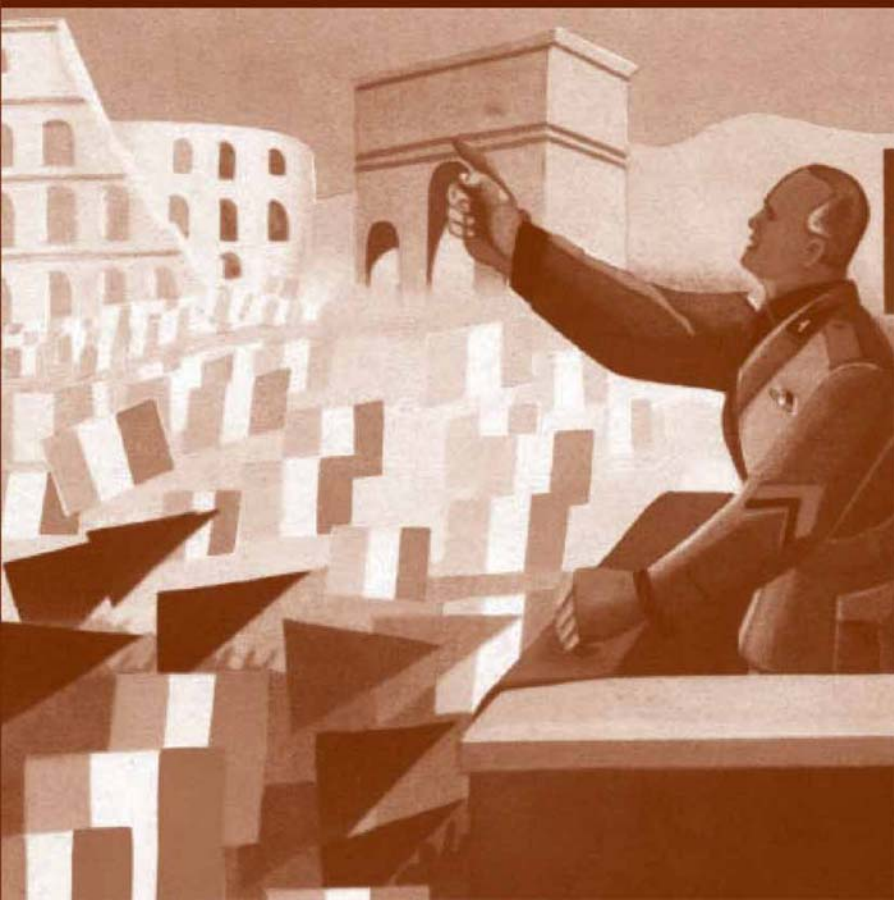
ARCHAEOLOGY UNDER DICTATORSHIP

EDITED BY MICHAEL L. GALATY AND CHARLES WATKINSON



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Edited by

MICHAEL L. GALATY

Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi

CHARLES WATKINSON

American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, New Jersey

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Contributors

Stefan Altekamp • Winckelmann-Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

Bettina Arnold • Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

D. J. Ian Begg • Trent University Archaeological Research Centre, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario

Margarita Díaz-Andreu • Department of Archaeology, University of Durham, Durham, United Kingdom

Michael L. Galaty • Department of Sociology-Anthropology, Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi

Oliver Gilkes • Institute of World Archaeology, University of East Anglia, Norwich, United Kingdom

Dimitra Kokkinidou • Departamento de Filología Clásica Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Madrid, Spain

Massimiliano Munzi • Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma/University Roma Tre, Rome, Italy

Marianna Nikolaidou • Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, Los Angeles, California

Manuel Ramírez Sánchez • Departamento de Ciencias Históricas, Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain

Wendy M. K. Shaw • Faculty of Communications, Bilgi University, Istanbul, Turkey

Charles Watkinson • Director of Publications, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, New Jersey

Preface

The destruction of Buddhist statues in Afghanistan, the looting of the National Museum in Baghdad, the toppling of images of Saddam Hussein . . . archaeology, our science of material culture, is daily challenged by such dynamic interplay of artifacts with politics. As recent news stories demonstrate, nowhere does this relationship come into sharper focus than under the most extreme political systems, such as dictatorships.

