

The development of Spanish archaeology in the 20th century

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*To Manuel Fernandez-Miranda
in memoriam*

The long history of state unity and archaeology's strong dependence on the state explain how archaeological practice became institutionalized in Spain. The intellectual currents that marked Spanish archaeology's development – antiquarianism, Enlightenment interest in human antiquity, the definition of national identity – are analogous to those in other European countries: foreign models always were influential. Largely due to traditional, institutionalized links to German and French archaeology, cultural historical positivism was the only theoretical and methodological framework until the 1970s. Since then, due to British, US, Latin American and Italian influence, Marxist, functionalist, and structuralist approaches have developed. The advent of democracy, the decentralization of state institutions, and improvements in the standard of living and in education have favored this pluralism. Spanish archaeology shares with the rest of the world the task of meeting present-day social needs without diluting its commitment to understanding the past.

KEY-WORDS: Spain, history of archaeology, prehistory, classics, medieval archaeology, politics

INTRODUCTION: MAIN TRENDS IN ITS DEVELOPMENT

The development of archaeology in the territory of the Spanish state has been marked by the long history (since the 15th century) of that state's unity and by the discipline's strong dependence on state institutions. The latter factor enables us to link the situation in Spain to the trajectory of archaeological practice in its various historical subdivisions (prehistoric, protohistoric, classical, medieval, American, Oriental).

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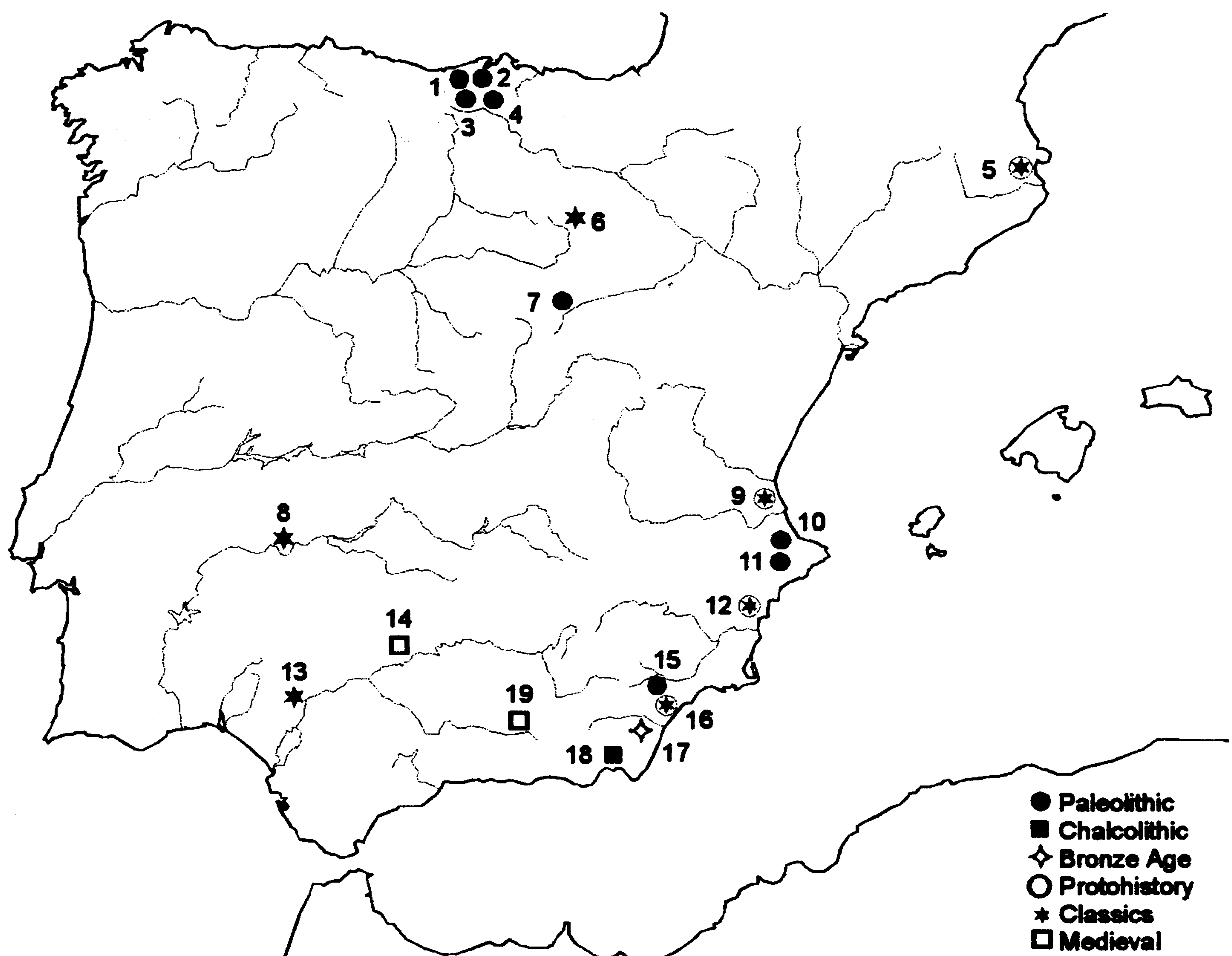


Fig. 1. Sites quoted in the text: 1 - **Altamira** (Upper Palaeolithic); 2 - **Cueva Morín** (Middle and Upper Palaeolithic); 3 - **El Castillo** (Lower to Upper Palaeolithic); 4 - **El Pendo** (Middle and Upper Palaeolithic); 5 - **Ampurias** (Greek-Roman 6th cent. BC - 4th cent. AD); 6 - **Numancia** (Celtiberian 2nd Iron Age); 7 - **Torrallba-Ambrona** (Lower Palaeolithic); 8 - **Mérida** (Roman Period); 9 - **Sagunto** (Iberian 2nd Iron Age - Roman Period); 10 - **El Parpalló** (Upper Palaeolithic); 11 - **Cova Negra** (Middle Palaeolithic); 12 - **Elche** (Iberian 2nd Iron Age - Roman Period); 13 - **Italica** (Roman Period); 14 - **Medinat al-Zahra** (Muslim 10th cent.); 15 - **Cueva Ambrosio** (Upper Palaeolithic); 16 - **Villaricos** (Phoenician - Roman 6th cent. BC - 1st cent. AD); 17 - **El Argar** (Bronze Age); 18 - **Los Millares** (Chalcolithic); 19 - **El Alhambra** (Muslim 13-15th cent.). Drawn by J. Sánchez Garcia, CEH, CSIC.

