moving from private hands to public museums and fewer opportunities to excavate under the watchful eye of the Mexican government, the high demand for archaeological artifacts became increasingly more difficult to satiate. Collectors were motivated by an impulse to obtain the exotic, and the well off began to decorate their Victorian style parlors with the fantastic imagery of pre-Hispanic effigies; large, ornate, Zapotec urns were a particularly desirable commodity at this time, but with demand outstretching the supply, a fake industry was soon engendered in Oaxaca. The story of these fakes is still not entirely clear—hardly surprising given the clandestine nature of the endeavor—but what we do know is that hundreds of fake Zapotec urns populate the exhibition halls and storerooms of almost all the major museums in North America and Europe, and that the existence of these fakes has seriously contaminated scholarly works on the ancient Zapotec.

Recent scholarship has implicated some of the Oaxacan collectors discussed in this book as participants in this shadowy business, but this charge has not been supported by hard evidence. My own research shows that the driving force behind the fakes was the British consul in Oaxaca, Constantine Rickards (1876-1950), a member of Oaxaca's business and professional elite who heavily invested in mining. Rickards came to ruin when he lost the bulk of his fortune in the 1907 collapse, and out of desperation, and perhaps pride, he turned to archaeological fakery on an enormous scale. Although his true motive may always remain a mystery, the forgery scam he pulled off is surely one of the largest and most successful of the century.[2]

My purpose here was to reunite the various parts of the archaeological record of Oaxaca that was fragmented, often by the very process of acqui-

[2] Adam Sellen, "Is this the Face that Launched a Thousand Fakes?" *Rotunda* 36 (3) Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (2004): 32-39.

ring it, and along the way shed light on the efforts of a group of Mexican collectors who passionately and painstakingly recorded their acquisitions. Throughout these pages I have tried to impart that this record is a frail resource that has been diminished over time, and given that archaeological materials are a finite resource, it is incumbent on us to manage not only the information that still remains in the ground, but also the data that has already been unearthed. Untangling the history of the ancient artifacts that were once held in Mexico but that are now housed in museums around the world is an ongoing process and much remains to be done. My hope is that this study will serve as a guide to archaeologists and museum curators who wish to delve more deeply into the origin of the objects in their care. Without a doubt, nineteenth-century excavation and collecting irrevocably changed the face of the archaeological record of Oaxaca, distorting an already complex picture of the past, but at the same time preserving an invaluable record for posterity. Perhaps this was the Mexican collector's greatest contribution: the construction of a material foundation that other generations of scientists, with different sets of questions and goals, could ponder. Through the glass case the curious museum visitor will surely marvel at their discoveries for many centuries to come.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1. List of objects sent to the Oaxacan Museum from the political head of Tlacolula, Pablo Meijueiro.[1]

2 idols marked with the numbers 1 and 2, donated by Leonardo Barriga and taken from a place in this district called "Pueblo Viejo."

2 of the same marked with the numbers 3 and 4 that were donated by Mr. Ángel Altamirano, and found in the same place mentioned before.

2 skulls that have the numbers 5 and 6 and were donated by the priest Manuel Cortés, taken from the tombs that exist on the top of the mountain that is to the North of Teotitlán del Valle.

4 idols with the numbers 7, 8, 9 and 10, that were bought from Juan and Manuel Hernández of Macuixóchitl.

7 objects that are comprised of 2 idols, 2 jugs, 2 vases and 1 foot, numbered from 11 to 19, that were bought from various people in Santa Ana del Valle, and taken from the mountain of the same town.

4 flowered jars, marked with the numbers from 20 to 23 that were bought in this town.

1 idol, no. 24 that was obtained from the same place, "Pueblo Viejo" of this town, in the excavations that this office is carrying out.

1 stone inscribed with various hieroglyphs, no. 25, gifted by D. José Monterubio, removed from the town of Mitla.

1 stone upon which there are inscribed a "danzante" and various hieroglyphs marked no. 26 that was obtained from an artificial mound that exists in Teotitlán del Valle, where this office is carrying out excavations.

6 bags containing: 1 jar of fine ceramic with three support legs, nos. 30 to 31, and one ball of clay that the ancients [p.87] used to make their idols, no. 32; these were taken from the same excavations mentioned before.

[1] "El Museo de Oaxaca," *El Monitor Republicano*, 9 September 1881, in Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, *El pasado prehispánico en la cultura nacional*, vol. I, 86-87.

One bundle with various small pieces that are comprised of hands, heads, faces, beads, small boxes, small jars, crowns of "danzantes," etc. that were obtained from places that are being excavated.

Tlacolula, 23 August 1881, Pablo Meijueiro.

Author's translation of:

2 Idolos marcados con los números 1 y 2, obsequiados por el Lic. Leonardo Barriga, y extraidos en términos de esta villa en el lugar llamado 'Pueblo Viejo?.

2 Idem marcados con los números 3 y 4, que obsequió el Sr. D. Angel Altamirano, encontrados en el lugar mencionado ántes.

2 Calaveras que tienen los números 5 y 6, las obsequió el Sr. Presbítero D. Manuel Cortés, extraidas de los sepulcros existentes en la cima de un cerro que queda al Norte de Teotitlan del Valle.

4 Idolos con los números 7, 8, 9 y 10, fueron comprados á Juan y Manuel Hernández, de Macuizochil.

7 Piezas que se componen de 2 ídolos, 2 jarros, 2 vasos y 1 pié, numeros del 11 al 19, fueron comprados á varios de Santa Ana del Valle, extraidos del cerro del mismo pueblo.

4 Jarrones floreados, marcados con los números del 20 al 23, fueron comprados en esta villa.

1 Idolo, núm. 24, fue extraido del mismo lugar de 'Pueblo Viejo', de esta villa, en las excavaciones que se están haciendo por cuenta de esta jefatura.

1 Piedra grabada con varios jeroglíficos, núm. 25, la obsequió D. José M. Monterubio, extraido en el pueblo de Mitla.

1 Piedra en que está grabado un danzante y varios jeroglíficos, marcada con el núm. 26, fue extraida en un cerro artificial que existe en Teotitlan del Valle, donde se está excavando por cuenta de esta Jefatura.

6 Piezas, conteniendo: 1 jarro de barro fino, con tres piés, números 30 y 31, y una bola de barro del que hacían uso los [p. 87] antiguos para labrar sus ídolos, núm. 32; fueron extraidos en las excavaciones referidas.

Un bulto con varias piezas pequeñas, que se componen de manos, cabezas, caritas, cuentas, cajetitos, jarritos, coronas de danzantes, etc., extraídos en los lugares que se están excavando.