This book is not, however, about recent events in Iraq, and none of the contributions dwell solely on the Middle East. The authors are united, rather, by their interest in the totalitarian political regimes which developed around the Mediterranean and mainly in the first half of the 20th century. Within this well-documented, carefully studied, theater, they explore both the treatment of the material remains of the past by dictators, and the roles archaeologists played, and continue to play, in interpreting that material.

It may seem perverse not to discuss archaeology under contemporary dictatorships, since our colleagues continue to endure these regimes in every continent. Not only, however, would such broad coverage have made this book too dispersed, but we would also argue that, in Afghanistan and Iraq for example, it is still too soon to have a clear perspective, the experience of dictatorship being too recently ended. It is only as secret records are unearthed and the dangers of persecution are removed by regime-change that the complexity of the relationships between dictators and archaeologists becomes apparent.

The dust will surely take many years to settle in the Middle East and new totalitarian regimes will continue to emerge. We only hope that the essays in this volume may point out some directions for unraveling the intricate webs of patronage and coercion dictators weave, and understanding more fully the opportunities and challenges that the past offers to those who seek to control it.

This book project began as a conference session on archaeology under dictatorship, which was held at the 67th Annual Meeting of the Society for American

Archaeology in Denver, Colorado. Several of the papers in this volume were first presented in Denver (those by Begg, Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez, Galaty and Watkinson, and Gilkes). The symposium was stimulating and our schedule fluid, with much time reserved for discussion, and we would like to thank the participants, audience, and two excellent discussants, Phil Kohl and Tim Kaiser. Following the session, additional papers were solicited and added, including the conclusion, expertly penned by Bettina Arnold.

Our experience of dictatorship has not been direct (one of us being American and the other British), but our Albanian colleagues have, sometimes with hesitation, told us about life and work under the Hoxha regime. As we prepared to edit this volume, we consulted Muzafer Korkuti, Director of the Albanian Institute of Archaeology in Tirana. Prof. Korkuti entered the field of archaeology and built his professional career during the communist period, and has made a remarkably successful adjustment to life and work in the new capitalist and democratic Albania. On two separate occasions we interviewed Prof. Korkuti and portions of that interview have been excerpted for the introduction to this volume. We would like to thank Prof. Korkuti for his patience and insights, and we would like to dedicate this volume to the Albanian archaeological community. We believe the future of Albanian archaeology is bright and feel honored and privileged to work there. Perhaps in the not-too-distant future Iraqi archaeologists can learn from the Albanian experience.

MICHAEL L. GALATY
CHARLES WATKINSON

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Chapter 1

The Practice of Archaeology Under Dictatorship

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> A people lives happily in the present and future so long as it is aware of its past and the greatness of its ancestors.
>
> Heinrich Himmler (1936), quoted in Hassmann (2002:84)

> History is self-interest.
>
> Lucy Marsden in *Oldest Living Confederate Widow Tells All* (Gurganus, 2001:124)

In recent decades, we have come to understand that archaeology and archaeologists can be and often have been—to paraphrase Phil Kohl and Claire Fawcett—made to "serve the state" (Kohl and Fawcett, 1995b). In fact, we now generally recognize the profound effect political ideologies have had on our understanding of the past, and vice versa. Furthermore—and with this most archaeologists would also agree—a relationship between politics and archaeology develops to some degree in every nation, regardless of (and in response to) the particular political and economic circumstances (Hamilakis and Yalouri, 1996). That said, however, it does seem to us that the relationship between politics and archaeology is more intense, perhaps more intimately realized, in situations of totalitarian dictatorship, notably when a dictator seeks to create and legitimize new state-supported ideologies, often, though not always, in the face of organized resistance.