analogous to those in other European countries (Suárez 1993:331). These are 1) the antiquarianism and learning that largely inspired classical archaeology from the Renaissance to the 19th century; 2) the enlightened concern, linked with the natural sciences, with the antiquity of humanity and its early cultures that led to the origin of prehistoric archaeology in the last third of the 19th century; and 3) the ideologically motivated search for and celebration of national identity (Gilman 1995:2-3) that influenced all – and, more specifically, medieval (Salvatierra 1990:71-2) and protohistoric (Ruíz Zapatero 1993a:40) – archaeological practice, as well as Spanish archaeological research abroad. In all these instances the goals of research shift from the universal to the particular, in concert with the institutionalization of archaeology by the state (Fig. 1).

THE BEGINNINGS OF SCIENTIFIC ARCHAEOLOGY:
FROM THE INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH OF THE 19TH CENTURY
TO THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

In the 19th century archaeological research took place against a social background of civil and colonial wars and sharp conflicts over the organization of the state. It was carried out, not by public sponsors, but through private initiatives. In the course of that century, these initiatives, guided by the political and intellectual climate of the times, centered increasingly on local and national concerns. At the same time, the isolation was broken by wide intellectual interests, contact with foreign researchers (Gran-Aymerich and Gran-Aymerich 1991), participation in international congresses (Ayarzagüena 1991:69) and universal expositions (Barril 1993:50). Basic to this broadening outlook was the establishment of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* [Free Institution for Learning] (*ILE*) by Francisco Giner de los Ríos in 1876 (Moure 1993:206-7). The *Institución* had a patriotic goal, the understanding and renewal of Spain. Against catholic conservatism, it represented a secular and innovative attitude and sought to modernize Spanish secondary and university education by encouraging studies abroad and receptivity to French, British, and German pedagogical approaches (Jutglar 1971:148-53).

The liberal state sought to centralize these interests through institutions that would define a historical heritage common to the whole national territory: royal academies, museums such as the *Museo Arqueológico Nacional* [National Museum of Archaeology] (*MAN*) (Madrid) and the provincial archaeological museums, founded in 1867 to recover and curate antiquities and to organize this heritage, and (after 1900) universities (whose activities had hitherto been unimportant to the development of archaeology) (Pasamar and Peiró 1991:73; Cortadella 1991:161).

Collecting, encouraged by the consideration that items acquired were investments (Barril 1993:48, 55-8), provided another link between private initiative and the state. Collectors were members of the haute bourgeoisie and influential representatives of the middle class. Scientifically motivated, they studied the ancient inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula in the light of new information obtained in the rest of Europe. The attention paid to Spanish evidence by some foreign scholars played a part in this. Thus, from France, Louis Lartet and Emile Cartailhac studied prehistory and colonel Stoffel the Roman period, while the German Emil Hübner studied Latin epigraphy (Gran-Aymerich and Gran-Aymerich 1991). At the same time, some Spaniards (the Marquis of Cerralbo) and foreign residents of Spain (Henri and Louis Siret, Horace Sandars, Georges Bonsor) financed their own excavations and carried out studies of their finds, subsequently giving or selling to the state their archives and data. A third group comprised local scholars.

The archaeological activities of other foreign scholars in Spain, such as Pierre Paris and Arthur Engel, consisted of journeys to collect, learn about and popularize Spanish art (Marcos Pous 1993:80). The export of the Iberian sculpture, the *Dama de Elche*



Fig. 2. The *Dama de Elche* (5th-4th cent. BC), the politicized „Mona Lisa” of Spanish archaeology (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid).

(Fig. 2), to the Louvre in 1897 revealed the negative aspects of such collecting (Delaunay 1997:101-2). It awoke nationalist feelings that in various forms continue into the present day and it inspired the protective measures we discuss below (Díaz-Andreu and Mora 1995:32). From the end of the 19th century to the mid-1960s this bust has been a symbol of Spanish nationalism. Its discovery (1897) and return from France (1941) made headlines in the press (García and Gómez 1997). Today the most conservative wing of the right in the *Comunidad Valenciana* (the Valencian autonomous region) uses the Internet to demand its return from the *MAN*.

In the first third of the 20th century archaeological activity acquired legal, academic, and scientific structure and henceforth has remained under state tutelage (Ruíz Zapatero 1993b:47). The protective legislation – *Ley de Excavaciones y Antigüedades* [Archaeological Excavations Act] (1911); *Ley de Patrimonio Histórico-Artístico* [Heritage Act] (1933) – and administrative agencies (*Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades* [Higher Council for Excavations and Antiquities], *JSEA* 1912, and its *Actas y Memorias*) that were established in this period have served as a reference point until the present.

Four chairs in archaeology came to be established in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the Central (now Complutense) University in Madrid (Marcos Pous 1993:75; Moure 1996:19, 30-1): “Archaeology” (1900), held by Juan Catalina García, the first chair to be separated from that of “History of Art”; “Arabic Archaeology” (1912), held by Manuel Gómez Moreno; “Primitive History of Mankind” (1922), held by Hugo Obermaier; and “Precolumbian Archaeology and American Ethnography” (1933), held by Hermann Trimborn. In other universities, either archaeological instruction was not separated administratively from other branches of history (Pedro Bosch Gimpera’s 1916 chair “Ancient and Medieval History” at the University of Barcelona) or professors of archaeology only joined their faculties later on (Pasamar and Peiró 1991:75).

Research became institutionalized at the national, regional, and local levels, and for a brief time, abroad, basically through the work of the *Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas* [Council for the Widening of Scientific Studies and Research] (1907) (Moure 1996:24-5). The *JAEIC* had among its missions the establishment of scientific exchanges abroad. Between 1907 and 1936 it granted scholarships for study in Germany to most of the protagonists of Spanish archaeology in the first half of this century: Martín Almagro Basch, Telesforo de Aranzadi, Pedro Bosch Gimpera, Juan Cabré, Alberto del Castillo, Antonio García Bellido, Hugo Obermaier and Luis Pericot (Díaz-Andreu 1995). The *JAEIC* created the *Centro de Estudios Históricos* [Center for Historical Studies] (1910) and the *Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma* [Spanish School of History and Archaeology in Rome] (1910), which did not outlast World War I. Within the former it established a section on “Spanish Archaeology”, directed by Gómez Moreno, that published the important journal, *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*.