Tlacolula, 23 de agosto de 1881. — Pablo Meijueiro

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

AA/AMNH	Anthropology Archives, American Museum of Natural History, New York City, United States.
A/AASC	Archivo de la Antigua Academia de San Carlos, Facultad de Arquitectura, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City.
A/DRPMZA	Archivo de la Dirección del Registro Público de Monumentos y Zonas Arqueológicos, Mexico City, Mexico.
AGN/EE	Archivo General de la Nación, Exposiciones Extranjeras, Mexico City, Mexico
AGN/F	Archivo General de la Nación, Fototeca, Mexico City, Mexico
AGN/IPBA	Archivo General de la Nación, Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, Mexico City, Mexico
AH/AEM	Archivo Histórico del la Antigua Escuela de Medicina, Mexico City, Mexico.
AHM/APP	Archivo Histórico en Micropelícula, Antonio Pompa y Pompa, Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Mexico City, Mexico.
AH/MCO	Archivo Histórico Municipal de la Ciudad de Oaxaca, Grupo Documental, Actas de Cabildo, Oaxaca.
AH/MNA	Archivo Histórico, Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Mexico City, Mexico.
AHI/DG/INAH	Archivo Histórico Institucional, Dirección General, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City, Mexico.
AH/SMGE	Archivo Histórico de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, Mexico City.
AI/INAH	Archivo Institutional, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Fondo Departamento de Arqueología, Mexico City.

AMH	Archivo Militar Histórico, Mexico City, Mexico.
A/SRE	Archivo de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, "Genaro Estrada," Mexico City, Mexico.
AT/DMP/INAH	Archivo Técnico de la Dirección de Monumentos Prehispánicos del INAH, Mexico City, Mexico.
BNAH	Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City, Mexico.
BN/FR	Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Reservado, Mexico City, Mexico.
BN/FRHN	Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Reservado Hemeroteca Nacional, Mexico City, Mexico.
BMIA	British Museum Institutional Archives, London, England.
CAIHY	Instituto de Cultura de Yucatán, Centro de Apoyo a la Investigación Histórica de Yucatán, Mérida, México.
DAA/SI	Department of Anthropology Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. United States.
FBV	Fundación Bustamante Vasconcelos, Oaxaca, Oax.
F/CMH	Fototeca de la Coordinación de Monumentos Históricos, Mexico City.
MNA	Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Mexico City, Mexico.
NAA/SI	National Anthroplogical Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. United States.
SIA	Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. United States.

Bibliography

Aguirre, Robert D.
2005 *Informal Empire: Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Al-Doory, Yousef and Everett R. Rhoades
1968 "Isolation of *Histoplasma capsulatum* from a Texas Cave," *Mycopathologia* 35, Nos. 3-4 (October): 201-207.

Alec-Tweedie, Ethel
1901 *Mexico As I Saw It*. London: Hurst and Blackett Limited.

1906 *The Maker of Modern Mexico*. London: Hurst and Blackett Limited.

Alcina Franch, José
1995 *Arqueólogos o anticuarios: historia antigua de la arqueologia en la América española*. Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal.

Ames, Michael M.
1986 *Museums, the Public and Anthropology. A Study in the Anthropology of Anthropology.* New Delhi: University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver and Concept Publishing Company.

Anders, Ferdinand & Maarten Jansen and G. Aurora Pérez Jiménez
1992 *Crónica Mixteca: El rey 8 Venado, Garra de Jaguar, y la dinastía de Teozacualco-Zaachila. Libro explicativo del llamado Códice Zouche-Nuttall.* México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Arellanes Meixueiro, Anselmo, ed.
1997 *Diccionario Histórico de la Revolución en Oaxaca*. Oaxaca: UABJO, IEEPO.

Arias, José Joaquín
1843 "Antiguedades Zapotecas. Descubrimientos hechos recientemente en las ruinas de Guiengola, Departamento de Oajaca." *El Museo Mexicano*, Tomo I. México: Lo imprime y publica Ignacio Cumplido: 246-250.

Arriaga, Antonio
1959 "El Doctor Nicolás León y el Museo Michoacano." *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, vol 12, no. 41: 33-38.

Aznar Pérez, Alonzo and Rafael Pedrera
1949 *Colección de leyes, decretos y órdenes o acuerdos de la tendencia general del Poder Legislativo del Estado libre y Soberano de Yucatán*, Tomo I. Mérida: Imprenta del Editor.

Azuela Bernal, Luz Fernanda
2003 "La Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, la organización de la ciencia, la institucionalización de la Geografía y la construcción del país en el siglo XIX." *Investigaciones Geográficas, Boletín del Instituto de Geografía*, UNAM, no. 52: 153-166.

Balkansky, Andrew K.
2005 "Saville, Boas, and Anthropological Archaeology in Mexico," *Mexicon* 27 86-97.

Barriga Puente, Francisco, ed.
2010 *El filólogo de Tlaxiaco. Un homenaje académico a Francisco Belmar*. México, INAH, Colección Científica.

Baudez, Claude F.
1993 *Jean-Frédéric Waldeck, peintre. Le premier explorateur des ruines mayas*. Paris: Hazan.

Bazin, Germain
1967 *The Museum Age*. New York: Universal.

Bazúa, Silvia
1990 "Los Huaves." In *Oaxaca, textos de su historia*. Edited by Margarita Dalton, vol. 1, 95-98. Oaxaca: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora.

Belk, Russell
2006 "Collectors and Collecting." In *Handbook of Material Culture*. Edited by Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Michael Rowlands and Patricia Spyer, pp. 534-545. London: Sage Publication.

Belmar, Francisco
1901 *Breve reseña histórica y geográfica del Estado de Oaxaca*. Edición oficial dedicada á los Delegados del Congreso Pan-Americano. Oaxaca: Imprenta de Comercios.

Bernal, Ignacio
1965 "Archaeological Synthesis of Oaxaca." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians. Archaeology of Southern Mesoamerica, Part II*. Edited by Robert Wauchope, vol. 3. pp. 788- 831,Austin: University of Texas Press.
1979 *Historia de la arqueología en México*. México: Editorial Porrúa.
1980 *A History of Mexican Archaeology*. London: Thames and Hudson.

1982 *Correspondencia de Nicolás León con Joaquín García Icazbalceta*. México: UNAM.

1992 *Arqueología oaxaqueña*. La colección Vidzu, Oaxaqueños de Antes, A.C. México: Centro de Estudios de la cultura Mixteca, Museo de Arte Prehispánico de México.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo
1982 *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*. Vols. 1-2. Edición crítica por Carmen Sáenz de Santa María. Madrid: Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo," Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas.