Dictators have long realized the ideological importance of the past and have sought to wield archaeology as a political tool. There are numerous examples

MICHAEL L. GALATY • Millsaps College
CHARLES WATKINSON • American School of Classical Studies at Athens

of this, and they have been well described and analyzed: German archaeology under Hitler (Arnold, 1990, 2002a; Arnold and Hassmann, 1995; Härke, 2002; Hassmann, 2002; Junker, 1998; Wiwjorra, 1996), for instance; or the Soviet-style archaeology that formed under Stalin (Dolukhanov, 1996; Shnirelman, 1995, 1996; Trigger, 1989:207–243). In each case, the past was deliberately and systematically manipulated (Kohl and Fawcett, 1995b:6). Sometimes the material record itself was distorted or destroyed (as has also occurred in recent years in the Balkans and Middle East; see examples in Meskell, 1998a; Chapman, 1994), but more often archaeological concepts and theoretical positions were appropriated, some being privileged over others. As it advances under totalitarian dictatorship, this process—the official, often legislated promotion of one version of the past to the exclusion of others—may be disastrous for archaeology, and for some archaeologists it becomes deadly. According to Ascherson (1996:ix), Stalin murdered or enslaved eighty-five percent of Russian archaeologists between 1930 and 1934 (see also Arnold, 1990:473).

In addition, and with perhaps more relevance to the current geopolitical situation, dictatorial propaganda designed to influence a nation's understanding of its past often will reverberate long after the dictator has departed, or been forced from office (Arnold and Hassmann, 1995; Kohl and Fawcett, 1995b:7). Even when a nation has experienced a complete political transformation—from dictatorship to democracy, for example—individuals, especially archaeologists, continue to have a very large stake in the creation of a national history and identity. Ironically, official versions of a nation's past are not automatically discredited after the fall of a dictator; rather, they may be even more strongly asserted. For this reason, we would argue that the study of archaeology as it evolved under modern dictatorships is today, more than ever, of critical importance. In many European countries, for example, those who practiced archaeology under dictatorship are retiring or dying. In some places, their intellectual legacy is being pursued uncritically by a younger generation of archaeologists. Now is the time, therefore, to understand how archaeologists have supported, and sometimes subverted, dictatorial political ideologies.

1. DICTATORSHIP DEFINED

Whereas recently, several books have addressed the interplay of nationalism and/or the formation of national identity and archaeology (e.g., Abu El-Haj, 2001; Atkinson, Banks, and O'Sullivan, 1996; Díaz-Andreu and Champion, 1996a; Hall, 2000; Härke, 2002; Kohl and Fawcett, 1995a; Meskell, 1998a; Reid, 2002; Silberman, 1989), to the best of our knowledge none have focused exclusively on the particular effects dictatorship has on archaeology and archaeologists. How then is the study of nationalism and archaeology different from the study of dictatorship

and archaeology, and how might dictatorship be best defined when compared to other political types?

Nationalism is one particular form of ideology that may be used by a nation to build and reinforce unity (Díaz-Andreu and Champion, 1996b; Kohl and Fawcett, 1995b; Trigger, 1984). Because a nationalist ideology is often constructed based upon a people's understanding of its past, history and archaeology make key contributions to its creation; in fact, some have gone so far as to argue that a close relationship between archaeology and nationalism is inevitable and perhaps unavoidable, and that archaeology owes its very existence to the processes whereby modern European nation-states were formed (Díaz-Andreu and Champion, 1996b:18–21; Kohl and Fawcett, 1995b:8). A dictatorship is a political type, one among many, that may choose to employ nationalism. Dictators often use nationalism to bolster support for their agendas and, therefore, may cultivate an interest in archaeology.