The *Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas* [Commission for Paleontological and Prehistoric Investigations] (*CIPP* 1912) was the *JAEIC*’s central contribution to the institutionalization of Spanish archaeology. The *CIPP* had prestigious members (Cabré, Obermaier, Paul Wernert) and collaborators (Bosch Gimpera, Hubert Schmidt, Henri Breuil) and carried out a vast program of systematic research and publication. Most of its work centered on excavations and studies of Palaeolithic cave art in the Cantabrian region and on studies of the Levantine art of the Mediterranean coast (Porcar, Obermaier and Breuil 1935). It included erudite, neo-catholic aristocrats who accepted scientific prehistory (the Count of la Vega del Sella), some of whom had influence and public fame (the Marquis of Cerralbo), with persons close to the *ILE* (the geologist Eduardo Hernández Pacheco). Its foundation was encouraged by the research in Cantabria financed by Prince Albert I of Monaco (Pasamar and Peiró 1991:75; Aguirre 1993:108-14; Moure 1996:25).

The *Servei d’Investigacions Arqueològiques* [Archaeological Research Service] (1915) of *Institut d’Estudis Catalans* [Institute of Catalan Studies] (1907) was established as part of the program of cultural modernization advocated by the Catalanist bourgeoisie first through the *Mancomunitat* and later through the

Generalitat. Bosch Gimpera played a fundamental role (Cebriá, Muro and Riu 1991:83; Dupré and Rafel 1991:175). As with those established by some provinces (Valencia, Sevilla) and cities (Madrid), this represented the culmination of a process started the century before by local scholars and naturalists.

French research in Spain also became institutionalized. On Paris's initiative the *Escuela Francesa de Arte y Arqueología* [French School of Art and Archaeology] or “*Casa de Velázquez*” was established in Madrid in 1928 (Gran-Aymerich and Gran-Aymerich 1991:117). In turn, German archaeology's great influence in Spain arose through the grantees of the *JAEIC* and due to the work in Spain of scholars like Georg and Vera Leisner (on megaliths), Adolf Schulten (on protohistory), Hans Zeiss (on funerary archaeology of the Visigothic period), and Helmut Schlunk (on late Roman and early Medieval art and archaeology; in 1943 Schlunk became the first director of the Madrid branch of the German Archaeological Institute) (Grünhagen 1979; Marcos Pous 1993:80).

As this period closed, only prehistory had succeeded in freeing itself of a philological and art-historical perspective (Pasamar and Peiró 1991:75; Arce 1991:209; Roselló-Bordoy 1986:8-9). First, the Spanish personages on the *CIPP* and the fact that Breuil and Obermaier were priests – the latter served for a time as chaplain to the Duke of Alba – helped break the prejudices of the more fundamentalist Catholics against the study of fossil man. In second place, the linking of palaeontology and prehistory led to the latter's strong empiricist orientation. Archaeological research on protohistory, however, became linked to “the most conservative sectors of historical scholarship, interested in the ‘origins of peoples’ and particularly Celtic studies” (Moure 1996:19).

A third factor was the national and international importance of the Palaeolithic discoveries in the Cantabrian region (Altamira by Marcelino Sanz de Sautuola, 1879; El Castillo by Hermilio Alcalde del Río, 1903) (Breuil and Obermaier 1935; Alcalde del Río, Breuil and Sierra 1911) and of the later prehistoric discoveries in the south-east of the Peninsula (Los Millares – Fig. 3, El Argar, Villaricos by L. Siret) (Siret and Siret 1887; Moure 1993:207-10). The topical syntheses of Cartailhac (1886), the Sirets (1887), Nils Åberg (1921), and Schmidt (1913) and the general works of Gordon Childe (1925) attest to this impact.

Communication between Childe and Spanish prehistorians was reciprocal, intense, and long lasting. Its “main emphasis was on the link between the East Mediterranean and the Iberian peninsula” (MacNairn 1980:9) with respect to the origins of megalithic architecture, but Childe also took an interest in Beakers, the Spanish origin of which he defended. The number of Spanish sources Childe cited, the recurrent reference to Childe in Spanish publications, and his publication in Spain (Childe 1934) demonstrate this tie. The relation would persist until the Orientalist paradigm was called into question.

The culture-historical approach of German anthropogeographers pervaded the theory and practice of Spanish pre- and protohistory (Pasamar and Peiró 1991:75-6), as



Fig. 3. Los Millares showing the outer wall of fortifications around settlement with the barbican entrance in the middle after A. Arribas' and F. Molina's (University of Granada) works of restoration and excavation spanning from 1978 to 1983. Photo: Jacek Lech.

it was in the European archaeology in general. Even Childe, whose historical optimism and critical perspective are generally recognized (McNairn 1980:106), was famously influenced by this perspective (Trigger 1980). It is pointless to try to give a specific derivation to ideas which formed part of a general climate of opinion. The strong attraction of spritualist and diffusionist theories among European intellectuals “deeply suspicious of evolutionist ideologies and of a progressive image of history” (Pasamar y Peiró 1991:75; Fontana 1982:132-3) was nearly universal.

The syntheses of Obermaier (1916), Bosch Gimpera (1932), and his student Pericot (1934) reflect the diversity of influences that were combined in the definition of archaeological cultures. Thanks to German ethnography the initial conception of chronological periods as a unilineal evolutionary sequence of morpho-technological “type fossils” was soon superseded. By using ethnographic parallels Obermaier (1926:17-20) converted prehistory into palaeoethnology. To do this he rehabilitated both Adolph Bastian and the culture-historical school. Thanks to his closeness to the latter, he “essentially equated culture with race and ‘explained’ particular archaeological phenomena in any given region with reference to supposed ‘invasions’ or ‘migrations’” (Straus 1996:196).