Berthold, Arnold Adolf
1877 "Descripción y estudio de un cráneo extraído de las tumbas de uno de los palacios de Mitla." *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* 3: 115-121.

1999 *Biblios. Boletín Semanal de información bibliográfica publicado por la Biblioteca Nacional (1919-1926) y su galería de Escritores Mexicanos Contemporáneos.* Estudio preliminar, Luis Mario Schneider, Guadalupe Curiel and Miguel Ángel Castro. México: Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas, UNAM.

Blake, Wilson Wilberforce
1891 *The Antiquities of Mexico, as Illustrated by the Archaeological collections in its National Museum*. New York: C.G. Crawfords Print.

Blanton, Richard
1978 *Monte Albán: Settlement Patterns at the Ancient Zapotec Capital*. New York: Academic Press.

Blom, Philipp
2002 *To Have and to Hold. An Intimate History of Collectors and Collecting*. Woodstock & New York: The Overlook Press.

Boban, Eugène
1886 *The Boban Collection. Part the First. Antiquities, Curious and Coins*. New York : Geo. A. Leavitt & Co. 787 & 789 Broadway.

Bogdanos, Matthew
2005 "The Casualties of War: The Truth About the Iraq Museum," *American Journal of Archaeology* 109: 477-526.

Boos, Frank H.
1966 *The Ceramic Sculptures of Ancient Oaxaca*. New York: A.S. Barnes.

Boturini Benaduci, Lorenzo
1974 *Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la América Septentrional,* Estudio preliminar de Miguel León Portilla. México: Editorial Porrúa (Colección "Sepan Cuantos...").

Brioso y Candini, Manuel
1910 "D. Manuel Martínez Gracida. Historiador de Oajaca. Reseña biográfica formada por el Lic. Manuel Brioso y Candini, y leída en la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística." *El Centenario, Revista Mensual Ilustrada*, no. 1, year 1: 58-66.

Bueno, Christina
2010 "*Forjando Patrimonio*. The Making of Archaeological Patrimony in Porfirian Mexico." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90: 215-245.

Bullock, William
1825 *Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico, Containing Remarks on the Present State of New Spain, Its Natural Productions, State of Society, Manufactures, Trade, Agriculture, Anitiquities, &c.* 2 vols. London: John Murray.

Burgoa, Fray Francisco de
1992 *Geográfica descripción de la parte septentrional, del Polo Ártico de la América*. 1674. A facsimilie of the first edition. Vols. 1 and 2. México: Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca, Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca, UNAM, CONACULTA, and Grupo Editorial Porrúa.

Bustamante, Carlos María de
1821 *Memoria estadística de Oaxaca y descripción del valle del mismo nombre, estractada de la que en grande trabajó el señor Don José Murguia y Galardi, diputado en Córtes por aquella provincia*. Veracruz: Edición de la Secretaría del Patrimonio Nacional.

Cabrera Castro, Rubén
1993 "La restauración arquitectónica en Teotihuacán: Análisis histórico." In, *Conservación Arqueológica in situ. Actas de la Reunión 6-13 Abril 1986, México*. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia de México e Instituto Getty de Conservación.

Calderón de la Barca, Fanny
1843 *Life in Mexico, during a Residence of Two Years in that Country*. London: Chapman and Hall.

Calvo, Rafael María
1838 *Plano general de la Ciudad de Mexico...* Clipping from the calendar published by Ignacio Cumplido, 6 pages without numbers, 14 cm. Colección Lafragua (LAF 350), Fondo Reservado, Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City.

Carmona Macías, Martha
2004 *Oaxaca. Museo Nacional de Antropología, México*. México: CONACULTA-INAH, Lunwerg editores.

Casanova, Rosa
2001 "Memoria y registro fotográfico en el Museo Nacional," *Alquimia* 4, no. 12: 7-15.

Caso, Alfonso
1928 *Las estelas zapotecas*. México: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación.

Caso, Alfonso and Ignacio Bernal
1952 *Urnas de Oaxaca*. Memorias del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, no. 2. México: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

Caso, Alfonso and Rubín de la Borbolla
1936 *Exploraciones en Mitla 1934-1935*. México: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, no. 21.

Castellanos, Abraham
1904 "Procedencia de los pueblos americanos y Cronología mixteca. Monografías étnicas presentadas por su autor al XI Congreso de Americanistas reunido en México. 1895. (Ligero ensayo dedicado al Sr. General Porfirio Díaz, Presidente de la República)." In *Memorias de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate,"* vol. 22, 5-76. México: Oficina Tip. de la Secretaría de Fomento.
1905 "Danni Dipaa." In, *Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists*, Thirteenth Session, 231-241. New York: Eschenbach Printing Company.
1914 *Al caer el sol (desde mi celda) Teogonías Mexicanas dedicadas a la niñez, a los maestros y a los artistas*. México: Imprenta de A. Carranza e Hijos.

Castillo Ledón, Luis
1924 *El Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía 1825-1925. Reseña histórica escrita para la celebración de su primer centenario*. México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional.

Castro, Casimiro, J. Campillo, L. Auda and G. Rodríguez
1855-1856 *México y sus alrededores. Colección de vistas, trajes y monumentos*. México: Decaen Editor.

Chase Coggins, Clemency
1991 Review of *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?* by Phyllis Mauch Messenger, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 18, no. 3: 389-392.

Chassen-López, Francie R.
2004 *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca. The view from the South Mexico, 1867-1911*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State Unversity Press.

Chassen-López, Francie R. and Héctor G. Martínez
1990 "Desarrollo económico de Oaxaca a finales del Porfiriato." In *Oaxaca: textos de su historia*. Edited by Margarita Dalton, vol. 4, pp. 47-72. México: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora.

Conder, Josiah
1830 *The Modern Traveller. A description, Geographical, Historical, and Topographical of the Various Countries of the Globe in Thirty Volumes*. (Mexico and Guatemala vol. 26). London: James Duncan, 37 Paternoster-Row.

Corominas, J.
1954 *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la Lengua Castellana*, Bern: Editorial Francke.

Covarrubias, Miguel
1946 *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Cumberland, Charles C
1952 *The Mexican Revolution, Genesis under Madero*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Curiel Defossé, Fernando, ed.
2005 *El positivismo en México* (Antología). Prologue by Ignacio Sosa, Biblioteca del estudiante universitario 140. Mexico City: Coordinación de Humanidades, UNAM.

Dalton, Margarita
1990 *Oaxaca, una historia compartida*. México: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora and Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca.