In a dictatorship, an individual (or small group of individuals) creates and enforces, sometimes violently (Arendt, 1973), a state-sponsored ideology—which may sometimes rely on the nationalist sentiments of the citizenry—thereby controlling and manipulating all forms of cultural and social life (Linz, 2000:Chapter 2). Typically, ideology is promulgated through various forms of propaganda, including state-sanctioned artworks (music, literature, painting), the building of museums, and control of mass media outlets (television, radio, print) (Arendt, 1973:341–64; Linz, 2000:76–78). In addition, many dictators have found it useful to manipulate the built environment, constructing or restoring monuments, for example (Arnold, 1997–8:242; Galaty et al., 1999). In restoring ancient monuments, a dictator often seeks to link his regime to what is perceived to be a glorious past, one with which he seeks a connection and from which, in forging a connection, he gains legitimacy. For this reason, archaeologists are useful to dictators: They identify (or imagine) the past to which the dictatorship lays claim, and in many cases they are very well rewarded for their services.

In contrast, the leaders of a democratically elected government may also seek to manipulate the archaeological record (Díaz-Andreu and Champion, 1996b:7; Trigger 1984), but because they often do not possess exclusive control over artistic and communications media, ideological propaganda may be less effective. Furthermore, political dissent in a democracy in general may be more widespread. As a result, archaeologists may question official versions of the past with less risk to themselves. For instance, in most democracies an archaeologist or the archaeological community can protest government-sponsored reconstruction of a national monument, or the government's interpretation of the nation's history (see, for example, Arnold [1997–8:239] and Brown [2000:39] with regard to changes made to the Smithsonian's Enola Gay exhibit at the insistence of then-Speaker of the House Newt Gingerich). Of course, even in a democracy an outspoken archaeologist may pay a price; she might lose her job or funding for research

might be curtailed. For example, at the World Archaeological Congress—3 held in India in 1994 participants were asked by the conference organizers not to discuss the destruction by Hindu militants of the large mosque at Ayodhya (Colley, 1995; Hassan, 1995). In modern India, the world's largest democracy, it is very difficult for scholars to study the country's Muslim and Mogul-period architecture and to protest nationalist interpretations of Indian archaeology. In Japan, a democratic country since the end of World War II, archaeologists are not allowed to investigate the origins of the Japanese monarchy, by excavating royal tombs, for example (Fawcett, 1995:32). Such limitations exist in most, if not all democracies (e.g., Abu El-Haj, 2001 regarding modern Israel; Reid, 2002 regarding modern Egypt).

By focusing on the practice of archaeology under dictatorship, we do not mean to suggest that other political types, such as capitalist democracies, do not actively seek to control the past. Rather, we would argue that there exists a continuum. Governments at one end of the scale may routinely manipulate and will often distort the archaeological record (e.g., Soviet Russia under Stalin, Germany under Hitler). Historical data of all kinds may become key components in official, overarching ideological structures. For governments at the other end of the scale (e.g., some western democracies), archaeology and political ideologies are only loosely articulated, and the connection is almost never legislated (though the United States' "Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act" [i.e. NAGPRA] presents an interesting exception; see Arnold, 1999:2). On the whole, the relationship between archaeology and ideology tends to be more strongly expressed in totalitarian regimes, whereas in democracies this relationship can be much more subtle, and in some cases almost absent. The study of dictatorships and archaeology specifically picks out in high relief the effect of politics on archaeologists in all nations and political systems. In this way, dictatorships may provide a baseline for the study of politics and archaeology generally.

Nor are all dictatorships created equally. There are distinct differences between dictators who take and maintain power by force (such as Afghanistan's former rulers, the Taliban) and those who rule with the consent or approval of the citizenry (Stamps, 1957:16–29). Sometimes a dictator, such as the former Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, will gain power and then, through a popular "vote," will rule as president for life. An elected dictator's interest in or association with the past is usually no less acute than that of any other dictator (as with Hussein: Baram, 1991; see also Pollock and Lutz, 1994:271, 278–279, 282)[1], though his relationship to the archaeological community may develop in quite different directions. In addition, we also do not mean to imply that all dictatorships employ identical tactics. They do in fact vary in the manner whereby they control behavior and thought, which strongly depends on the particular social circumstances (see Linz, 2000). For example, it has been amply demonstrated by Marla Stone that Mussolini in the 1930s was very different from Hitler in his attitude to the arts.