For their part, Catalan researchers reduced the naturalist component of ethnic groups, calling attention to the persistence of previous populations and to the importance of crossbreeding. This factor was counterbalanced, furthermore, by “determinants of merely cultural character” like living conditions, particularly economic ones. These, however, did not contribute to cultural change, which was attributed to movements of whole peoples, colonists, and mercenaries (Bosch Gimpera 1932:xiii-xv). This framework was completed by a political, narrative

historiography based on Schulten. The similarity Bosch Gimpera saw between the cultural areas of Iberia in the later Iron Age and the distribution of historical nationalities in Spain may be due as much to Schulten's influence as to Bosch Gimpera's political commitment to a federalist Spain (Ruíz Rodríguez 1993:308).

In the context of this volume an important question is the influence of Gustav Kossinna on Spanish archaeology. As in so many other cases, specific research is lacking. There are some concrete facts, such as Bosch Gimpera's attendance in 1914 at Kossinna's Germanic Seminar in Berlin. However, Bosch Gimpera's acknowledged debts were to Schulten and above all to Schmidt, director of the prehistory section of the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Berlin, the man responsible for Bosch Gimpera's theoretical and practical training as a prehistorian (Díaz-Andreu 1995:82-7). Bosch Gimpera's bibliographical citations and his translations confirm the facts set forth in his letters.

Meanwhile, classical and Medieval archaeologists (specialists in classical and arabic philology, architects, and scholars in the liberal arts) did not use archaeology to test historical narratives. They were concerned not so much with research as with the elucidation of cities named in the texts (Italica, Mérida, Numancia, etc.) through archaeological finds. Likewise, they restored ecclesiastical buildings and large Islamic architectural complexes (the Alhambra, Medinat al-Zahra). In accordance with the positions of the *ILE*, these monuments were considered part of an irrevocable cultural heritage. Given such objectives, these archaeologists could scarcely be distinguished from art historians (Salvatierra 1990:39-49). In general, field archaeology did not involve stratigraphic controls or a detailed register of data. As might be expected, however, the procedures used on prehistoric and historic sites were the opposites of one another. It was only palaeolithic research that linked fauna, climate and (geological) stratigraphy with human industries in intact contexts so as to define a chronological sequence. The Civil War (1936-9) truncated this structure of Spanish archaeology.

A CENTRALIZED AND ISOLATED ARCHAEOLOGY: THE POST-WAR RETREAT AND THE SECOND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE 1950S AND 1960S

The Franco regime suppressed centers of debate and institutions of regional self-government, but maintained other organizations (the network of provincial museums, universities) once their membership had been purged. All state employees had to pass review of their responsibilities with respect to the republican government and to affirm their loyalty to the new regime (Moure 1996:39, 42). Academic institutions were particularly affected (Bosch Gimpera and Jose Miguel de Barandiarán became exiles, Leopoldo Torres Balbás was compelled to retire). In other instances, such as Almagro Basch's becoming director of the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona, or the decree of creation of the Museum of the Americas (1941, provisionally placed in the *MAN*),

the ideological content changed to serve the new political order (Dupré and Rafel 1991:175; Cabello 1989:49-50). The internal situation and the international context led some foreign researchers to leave the country and others (like Obermaier) did not return. In other cases, pre-war research was resumed with brilliant results (Leisner and Leisner 1943).

New institutions were established immediately, proof of the new regime's interest in controlling culture. The *JAEIC* was replaced by the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* [Higher Council for Scientific Research] (*CSIC* 1939 – present). The *Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas* [General Commission for Archaeological Excavations], directed by Julio Martínez Santa Olalla, replaced the *JSEA* and assumed state direction of archaeological policy through a new network of provincial, insular and local commissions. The series “*Informes y Memorias*” (1942-1956) and “*Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico*” (1953-1988) published the results of their work. At the same time, some provinces continued to establish their own services for prehistoric research.

The first volume of the *Historia de España* (1947) edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal demonstrates the level of the new archaeological regime. Except for Almagro Basch and Juan Maluquer de Motes, its authors had professional reputations which had already been established in the previous period (Hernández Pacheco, Luis de Hoyos Sainz, Castillo, Juan de la Mata Carriazo, García Bellido, Blas Taracena).

The paradoxes of the new situation were evident in the replacement of Obermaier and Bosch Gimpera in their professorships by two of the former's students. Martínez Santa Olalla occupied the Madrid chair (1939-48). His studies at Bonn from 1927 to 1931 had given him “a diffusionist vision of the past radically different from the natural sciences perspective” of his master (Moure 1996:43). Almagro Basch's occupation of the Barcelona chair (1940-54) led to the resumption of research by those of Bosch Gimpera's students who had stayed in Spain (Pericot, Castillo, etc.). “The changes in theory, if any existed, were so superficial as to demand no change in practice” (Gilman 1995:5, n. 3).

Beginning in the 1950s a new technocratic policy led to an opening of the country towards the world and to economic expansion (Spain-USA treaty, 1953; stabilization program, 1959; tourism; emigration). In 1947, Spain's only permanent research center abroad, the *Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología* in Rome, was established for a second time. It was attached to the *CSIC* and renewed its work in 1951 (Arce and Barrondo 1994:5). In 1954, the Spanish section of the German Archaeological Institute (Madrid) was established on a permanent basis (Grünhagen 1979:143). Its excavations at later prehistoric and protohistoric, classical and early Christian sites involved Spanish students, and was fundamental in modernizing archaeological field techniques. The international, multidisciplinary collaboration that was traditional in Palaeolithic research was renewed in Cantabria (El Pendo) and in Mediterranean Spain (Cueva Ambrosio, Cova Negra,

El Parpalló), in the latter area with first participation from the United States (Maluquer de Motes 1958:250).

Archaeology now was carried out from universities and the new centers of research. Throughout the country new professorships were founded in archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, and prehistory. The inclusion of prehistory as a required course in degree programs in philosophy and letters (1955) was a key step in this process. The publication of journals (many of which remain important) by university departments contributed to this consolidation (Rodríguez *et al.* 1996). Thanks to the reorganization of the academic world, prehistory occupied a position in the human sciences similar to that of other historical periods (Moure 1993:216). In contrast, Medieval archaeology was marginal to university history programs. The study of Arab material culture continued only thanks to the work of museum curators (Roselló-Bordoy 1986:9-10).