Daniel, Glyn
1950 *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Desmond, Lawrence G. and Phyllis Mauch Messenger
1988 *A Dream of Maya: Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon in Ninetheenth-Century Yucatán*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

1976 *Diccionario Porrúa de la historia, biografía y geografía*. 2 vols. México: Editorial Porrúa.

Diguet, M. León
1905 "Note d'archéologie Mixteco-Zapotéque." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Nouvelle Série, vol. 2: 109-116.

Dolinski, Eckehard
2004 "Teobert Maler, Viaje del Capitán Maler de México a Tehuantepec, 1876." In *Teobert Maler, Vistas de Oaxaca*, 1874-1876. Edited by Sebastián van Doesburg, pp. 23-42, Casa de la Ciudad, Oaxaca.

Dublán, Manuel and José Ma. Lozano
1911 *Legislación Mexicana. Colección completa de las disposiciones legislativas expedidas desde la Independencia de la República*. México: Edición Oficial.

Dupaix, Guillermo
1834 *Antiquités mexicaines: relation des trois expéditions du capitaine Dupaix ordonnées en 1805, 1806, et 1807 pour la recherhe de antiquitiés du pays: notamment celles de Mitla et de Palenque*. Paris: Bureau de Antiquités Mexicaines.
1969 *Expediciones acerca de los antiguos monumentos de la Nueva España, 1805-1808*. (Notes and Introduction by José Alcina Franch), 2 vols. Madrid: Porrúa-Turanzas.
1978 *Atlas de las antigüedades mexicanas halladas en el curso de los tres viajes de la Real Expedición de Antigüedades de la Nueva España, emprendidos en 1805, 1806 y 1807*. Prologue by Miguel León Portilla and Introduction by Roberto Villaseñor Espinosa. México: San Ángel.

Easby, Elizabeth K. and John P. Scott
1970 *Before Cortes: Sculpture of Middle America*. New York: New York Graphic Society.

Esesarte de, Gerardo
1995 *Viajes en la zona Maya y Oaxaca*. México: Edamex.

Esparza, Manuel, ed.
1994 *Relaciones Geográficas de Oaxaca, 1777-1778*. Oaxaca: CIESAS and Instituto Oaxaqueño de las Culturas.

Espino Barro, Eugenio
1910 *México en el Centenario de su Independencia 1810-1910*. Álbum Gráfico de la República Mexicana. Second Edition. México: Gran Establecimiento Tip-Litográfico de Müller Hermanos, Apartado 28 bis.

Esteva, Cayetano
1910 "Apuntes Históricos del Instituto," *El Centenario*, Revista Mensual Ilustrada, Oaxaca no. 1 (August 15):34-35.
1910 "Gobernadores que ha tenido Oaxaca," *El Centenario*, Revista Mensual Ilustrada, Oaxaca, no. 1 (August 15): 30-31.

Evans, Tripp R.
2004 *Romancing the Maya. Mexican Antiquity in the American Imagination, 1820-1915*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Fauvet-Berthelot, Marie-France, Leonardo López Luján and Susana Guimares
2007 "Six personages en quête d'objets. Histoire de la collection archéologique de la Real Expedición Anticuaria en Nouvelle-Espagne." *Gradhiva*, no. 6: 105-126.

Feest, Christian
1985 "Mexico and South America in the European Wunderkammer." In *The Origins of Museums: the Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Feinman, Gary and Linda M. Nicholas
1995 "Especialización artesanal en Ejutla prehispánico." *Cuadernos del Sur* vol. 10, no. 3: 37-56.

Finley Freeman, John
1962 "Manuscript Sources on Latin American Indians in the Library of the American Philosophical Society," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 106: 530-540.

Flores Guerrero, Raúl
1962 *Historia General del Arte Mexicano:* vol. I, *Época prehispánica*. México-Buenos Aires: Editorial Hermes, S.A.

Florescano, Enrique
1997 "La creación del Museo Nacional de Antropología." In *El patrimonio nacional de México,* vols. I y II. Enrique Florescano, coordinator, pp. 147-171. México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Fossey, Mathieu de
1994 *Viaje a México*. Prólogo por José Ortiz Monasterio. México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes.

Fowler, Will
2000 *Tornel and Santa Anna: The Writer and the Caudillo, Mexico, 1795–1853*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Franck, Maximilian
1831 "Rapport fait à la Société de Géographie," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, vol. 15, no. 93-98 (March).

Friend Sleight, Eleanor
1988 *The Many Faces of Cuilapan. A Historical Digest of a Sixteenth-Century Dominican Monastery and Church Complex and Village, Oaxaca*, *Mexico*. Orlando: Pueblo Press.

Fuentes Rojas, Elizabeth
2000 *Catálogo de los Archivos Documentales de la Academia de San Carlos. 1900-1929*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México y Escuela Nacional de Artes Plásticas.

Gadow, Hans
1908 *Through Southern Mexico. Being an Account of the Travels of a Naturalist*. London: Witherby and Co.

Galindo y Villa, Jesús
1905 "Las pinturas y los manuscritos jeroglíficos Mexicanos." *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, vol. II: 25-56. México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional.

Garay y Garay, Pedro de
1844 "Antigüedades Zapotecas." *El Ateneo*, vol. I: 142-143. México: Imprenta de Vicente García Torres.

Garduño, Ana
2008 "El coleccionismo decimonónico y el Museo Nacional de San Carlos." *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 93: 199-212.

Garner, Paul
2001 *Porfirio Díaz. Profiles in Power.* Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Garza, Mercedes de la
1981 "Palenque ante los siglos XVIII y XIX." In *Estudios de Cultura Maya*, vol. 13, 45-65. México: Centro de Estudios Mayas-Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas-UNAM.

Garza Tarazona and González Crespo
1998 "La Pirámide de las Serpientes Emplumadas." *Arqueología Mexicana* 5 no. 30: 22-25.

Gómez de Orozco, Federico
1932 "Don Augusto Genin. Nota Bibliográfica," *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía*, vol. 5, no. 1: 238-241. México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía.

González Dávila, Fernando
1995 "El Museo Oaxaqueño y su fondo de origen. Documentos para su historia." *Tempus*, no. 3, primavera: 125-176.

González Gamio, Ángeles
2003 *Manuel Gamio, una lucha sin final*. México: Coordinación de Humanidades, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Gortari, Eli de
1980 *La ciencia en la historia de México.* México: Editorial Grijalbo.

Graham, Ian
1993 "Three Early Collectors in Mesoamerica." In *Collecting the Pre-Columbian Past, a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks*. Edited by Elizabeth Boone, pp. 49-80. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

2002 *Alfred Maudsley and the Maya: A Biography.* London: The British Museum Press.