The CSIC came to incorporate the *Instituto Español de Prehistoria* [Spanish Institute of Prehistory] (1958) and the Rodrigo Caro Institute (1951) of classical archaeology, directed by Almagro Basch and García Bellido, respectively. These are still the only institutions of the central government specifically dedicated to archaeological research, and their journals, “*Trabajos de Prehistoria*” (Rodríguez *et al.* 1993) and “*Archivo Español de Arqueología*”, have established themselves as the most important in their respective specialities.

As this period ended, Spain had a centralized administration responsible for a growing number of sites of all periods scattered throughout its territory. Meetings of specialists and numerous publications made known the state of research. A. Beltrán organized the *Congresos Arqueológicos del Sudeste* beginning in 1946. These became *Congresos Nacionales* in 1949 and have met biennially since that time. In turn, the less regularly scheduled *Symposia de Prehistoria peninsular* (I 1959-VI 1972) established by Maluquer de Motes served as important reference marks.

Field archaeology lacked planning and coordination. Stratigraphic excavations remained scarce and technical laboratories were non-existent (Maluquer de Motes 1954). The summer courses at Ampurias, organized by Almagro Basch, Nino Lamboglia and Pericot (1946-66) were intended to overcome these deficiencies: they put Spanish archaeologists in contact with many of the best foreign specialists.

The political regime and the practice of archaeology remained, then, fundamentally independent. This was expressed on the personal level by, for example, the friendly relations between the falangist, Martínez Santa Olalla (Díaz-Andreu 1993:77) and Childe (1953). What is even more important is the essential continuity in archaeological method and theory before and after the Civil War. This was due to the force of patronage in intellectual life. “Members of the profession were few; they all came from similar class backgrounds”, and irrespective of their political differences “they agreed in all significant respects on how the archaeological record should be interpreted” (Gilman 1995:3, 5). Two anecdotes concerning Almagro Basch, the

foremost Spanish archaeologist during the Franco years, illustrate the characteristics of these patronage ties. Jokingly he would advise his students to be as attentive in helping him put on his overcoat as he had once been in helping with Obermaier's. The respect of his students for the authority of their master would, in turn, commit the latter to promoting their careers: "every bullfighter with his *cuadrilla*", Almagro Basch would say (in bullfights the "master" is the prestigious matador, *torero*, who can count on a *cuadrilla* of good assistants to help him in his fight; they all are contracted as a unit).

National and international anticommunism favored, of course, an authoritarianism, clientelist or otherwise, which made struggle against "historical materialism" and an optimistic notion of progress a basic task for any historian (Almagro Basch 1957:112-3, 150-1).

ACADEMIC EXPANSION AND THE "SCIENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY" IN THE 1960S AND 1970S

Spain's general development in the 1960s and 1970s had very positive consequences for archaeology: the expansion of university education as the first members of the baby boom of the 1950s and 1960s came of age, and with it, the increase in funding both for university personnel and for archaeological field and laboratory research. In contrast, theoretical and methodological debate was tardy and scanty (Gilman 1995:3-5).

This dichotomy had the advantage of accommodating Spanish archaeology to international standards without questioning its own heritage. The culture-historical perspective was taught using an avowedly descriptive and atheoretical literature. Theory was equated with speculation, while at the same time academic prestige was linked to an increasingly multidisciplinary, technologically sophisticated archaeological practice. This specialization reinforced the elitism of a large part of the academic community. Its members, recruited to direct the centralized administration of archaeological research and education, converted the goals of academic research into public policy. In a political context that gave scant attention to public opinion, this limited the discipline's social impact.

In this period Spanish archaeological missions were sent to Central and South America (Anonymous 1987) and to Sudan, Egypt, Jordan and Syria (Pérez Díe 1983). The importance of universities in Spanish archaeology was reinforced by the general increase in the number of students and professors and, towards the end of this period, by the creation of specialized degree programs in prehistory or prehistory and archaeology in the larger universities (Ruíz Zapatero 1993b:51). Museums were revitalized formally and functionally: exhibits were remodelled and outreach programs expanded. Almagro Basch's directorship (1968-1981) of the *MAN* exemplifies this (Marcos Pous 1993:95). An important monograph series, *Excavaciones Arqueológicas*

en España (1962-1996), began to be published by the central government, and various new university and museum journals appeared.

Fieldwork improved, with a better appreciation of stratigraphy and more detailed recording becoming prevalent. Prehistoric research increasingly involved collaboration with the natural and hard sciences but this only rarely occurred in other branches of archaeology. Meetings on scientific archaeology held in the late 1970s (Chapa 1988:137) promoted the formation of the incipient Spanish infrastructure in this area. In general, the role of biologists (María Hopf, Angela von der Driesch and Joachim Boessneck), metallurgists (Junghans, Sangmeister and Schröder 1968) and archaeologists studying from Prehistory to Early Medieval times (Hermanfrid Schubart, Wilhem Schüle, Wilhelm Grünhagen, Karl Raddatz, Wolfgang Hübener, Theodor Hauschild, Schlunk, Thilo Ulbert, Christian Ewert) from Germany and France (Arlette and Andre Leroi-Gourhan, François Bordes, Claude Domergue) was decisive in these developments. They were generally published in “*Madridier Mitteilungen*”, *Studien über frühe Tierknochenfunde von der Iberischen Halbinsel* and the “*Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez*”. The American research on the Palaeolithic (Clark Howell, Karl Butzer, and Leslie G. Freeman at Torralba, Ambrona and Cueva Morín) was important as well (Moure 1993:217).

Throughout this period, Spanish archaeology was centered on the prehistoric and classical periods. Medieval archaeology was included in the National Archaeological Congresses only from 1971 onwards (Roselló-Bordoy 1986:8). Archaeological research on the Americas developed completely independently from Old World archaeology. The Museum of the Americas, with its own premises (subject to long closures) as of 1965 (Cabello 1989:51-2), did not encourage a convergence.

Initially, neither the updating of methods nor the mass of data this updating generated led to a change in the discipline’s conceptualization. The new results of either were attached to the main text as self-explanatory appendices or remained unpublished (since it was impossible to integrate them with the comparative study of artifact styles). All the same, they helped make a new generation of archaeologists aware of the frustrating disproportion between the technical means of the discipline and the historical knowledge it had attained.

At the end of the 1970s additional factors led to a reconsideration of the disciplinary tradition and laid the ground for future debate. Editorial and translation work, mostly by the members of the Department of American Anthropology and Ethnology of the Complutense University of Madrid and other institutions, made available in Spanish the contributions on archaeological epistemology by Lewis Binford, Patty Jo Watson, Steven A. LeBlanc, Charles Redman and David Clarke among others. Colin Renfrew’s (1967, 1973) criticism of the Orientalist paradigm facilitated, for the first time, an alternative explanation of the Peninsula’s archaeological record, one that not only was more parsimonious and satisfactory but also integrated the new data. In conjunction with this, the increasing number of radiocarbon dates demonstrated the inconsistencies of

traditional archaeological chronologies and weakened the authority of the theoretical approaches these embodied.

Although José Alcina (1991:23), José Manuel Vázquez and Robert Risch (1991:36) argue otherwise, in my opinion Childe's works had less impact on the renewal of Spanish archaeology in the 1970's than one might expect. His work had long been translated into Spanish – and in Latin America it had been broadly influential (Bosch Gimpera 1959; Lorenzo 1981:204; Pérez 1981; Manzanilla 1987) – but in Spain his reputation remained linked to his defense of Orientalism (Almagro Basch and Arribas 1963:185-200), a position that Renfrew's arguments had discredited in progressive sectors of Spanish archaeological opinion. It was only later, that the investigations undertaken by a British student of Renfrew (Chapman 1990) and a U.S. reader of Childe (Gilman and Thornes 1985) would lead to a new vision of the recent prehistory of the Peninsula, a reinterpretation favored by collaboration with Spanish archaeologists.

Finally, the greater intellectual freedom resultant from the new political situation (the end of the Franco regime and the transition to democratic government) and the generational turnover involved in the expansion of the university system favored a critical attitude towards the strongly positivist research orientation and the generally conservative academic authority (Riu 1992:10).

THE THIRD INSTITUTIONALIZATION: THE DECENTRALIZATION AND POPULARIZING OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE 1980S AND 1990S

The restoration of democracy and the approval of the new constitution of 1978 led to the decentralization of the state. From 1979 on responsibility for archaeological policy began to be transferred to the 17 autonomous communities into which Spain was divided. The fundamental *Ley de Patrimonio Histórico Español* [Spanish Heritage Law] (16/1985) responded to this new political reality and established the framework for the archaeological legislation of the autonomous governments (García Fernández 1989). This process coincided with the high point of the country's liberalization: joining the Common Market (1985) and NATO (1986).

The new organization of the state has had a pervasive effect on archaeological activity. First, it produced large differences in regional policies with respect to the legal and administrative framework for archaeology, the available infrastructure, and the degree of governmental intervention. Generally, the management, protection and conservation of the archaeological heritage (surveys, mapping, cataloguing and restoration projects, and emergency excavations) (*Jornadas* 1992; Jimeno, Val and Fernández 1993), particularly in urban areas (*Primeras* 1983; *Arqueología* 1985) has taken precedence over research as such (long-term excavations, analyses, dating, publications). Public financing has increased, but has focussed on the “management”

of archaeology, with new, “contract” archaeologists generally being responsible for its execution (Querol *et al.* 1995).

The reason for this revolutionary change in the state’s policy objectives is the increasing integration of archaeology into the market economy (Vicent 1994:221). Archaeology does not just produce heritage values. As a production cost of construction paid for by the state or by real estate developers (and ultimately by consumers), it is part of the creation of surplus value. In this context the archaeologist is more a technical professional at the service of the construction industry than researcher committed to producing knowledge.

The academic world was still responsible for the transmission of archaeological knowledge, but it had to face two challenges. On the one hand, it had to develop a curriculum that would train students in contract archaeology; on the other hand, it had to cope with the loss of its previous dominance in decisions about the allocation of archaeological funding. This has occurred precisely when the increasing specialization of archaeology by historical periods, research projects, and theoretical and methodological outlooks has diversified and increased archaeological activities and their financial cost.

Since the beginning of the 1980s methodological renewal has been visible in the theoretical projects spearheaded by a very active minority of newly appointed prehistorians in Barcelona, Jaén, Madrid and Santiago de Compostela (Martínez Navarrete 1989; Alcina 1991; Vázquez Varela and Risch 1991; Ruíz Rodríguez 1993; Vicent 1994), most of whom were inspired by Marxist critiques of the ethno-culturalist tradition and of anglo-saxon functionalism (A non-Marxist structuralist perspective is characteristic of the work of Felipe Criado and Celso Martín de Guzman). Juan Vicent (1994:222-3) links this Marxist archaeology to a tradition that sees racial conflicts as the motor of history. The notion of class struggle would arise as a dialectical negation of this nationalist, racist discourse (Foucault 1991). The interpretation of History is radically different, but it refers back to the same problems and is based on the same idea of conflict and social transformation (history as struggle). Traditional Spanish archaeology preserved in fossilized form the nationalist-racist discourse of the triumphant 19th century bourgeoisie. It is only natural, therefore, that “new” Spanish archaeologists have appealed to Marxism, bourgeois nationalism’s dialectical alternative, in combatting that tradition. All the various groups of Spanish Marxist archaeologists – despite the nuances that distinguish them (*cf.* Vázquez and Risch 1991:36-44; Ruíz 1993:316-8; some of them were members of the communist party; their intellectual roots are neomarxist French anthropology, Latin American – Muntané, Bate, Lumbreras – and Italian – Bandinelli, Carandini – Marxist archaeology, and the Frankfurt school) – have kept the historicist framework it had inherited. Accordingly, Spanish prehistorians have generally rejected processual theoretical perspective while adopting its functionalist methodologies, which have become a guarantee of professional respectability even in the more conservative sectors of archaeological opinion (Gilman 1995:4). Functionalist practice coincided objectively with the positivist orientation of prehistoric

archaeology. In addition, the debates that arose from this practice were not merely scholastic. They addressed concrete historical problems and promoted a variety of research strategies. The various results (Lull 1983; Criado, Aira and Diaz-Fierros 1986; Chapman *et al.* 1987; Vicent 1991; Martin *et al.* 1993; Ruíz and Molinos 1993; Nocete 1994; Montero 1994) could be compared to one another and those of traditional culture-historical programs. Thus, the polemic between “theorisers” and “potologists” (*i.e.*, pottery typologists) (Vázquez and Risch 1991:27, 34) gradually died down.