Groslier, Bernard Phillippe
1966 *Indochina*. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co.

Guimaraes, Susana
1994 *Le musee des antiquités américaines du Louvre (1850-1887). Une vision du collectionnisme américan au* XIX*ème siècle*. Unpublished master's thesis, Université de Paris I, Centre de recherché en archéologie précolobienne.

Gyarmati, János
2004 "Wilhelm Bauer, a German Collector and his Mexican Collections in the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest and in other Museums." *Baessler-Archiv*, Band 52: 47-53.

Hammond, George P. and Edgar F. Goad
1949 *A Scientist on the Trail. Travel Letters of A. F. Bandelier 1880-1881*. Berkeley: The Quivira Society.

Henare, Amiria
2005 *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Herrera Muzgo T. Alicia and Marc Winter
2003 *Tres tumbas postclásicas en El Sabino, Zimatlán, Oaxaca*, Arqueología Oaxaqueña 1. México: CONACULTA-INAH.

Hoobler, Ellen
2007 "Primary Source Materials on Oaxacan Zapotec Urns from Monte Albán: A New Look at the Fondo Alfonso Caso and other archives in Mexico." Report Submitted to FAMSI: http://www.famsi.org/reports/07067/index.html

Iturribarría, Jorge Fernando
1990 "Exclaustración de las órdenes y aproximada valoración de los bienes del clero en Oaxaca." In *Oaxaca, textos de su historia*. Edited by Margarita Dalton, vol. III, pp. 263-266. México: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora and Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca.

Jansen, Maarten and Aurora Pérez Jiménez
2000 *La Dinastía de Añute, Historia, literatura e ideología de un reino mixteco*. Leiden: Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), University of Leiden.

Katzman, Israel
1973 *Arquitectura de Siglo* XIX *en México*, vol. I. México: Centro de Investigaciones Arquitectónicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Keen, Benjamin
1971 *The Aztec Image in Western Thought*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Keleman, Pat
1943 *Medieval American Art: A Survey in Two Volumes*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Kingsborough, Lord
1831 *Antiquities of Mexico: comprising facsimiles of ancient Mexican paintings and hieroglyphics, preserved in the Royal libraries of Paris, Berlin, and Dresden; in the Imperial Library of Vienna; in the Vatican Library; in the Borgian Museum.* London: Henry G. Bohn.

König, Viola
2003 "Eduard Seler y Caecilie Seler-Sachs en Oaxaca." In *Eduard y Caecilie Seler: Sistematización de los estudios americanistas y sus repercusiones*. Edited by Renata von Hanffstengal and Cecilia Tercero Vasconcelos, pp. 325-336. México: CONACULTA-INAH.

König, Viola and Peter Kröfges
2001 "Archaeological and Ethnographic Collections from Oaxaca, Mexico at the Übersee-Museum Bremen." *TenDenZen*. 95-134.Jahrbuch IX. Germany: Übersee-Museum Bremen.

Kowalewski, Stephen A
1983 "Valley-Floor Settlement Patterns during Monte Albán IIIa." In *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*. Edited by Kent V. Flannery and Joyce Marcus, pp. 148-150. New York: Academic Press.

Krauze, Enrique
2005 *La presencia del pasado*. México: BBVA Bancomer and Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Lehmann, Walter
1907 "Methods and Results in Mexican Research, Paris." Translation of the paper published in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, VI.: 113-68, Berlin.

León, Antonio de
1953 [1843] *Antiguedades Zapotecas. Descubrimientos hechos recientemente en las ruinas de Guiengola, Departamento de Oajaca*. México: Vargas Rea Editor, Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanos.

León Calderón, Francisco
1910 "Estudio Arqueológico. Los cinco soles ó edades de la tierra según un documento Mixteco-Zapoteca, Atonatiuh ó primera edad de la tierra," *El Centenario, Revista Mensual Ilustrada*, Oaxaca, México no. 1, year 1(August 15): 90-92.

León, Nicolás
1897 "Un nuevo documento, Geroglífica Maya. Por el Sr. Nicolás León, M.S.A. Exdirector del Museo Michoacano y reorganizador del Museo Oaxaqueño," *Memorias de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate"* Tomo X, 1896-1897, Imprenta del Gobierno Federal en el ex-Arzobispado, México: 355-358.

León, Nicolás
1900 "Arqueología Zapoteca. Memoria leída por el Dr. Nicolás León en la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística la noche del 24 de abril de 1900," no. 4, 19 pages. Tipografía de "El Tiempo," Cerca de Santo Domingo, México.

1902 "Data about a New Kind of Hieroglyphical Writing in Mexico," (Mexico: Reprint published by the author), 188 pages.

1902 "El primer museo público de la ciudad de México" *Boletín Municipal*. Órgano Oficial del Ayuntamiento de México, Martes 13 de mayo de 1902, tomo II, no. 37, México.

1902 "Los primeros museos de la ciudad de México: El Museo del Conde del Peñasco y la Pinacoteca del Conde de la Cortina," *Boletín Municipal*. Órgano Oficial del Ayuntamiento de México, Martes 20 de mayo de 1902, tomo II, no. 39, México.

1905 "Datos referentes a una especie nueva de escritura jeroglífica en México," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, Tomo II, Imprenta del Museo Nacional, México: 401-411.

1910 "Arqueología Zapoteca. Técnica del vaciado y fundición entre los zapotecos precolombinos," *El Centenario. Revista Mensual Ilustrada*, Oaxaca, México no. 1, year 1 (Agosto 15): 163-165.

Litvak, Jaime and Sandra López Varela
1997 "El patrimonio arqueológico: Conceptos y usos." In *El patrimonio nacional de México,* vols. I and II, pp. 172-197. México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Lombardo de Ruiz, Sonia
1994 *El pasado prehispánico en la cultura nacional (memoria hemerográfica, 1877-1911),* vol. I: *El Monitor Republicano* (1877-1896); vol. II: *El Imparcial* (1897-1911). México: Antologías, Serie Historia, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

López Austin, Alfredo
1995 "Los rostros de los dioses mesoamericanos." *Arqueología Mexicana* 4, no. 20: 6-19.

López Luján, Leonardo
2007 "La arqueología mesoamericana en la obra de Nebel," *Artes de México* no. 80: 20-33.

Maclaren Walsh, Jane
1997 "Crystal Skulls and Other Problems, Or, Don't Look It in the Eye." In *Exhibiting Dilemmas, Issues of Representation at the Smithsonian*, Edited by Amy Henderson and Adrienne L. Kaeppler, pp. 116-139. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Manrique Castañeda, Leonardo
1980 "Francisco Belmar." *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos XXVI,* vol. 26: 201-206.