Although the academic world has lost its monopoly on archaeology and its monolithic theoretical unity, this in no way involved the disappearance of its influence. This remains enormous and now is exercised from the various universities and research teams within them. The teaching of prehistory and classical archaeology still receives most funding, with 145 and 62 permanent professors, respectively, in 1994 (according to the *Consejo de Universidades, Secretaría General, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia* – 1 October 1994). The greater influence of prehistory also is due to its role in the discipline’s methodological modernization. American and Middle Eastern archaeologists have a much more limited presence in the university, but occasionally conduct projects in their areas of study. Their projects were sporadic and strongly dependent on decisions that were more circumstantial than connected with clear Spanish foreign policy. Alternatively, they were organized by the *MAN* (Heracleopolis Magna, Egypt: Pérez Die 1983), which (given the current trend towards decentralization) has not received the administrative structure and the resources required to achieve a broad impact.

Medieval archaeology has become increasingly important in the practical sphere, but its academic presence continues to be small. The increased importance of urban archaeology has led to its scientific consolidation (an association of medieval archaeologists was founded in 1981, and a first national meeting on the subject was held in 1985). The traditional focus on architecture and art history has begun to be replaced by interests in urban and rural settlement patterns, in large part due to the work of André Bazzana and Pierre Guichard of the *Casa de Velázquez* (Roselló-Bordoy 1986:12; Barceló 1992:245; Matesanz 1991).

Present archaeological activity is characterized by varied, but sometimes coordinated lines of research (*Primeras* 1984; Vila 1991; Vicent 1993). These include:

1. Theoretical and methodological studies from culture-historical, functionalist, marxist, and structuralist perspectives.
2. Studies of ecology and economy based on faunal and palaeobotanical analyses, as well as sedimentology in the case of older sites (Moure 1992).
3. Studies of settlement patterns, first from a functionalist “spatial” perspective (*Arqueología* 1984), and then from critical “landscape” perspectives based on structuralism (Criado, Aira and Diaz-Fierros 1986) or Marxism (Vicent 1991). The driving forces in this area have been the specific research carried out by Antonio Gilman and John B. Thornes (1985), the role of surveys as the principal means to

carry out the archaeological policies of regional governments, and the incipient use of geographical information systems and remote sensing.

4. Social archaeological studies based primarily on mortuary studies (Chapa 1991) and settlement patterns (*Arqueología* 1984).
5. Studies of production and exchange based upon material analyses of ceramics, metals and lithics (Bustillo and Ramos 1991), and to a lesser extent experimental, use wear, and ethnoarchaeological research.
6. Underwater archaeology (Martínez Díaz ed. 1992).
7. Human origins research (Atapuerca project and the huge collection of human fossils c. 400 000 years old).

No Spanish research center has the means to carry out all these lines of investigation, and resources are unequally divided. The principal victim of this situation is archaeometry, which is faced with competition for access to laboratories with research in engineering and other scientific disciplines more favored by governmental priorities. Foreign collaboration in part mitigates this problem. Spain has one thermoluminescence and three radiocarbon dating laboratories, eleven teams working on palaeobotany (mainly palynology), seven working on paleontology and two devoted to archaeometallurgy (Rovira Lloréns 1996). The majority of these were established in order to serve the regional research favoured by the ongoing administrative decentralization.

THE FUTURE OF SPANISH ARCHAEOLOGY: THE CHALLENGE OF DECENTRALIZATION

Archaeology was an element in all the nationalist legitimations vindicated in Spain from 1800 to 1936. As in other European countries, the *españolista* (the term – Hispanicist – is used to refer to an identification between what is Spanish and what is Castilian, in the broad sense of claiming a single historical tradition for all the peoples of Spain) oligarchy and the various regional elites (especially in the Basque country and Catalonia) traced their national roots at least to the peoples that resisted the Roman conquest (Ruíz Zapatero 1993a). This archaeologically justified nationalism was reflected in literature (Olmos 1992a) and in the plastic arts. Modern events presented in ancient guise were combined with direct allusions to events in Antiquity so as to glorify either Hispanic or regional individuality.

Archaeological cultures were used quite differently in the construction of each national identity. Thus, the “Vascones” would have avoided a Roman occupation of the Basque country, creating a clear break between that region and the completely Romanized remainder of the Peninsula (Dupla and Emborujo 1991). This notion could be combined with a claim for the homogeneity and continuity of the Basque people from the Palaeolithic on (Rua 1990:207-9; Díaz Andreu 1993:79). For its part,

Hispanicist nationalism appealed to Antiquity to reinforce ideas such as independence, liberty, and heroism (Saguntum, Numantia, Viriatus) and to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to promote key concepts such as unity, religion, and monarchy (Quesada 1996), in line with traditional historical thinking. This defense of the essential continuity of “the Spanish people” as defined by Catholicism established a trajectory from the Late Empire to the Catholic Kings and the Habsburg empire by way of the Christian “Reconquest” of the Peninsula from the Arabs (Salvatierra 1990:72-3). Meanwhile, Catalanists emphasized their Greek roots, using Ampurias as an emblem (Guitart and Riu 1989:28).

The Second Republic (1931-36) had governments that were attuned to decentralizing, federalist political goals and assisted the institutionalization of “nationalist” (*i.e.*, regionalist) archaeologies, the most successful program being that of the Catalan *Generalitat* (Dupré and Rafel 1991:175), but the Franco uprising put a violent end to this process. The regime that emerged from the Civil War was characterized by a centralism and Hispanicism (Díaz Andreu 1993) that only disappeared after the restoration of democracy in 1975.

During the 1940s and 1950s all the 19th century Hispanicist historical clichés were revived, illustrated, and passed into textbooks (Prieto 1979; Valls 1993), and all other nationalist (regionalist) manipulations of the archaeological record were prohibited. In the years of nationalist self-assertion, the Iberian Iron Age was repeatedly interpreted as a precedent for leadership by a *caudillo* and as the origin of essential Spanish traits that were still part of folklore and supposed national character (Olmos 1992b:10-2). This ideological policy was most important in the years immediately after World War II, when the Franco regime was internationally isolated and strove for self-sufficiency. In the later Franco years Spanish archaeology gave greater emphasis to technical issues.