1988 "Leopoldo Batres." In *La Antropología en México. Panorama histórico.* Edited by Linda Odena Güemes and Carlos Garcia Mora, vol. 9, 242-257. Colección Biblioteca del INAH, México.

Marcus, Joyce
1983 "Rethinking The Zapotec Urn." In *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*. Edited by Flannery and Marcus, pp. 144-148. New York: Academic Press.

1998 *Women's Ritual in Formative Oaxaca: Figurine Making, Divination, Death and the Ancestors.* Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, no. 33. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Marcus, Joyce and Kent Flannery
1996 *Zapotec Civilization*, New York: Thames and Hudson.

Martínez, Víctor Raúl
1990 "La educación en Oaxaca. Del Porfiriato a los primeros gobiernos posrevolucionarios, 1890-1930." *Lecturas históricas del estado de Oaxaca,* vol. IV*,* 1877-1930. Ma. De lo Ángeles Romero Frizzi compiladora, pp. 421-452. Colección Regiones de México. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca.

Martínez Gracida, Manuel
1891-1894 *Documentos para la historia de Oaxaca, Civilización Zapoteca. Dibujos de 1891 a 1894*, AHM/APP microfilm rolls.

1893 *Pronosticario con la astrologia al alcance de todos: Obra curiosa y útil.* Imprenta del Estado, Oaxaca.

1897 "Refutación al Estudio Arqueológico del Sr. Dr. D. Nicolás León, intitulado *Alzate,*" tomo XI, 1897-1898, pp. 93-107. México: Imprenta del Gobierno Federal en el ex-Arzbispado.

1910 *Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos.* Tomo I: *Cerámica*, in AHM/APP microfilm roll 13.

Mata, Oscar
2001 "La revolución mexicana escrita con mirada de niña." Available in *ARCHIVO de Tiempo y Escritura*. http://www.azc.uam.mx/publicaciones/tye/larevolucionmexicana.htm

Matos Moctezuma, Eduardo
1993 *Reflexiones en el tiempo: una mirada al arte prehispánico*, Colección de arte 47, Coordinación de Humanidades, UNAM, Mexico City.

Matos Moctezuma, Eduardo
2001 "Teotihuacan." In *Descubridores del Pasado en Mesoamérica*, 255-282, Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, D.G.E. Ediciones, Turner publications, Mexico.

Mauch Messenger, Phyllis
1989 *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?* Alburquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Mayer, Brantz
1844 *Mexico As It Was and As it Is*. New York: J. Winchester, New World Press.

McVicker, Donald
1992 "The Matter of Saville: Franz Boas and the Anthropological Definition of Archaeology." In *Rediscovering Our Past: Essays on the History of American Archaeology*. Edited by Jonathan E. Reyman, pp. 145-159. Great Britain: Avebury.

Mendoza, Gumesindo and Jesús Sánchez
1882 "Catálogo de las colecciones histórica y arqueológica del Museo Nacional de México," *Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, tomo II: 445- 486.

Mexican Art from 1500 B.C. to the present day
1953 Illustrated supplement to the catalogue of an exhibition at the Tate Gallery, London, 4 March to 26 April. Introduction by Dr. Sigvald Linné. The Arts Council of Great Britain.

Meyer, Karl E.
1973 *The Plundered Past*. New York: Atheneum.

Moll, Roberto García
1982 *Índice del Archivo Técnico de la Dirección de Monumentos Prehispánicos del* INAH. Colección Científica 120. México: INAH.

Mongne, Pascal
1987 "Les Urnes Funéraires Zapoteques: Collectionnisme et Contrefacon." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 73: 7-49.

2000 "Le faux zapotèque et la collection Gustave Bellon: Iconographie, thermoluminescence et nouvelles considerations." *Techne* 11: 53-64.

Montaño Perches, Regina de los Ángeles
2002 "La historiografía de Monte Albán bajo el punto de vista lakatosiano. Desde una ciudad-fortaleza al de *gussí yúu*. Un análisis estatal y urbano." *Estudios Mesoamericanos*, nos. 3-4: 46-69.

Mühlenpfordt, Eduard
1984 *Los palacios de los zapotecos en Mitla*. Introduction by Juan A. Ortega y Medina and Jesús Monjarás Ruiz. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas.

Murguía, José
1846 *Remate al mejor postor del Museo de curiosidades naturales y artísticas, que fué del difunto Sr. D. Mariano Sánchez Mora, Ex-Conde de Peñasco, y se verificará en su casa, calle del Correo Mayor, casa sin número, al torcer para el parque de la Moneda, en los dias necesarios, siendo el primero el 2 del prócsimo Septiembre, comezando de las once de la mañana en adelante, si hubiere concurrentes.* México: Imprenta de Ignacio Cumplido.

Murphy, Arthur D., Alex Streptick, Earl W. Morris and Mary Winter.
2002 *La cabeza de Jano. La desigualdad social en Oaxaca*. México: Instituto Estatal de Educación Pública de Oaxaca.

Mydin, Iskander
1994 "Historical Images–Changing Audiences." In *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920*, Edited by Elizabeth Edwards, pp. 249-252. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Nuttall, Zelia
1910 "The Island of Sacrificios." *American Anthropologist*. New Series, vol. 12, no. 2: 257-295.

Olavarría y Ferrari, Enrique de
1895 "La excursión a Mitla." In Manuel Francisco *Las Ruinas de Mitla y la Arquitectura*. México: Talleres de la Escuela N. de Artes y Oficios para Hombres, Ex-convento de San Lorenzo.

Ousterhout, Robert G.
2010 "Archaeologists and Travelers in Ottoman Lands. Three Intersecting Lives," *Expedition* vol. 2, no. 3: 9-20.

Paddock, John
1966 "Oaxaca in Ancient Mesoamerica." In *Ancient Oaxaca: Discoveries in Mexican Archaeology and History*. Edited by John Paddock, pp. 83-242. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Parmenter, Ross
1971 "Glimpses of a Friendship, Zelia Nuttall and Franz Boas. Based on their correspondence in the Library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. In Pioneers of American Anthropology." Edited by June Helm Monograph 43, pp. 87-147. Seattle: The American Ethnological Society, University of Washington Press.

Pasztory, Esther
2010 *Jean-Frédéric Waldeck. Artist of Exotic México*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Peñafiel, Antonio
1893 *Arqueología Zapoteca*. Trabajos para la exposición Colombina de Chicago. México: Secretaría de Fomento.

Pérez Jiménez, Gustavo
1999 *Historia Gráfica del Instituto de Ciencias y Artes Erigido en Universidad Autónoma "Benito Juárez" de Oaxaca*. México: Carteles Editores, Oaxaca.