The present regionalization of archaeology has not led to a direct return to the process interrupted by the Civil War of inventing regionalist traditions. On the one hand, interest in the social history of Spanish archaeology is still in its infancy and mostly oriented towards the early periods of the discipline’s development. On the other hand, potential indicators of nationalist (regionalist) sentiments, such as the areas and periods studied in the various autonomous communities, do not exhibit clear patterns, are isolated, and/or are contradictory. Thus, the historical biases denounced by Manuel González Morales (1992:25) or the straightforwardly nationalist (regionalist) interpretations presented to the public (in temporary exhibits, museum posters, and popularizing publications) disappear or are diluted in academic presentations (*cf.* Altuna 1990a vs 1990b).

One must bear in mind that archaeology in Spain has become a regional science in two ways. On the one hand, it involves, of course, fundamentally descriptive and classificatory historical investigations, and on the other its practice (excavations, surveys, study of museum collections) requires the permission of the appropriate cultural authorities. Such permits, accompanied or not by public financing, are granted by each autonomous

community. Exceptions are the Basque country (where permits are authorized separately in each province) and in the Balearic and Canary Islands (where permits are granted by insular authorities. At the same time, practically all academic institutions have their base in the autonomous communities. Their archaeological research has tended to adjust itself to these divisions in order to simplify bureaucratic transactions, since almost all research funding is granted by the communities' cultural "ministries". In addition, the sponsorship of archaeological activity by the autonomous governments favors projects by local centers and researchers. Throughout Spain these factors promote a regionalization that is poorly counterbalanced by teams from other regions of the country, or from abroad (González Morales 1992). The adoption of present administrative boundaries for the study of the past is a feature as characteristic of Spanish archaeology (Ruíz Zapatero 1988; Rodríguez Alcalde *et al.* 1996:56; García *et al.* 1997) as the endogamy of its institutions (Ruíz Zapatero 1991:6; by this term I mean the subversion of mechanism granting fair access to permanent government jobs by selecting tribunals favourable to local candidates).

That these features are strongly marked throughout Spain suggests that they are not a result of regionalist nationalism. Even in those of the 17 autonomous communities in which nationalist [regionalist] parties have a predominant political influence (the Basque country and Catalonia), heritage issues have not been the object of a systematic program. Even where such goals have been formulated, they have been forgotten quickly when they came into conflict with strong economic interests or the particular objectives of administrative bodies (Salvatierra 1994:9). The cultural efforts of the regional nationalist parties have been directed more to the promotion of bilingualism and the reinterpretation of recent history than to a search for pre-Roman origins.

In short, the strong regionalization of archaeological activity in Spain is not the product of strong nationalist pressure (Vicent 1994:221 vs González 1992). The political and administrative decentralization of the Spanish state has made it unnecessary for minority nationalities to legitimate archaeologically their aspirations for self-government: regional governments develop heritage policies as a function of political and administrative, not ideological, concerns. Knowledge of the past interests them only – or basically – to the extent that they have a significant social impact. This lack of interest in knowledge of the past for its own sake is one of causes of the conflict between regional governments and academic bodies.

Given the subject of this volume, it may be pertinent to indicate that contract archaeologists pay little attention to theory. In any science, theoretical production is in the minority. The specific conditions under which contract archaeologists work is another factor. Permanent association with an academic institution favors theoretical work more than occasional contracts to generate profits on the industrial or residential real estate market.

In spite of the varied policies developed in the seventeen autonomous communities, certain clear general tendencies are discernible. Regionalization is

improving the conditions of archaeological research by sponsoring the creation of an infrastructure that sometimes includes research laboratories. Likewise, the professionalism and technical expertise of archaeologists has increased as a result of the competition between firms or persons to obtain contracts, a process that permits rigorous short-term control of their performance. At the same time, however, the uncertain publication of the results of archaeological work (González Morales 1992:24) and the strong compartmentalization of Spanish archaeology constitute obstacles to the communication that is essential for scientific progress. Only a few of the autonomous communities have begun computerizing their data bases (Hernández and Castells 1993), and these are not linked or standardized. The participation of academic centers in these efforts is also very uneven (Fernández and Fernández 1991). Decentralization has, furthermore, exacerbated previous problems with respect to publishing research results and coordinating work between different research teams. Archaeologists themselves are the principal culprits, however. Various universities (or various departments within the same university, or different teams within the same department) have exercised a kind of protectorate over their regions (or sites, or periods). Given a strong empiricist and positivist bias, science has been identified with information. The way to control the dissemination of data was to keep academic power under control. This lack of collaboration has a very good bibliometric index in the reduced percentage of multiple authorship of Spanish publications in archaeology (the mean number of authors per publication in Spain is 1.74; cf. Rodríguez *et al.* 1996:45). At any rate, regionalism is not problem exclusive to Spanish archaeology (Aubin and Jourdy 1996; García *et al.* 1997).

In spite of some negative features, the future is heartening. Never in our history has there been so much investment in archaeology, nor so many centers devoted to it, nor so many archaeologists. The archaeological policies of the Autonomous Communities are sometimes debatable and often debated. Centralized policies were also debatable, but the possibilities of discussing or even checking such policies ranged from scant to nonexistent, depending on the phase of the Franco regime. The substitution of an authoritarian, centralized regime by one that is democratic and almost federalist has caused maladjustments, but twenty years later the autonomous communities are established, and the power conflicts promoted by regional or nationalist distrust have been reduced. This has opened up possibilities for collaboration between regional archaeologies and the central government that a few years ago would have been unthinkable.

At the same time, the effective monopoly which academic institutions had over archaeological work under the previous regime has disappeared. This has led to a public debate on the goals of archaeology which has brought the discipline closer to its social base than in any other period of Spanish history. Given the general and recurrent difficulty experts have in identifying subjects of general interest, this debate is a very good thing. In fact, there is incipient participation by research centers and, above all,

universities, in projects funded by regional governments, as well as an increased response in the form of private or public patronage coming from bodies responsible for landscape planning and public works and not only from the traditional cultural agencies. At the end of the century, archaeology has not yet found its Marquis of Cerralbo, but there are occasional feelers from private patrons.

To sum up, any process has both negative and positive sides, but on the whole, with the experience of this century in mind, it is clear that Spanish archaeology is changing for the better. Likewise, it is undoubtedly positive that Spanish society has become more open to an international panorama in which the political, ideological, economic, and social implications of archaeology are subject to critical examination.

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