Pérez Salas Cantú, Esther
2005 "Primeros intentos por definir los tipos mexicanos en la primera mitad del siglo XIX." *Histoire(s) de l'Amérique latine* vol. 1: 2-11.

Porter, Katherine Anne
1952 *The Days Before*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Portillo, Andres
1910 *Oaxaca en el Centenario de la Independencia Nacional*, Imprenta del Estado, Oaxaca (second edition facsimile 1998). México: Biblioteca del 465 Aniversario, H. Ayuntamiento de Oaxaca de Juárez.

Powell, Thomas G
1968 "Mexican Intellectuals and the Indian Question, 1876-1911." *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 48, no. 1: 19-36.

Raat, Wlliam D
1968 "Leopoldo Zea and Mexican Positivism: A Reappraisal," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 48, no. 1 (February): 1-18.

1975 El positivismo durante el Porfiriato (1876-1910). Versión castellana de Andrés Lira. México: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

Rafael de Rafael
1844 "Monumentos de los Antiguos Tzapotéques." *El Museo Mexicano*, vol. III, pp. 329-335. México: Ignacio Cumplido.

Ramos, Samuel
1943 *Historia de la Filosofía en México*. México: Imprenta Universitaria.

Renfrew, Colin and Paul G. Bahn
1993 *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd.

Rickards, Constantine
1926 "The Ruins of Quiotepec (District of Cuicatlán. State of Oaxaca, Mexico)." In *International Congress of Americanists*, 22nd session, vol. 1, pp. 625-631. Rome.

Rico Mansard, Luisa Fernanda
2004 *Exhibir para educar. Objetos, colecciones y museos de la ciudad de México (1790-1910)*. Barcelona-México: Ediciones Pomares, S.A.

Ridley, Jasper
1992 *Maximilian & Juárez*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co.

Robles García, Nelly M.
2001 "Historia de la Arqueología de Mesoamérica: Oaxaca." In *Descubridores del Pasado en Mesoamérica*, pp. 111-133. México: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, D.G.E. Ediciones, Turner Publications.

2004 *The Management of Archaeological Resources in Mexico: Oaxaca as a Case Study*, translation by Jack Corbett, SAA online publications http://www.saa.org/publications/oaxaca/cover.html.

Robles García, Nelly M. and Alberto Juárez Osnaya
2004 *Historia de la arqueología en Oaxaca*. México: Instituto Oaxaqueño de las Culturas, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Romero Flores, Jesús
1950 *Diccionario Biográfico Mexicano.* México: Biblioteca El Nacional.

Roskamp, Hans
2000 "El doctor Nicolás León y los documentos pictográficos de Oaxaca." Cuadernos *del Sur*, 6 no. 15: 75-86.

Ruiz, Carmen
2003 "Insiders and Outsiders in Mexican Archaeology (1890-1930)." Unpublished doctoral thesis on file at the University of Austin, Texas.

Sánchez Castro, Alejandro
1947 *Luis Nicolás Guillemaud, interesante historia de un buen francés que vino a México en 1830. Los mixes, historias, leyendas, música*. México: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

Saville, Marshall H.
1899 "Exploration of Zapotecan Tombs in Southern Oaxaca." *American Anthropologist* 1, no. 2: 351-362.

Schávelzon, Daniel
1990 *La conservación del patrimonio cultural en América Latina: restauración de edificios prehispánicos en Mesoamérica (1750-1980)*, Instituto de Arte Americano (FADU - UBA) and The Getty Grant Program, Buenos Aires.

1999 "The History of Stratigraphic Excavations in Latin American Archaeology: a New Look," *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 9, no. 2: 1-10.

2002 "Historia de la conservación en el valle de Oaxaca," in *Sociedad y Patrimonio Arqueológico en el valle de Oaxaca, Memoria de la Segunda Mesa Redonda de Monte Albán*, edited by Nelly M. Robles, 21-32, CONACULTA-INAH, México.

Schuler-Schömig, Immina von
1970 *Figurengefässe aus Oaxaca.* Neue Folge, no. 20, Abteilung Amerikanische Archäologie I. Veroffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

Scott, John F
1978 *The Danzantes of Monte Albán*. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology, no. 19. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Seler, Eduard
1904 "Die Archaologischen Ergebnisse meiner ersten Mexikanischen Reise," *Gesammelte Abhanlungen zur Amerikanishen Sprach-und Alterthumskunde*, Band 2. A. Ascher & Co., Berlin: 289-369.

1993 "Some excellently painted old pottery vessels of the Sologuren Collection from Nochistlán and Cuicatlán in the state of Oaxaca," in *Collected Works in Mesoamerican Linguistics and Archaeology.* 2 ed. v. 4, 285 – 290, Labyrinthos, Culver City.

Seler-Sachs, Caecilie
1900 *Auf alten Wegen in Mexiko und Guatemala. Reiseerinnerungen un Eindrüke aus den Jahren 1895 – 1897.* Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), Berlin.

Sellen, Adam
2002 "Images of Deified Kings from the Valley of Oaxaca," *Quaderni di Thule,* no. I, Argo Editore, Perugia: 233-237.

2004 "Is this the Face that Launched a Thousand Fakes?" *Rotunda* 36 (3) Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 32-39.

2005 "The Lost Drummer of Ejutla: The Provenance, Iconography and Mysterious Disappearance of a Polychrome Zapotec Urn," *Baessler-Archiv*, Band 51(2003), Berlin: 115-138.

2005 "Nuestro hombre en México, Las hazañas del cónsul estadounidense Louis Henri Aymé, en Yucatán y Oaxaca," *Península*, vol. 1, no. 0, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Coordinación de Humanidades, UACSHUM, México: 147-166.

2011 "Sowing the Blood with the Corn: Zapotec Effigy Vessels and Agricultural Ritual," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 22: 71-89.

Shelton, Anthony Alan
1995 "Dispossessed Histories: Mexican Museums and the Institutionalization of the Past." *Cultural Dynamics* 7, no. 1: 69-100.

Siegal, Jonah, ed.
2008 *The Emergence of the Modern Museum. An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Sources*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Solís, Felipe
1996 "Grandes logros en la recuperación del pasado prehispánico," *Aqueología Mexicana*, vol. 4, no. 21: 68-73.

2001 "La época mexica revelada por los estudios arqueológicos." In *Descubridores del Pasado en Mesoamérica*, pp. 331-366. México: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, D.G.E. Ediciones, Turner publications.

2003 "Eduard Seler y las colecciones arqueológicas del Museo Nacional de México." In, *Eduard y Caecilie Seler: Sistematización de los estudios americanistas y sus repercusiones*. 211-222. Edited by Renata von Hanffstengal and Cecilia Tercero Vasconcelos. México: CONACULTA-INAH.

Speckman Guerra, Elisa
2004 "El Porfiriato." In *Nueva Historia Mínima de México*, Pablo Escalante et al., pp. 192-224. México: El Colegio de México.

Spencer, Charles, S
1982 *The Cuicatlán Cañada and Monte Albán. A Study of Primary State Formation*. London: Academic Press.

Spores, Ronald, editor, Irene Huesca and Manuel Esparza
1987 *Benito Juárez, Gobernador de Oaxaca. Documentos de su mandato y servicio público*. México: Documentos del Archivo 8, Archivo General del Estado de Oaxaca, Oaxaca.

Staples, Anne
1987 "Un lamento del siglo XIX: crisis económica, pobreza educativa." *Estudios. filosofía/historia/letras*, no. 8, primavera. http://biblioteca.itam.mx/estudios/estudio/estudio08/sec_9.html

1908 *In Indian Mexico*. Chicago: Lakeside Press.

Stealey, John E., ed.
2006 *Porte Crayon's Mexico. David Hunter Strother's Diaries in the Early Porfirian Era, 1879-1885*. Ohio: The Kent State University Press.

Suárez Cortés, Blanca Estela
1987 "Las interpretaciones positivistas del pasado y el presente (1889-1919)." In *Antropología de México, panorama histórico*, vol. 2, 15-77. Carlos García Mora (coordinator). México: INAH.

Taracena, Ángel
1941 *Efemérides oaxaqueñas*. Published by the author. México: Oaxaca.

Taracena, Arturo
2010 *De la nostalgia por la memoria a la memoria nostálgica. La prensa literaria y la construcción del regionalismo yucateco en el siglo* XIX. (Mérida: UNAM).

Tello Peón, Berta
1998 *Santa María la Ribera*. México: Clío.

Tenorio-Trillo, Mauricio
1996 *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation*. United States: University of California Press.

1996 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the Centenario, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 28, no. 1: 75-104.

Toscano, Salvador
1944 *Arte Precolombino de México y de la América Central.* México: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Trigger, Bruce
1985 "Writing the History of Archaeology." In *Objects and Others, Essays on Museums and Material Culture,* vol.3 of *History of Anthropology.* edited by George W. Stocking, Jr., pp. 218-235 Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Tylor, Edward B.
1861 *Anahuac: or Mexico and the Mexicans, Ancient and Modern*. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts.

Urcid Serrano, Javier
2001 *Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing.* Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology, no. 34. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

2002 "La faz oculta de una misteriosa máscara de piedra. In *Sociedad y patrimonio arqueológico en el valle de Oaxaca. Memoria de la Primera Mesa Redonda de Monte Albán*. Edited by Nelly M. Robles García, pp. 213-248. México: CONACULTA/INAH.

Urcid Serrano, Javier and Adam Sellen
2008 "A Forgotten House of Ancestors from Ancient Xoxocotlán," *Baessler-Archiv*, Band 56: 117-224.

Urías Horcasitas, Beatriz
1998 "La Memoria de lo indígena en el discurso etnológico de las élites: la Sociedad Indianista Mexicana, 1910-1914." *III Encuentro de Historia Cultural: La Memoria y sus Signos.* México: Departament of History, Universidad Iberoamericana.

Valderrama Zaldíver, María del Carmen and Ana María Velasco Eizaguirre
1981 "El arte prehispánico en el Porfiriato." Unpublished B.A. thesis, vols. I and II. Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana.

Van Doesburg, Sebastián
1998 "Los lienzos pictográficos de Don Francisco Belmar." *Mexicon*, vol. XX: 52-54.

Van Meer, Ron
2008 "La genealogía de Macuilxóchitl y la colección privada del Dr. Ortega Reyes." In *Pictografía y escritura alfabética en Oaxaca.* Edited by Sebastián van Doesburg, pp. 117-150. Oaxaca, México: Fondo Editorial del IEEPO.

Vásquez Colmenares, Genaro, coordinator
1986 *Manuel Martínez Gracida, Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos*. Oaxaca: Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca.

Villar, Mónica del
1996 "El coleccionismo arqueológico mexicano. Otro punto de vista" *Arqueología Mexicana* 4, no. 21: 40-47.

Von Müller, Johann Wilhelm
1998 [1864] *Viajes por los Estados Unidos, Canadá y México (De Puebla a Oaxaca, Oaxaca)*. Translated by María del Carmen Salinas. México: Codex editores.

Webster, David
2006 "The mystique of the ancient Maya." In *Archaeological Fantasies*: *How pseudoarchaeology misrepresents the past and misleads the public*, edited by Brian Fagan, pp. 129-153. London and New York: Routledge.

Weeks, John M.
2007 "Notes on a Letter from Brasseur de Bourbourg." Report submitted to the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Cultures, 8 pages. *http://research.famsi.org/aztlan/uploads/papers/BrasseurdeBourbourg.pdf*

Willey, Gordon R. and Jeremy A. Sabloff
1974 *A History of American Archaeology*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Winter, Marc
1994 "Oaxaca: la herencia mixteco-zapoteca." In *México en el mundo de las colecciones de arte,* vol 1, pp. 131-181. México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, IIE, UNAM y CONACULTA.

Winters, Christopher, ed.
1991 *International Dictionary of Anthropologists*. New York: Garland.

Worsaae, Jens Jacob Asmussen
1849 *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark,* translated by William J. Thoms. London: J.H. Parker.

Zea, Leopoldo
1974 *Positivism in Mexico*. Translated by Josephine H. Schulte. Austin & London: University of Texas Press.

The Orphans of the Muse.
Archaeological Collecting in Nineteenth-Century Oaxaca

editado por el Centro Peninsular en Humanidades y en Ciencias Sociales, siendo el jefe de Publicaciones Salvador Tovar Mendoza, se terminó de imprimir el 9 de septiembre de 2015 en los talleres de Cromo Editores S. A. de C. V., Miravalle núm. 703, Portales, México, D. F. Style correction was performed by Daniel Charles Thomas and Luisa Elena Ruiz Pulido. La formación del texto (en tipos Times New Roman, 11:13.2, 10:12 y 9:10.8 puntos) la llevaron a cabo Andrea Jiménez Quiroz y Jorge Pérez Martínez. El diseño de los forros lo realizó Adam T. Sellen. El tiraje consta de 250 ejemplares en tapa rústica, impresos en *offset* sobre papel cultural de 90 gramos.