> In contrast to the other interwar dictatorships to which Italian Fascism is often compared, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, the legacy of Fascist intervention in the arts was less the story of ruptures and purges and more a complex tale of accommodation and collaboration. (Stone, 1998:257)

Through time and as he sought to build stronger ties with Hitler, Mussolini changed his attitude to the arts as well as his relationship to archaeologists and archaeology. Strategies employed by dictators can indeed change during the course of their rule (Díaz-Andreu 1993; Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez, this volume; Junker 1998), sometimes capriciously. As a result, in the social environment cultivated by dictators, which often depends on fear and intimidation (Arendt, 1973), archaeologists must continuously negotiate their position, both within the political economy and with respect to their professional goals and values.

Because the past may be of great importance to a dictator, the roles played by archaeologists under dictatorship are many, their actions complex, multifaceted, and quite often adaptive (cf. Knapp and Antoniadou, 1998:17). In some circumstances, archaeologists may play the part of victim, seemingly forced to communicate to the public mistaken or fabricated interpretations of their nation's archaeology. Though archaeologists have certainly been victimized by dictators—bullied into deliberately doing "bad science"—it is incorrect to characterize all archaeologists who have worked for dictators as victims. In some cases, archaeologists have willingly worked with dictators, and this raises the more general question of why anyone might cooperate with a dictator (cf. Maischberger, 2002; Nikolaidou and Kokkinidou, this volume). As Arnold (1990:471) has discussed in some detail, several prehistorians working for the Nazis "became high-ranking party officials":

> These individuals consciously participated in what was at best a distortion of scholarship, and at worst a contribution to the legitimation of a genocidal authoritarian regime. They were certainly aware of what they were doing, and they must have been equally aware that much of the work they were producing under the auspices of Nazi ideology had absolutely no basis in archaeological fact. (Arnold, 1990:271)

Does the ideology of dictatorship work so well that all people, even archaeologists, become brainwashed servants of the state (i.e. "useful fools;" Kohl and Fawcett, 1995b:6), cogs in the dictatorial machinery? Or, do individuals, including archaeologists, possess free will, even under the harshest of regimes (cf. Maischberger 2002)? How often have archaeologists, and through them archaeological research, "been co-opted to ratify and reify genocide" (Arnold, 2002b:95), as was the case in Germany?[2]

With regard to the practice of archaeology, we must further ask whether under pressure from a dictator an archaeologist will consciously change his or her own ideas about the past in order to meet the dictator's ideological needs, or if in fact the beliefs of the archaeologist might mirror those of the dictator

from the start. For example, a dictator might construct a nationalist ideology that depends at least in part on archaeological (versus mythic or literary) support. Archaeologists might then be enlisted to conduct research aimed at validating the state's ideology. An archaeologist pressed into service by the state could respond, broadly speaking, in three ways.[3] He could (1) refuse service, risking his livelihood, perhaps even his life. He might do so because he disagrees with the political motives of the dictatorship, or more specifically, he might be unwilling to compromise his understanding of the archaeological record. Alternatively, she might (2) embrace the opportunity to work for the state, either because she believes in the goals of the regime, or because the regime's positions with regard to the past are the same as her own. Finally, he might (3) try to ride the fence, neither agreeing nor disagreeing with the state's official position, maintaining a low profile by working on less well-known sites or on a less-contested historical period.

In the first case, the archaeologist might fully disagree with the dictator's nationalist position and/or be unwilling to compromise his own beliefs in order to satisfy the needs of the state (see examples in Díaz-Andreu, 1993:79). Following the end of the regime and if he has managed to preserve his career (let alone his life), he may then set about rehabilitating his ideas about the past. This may not be easy, as those archaeologists who did collaborate with the regime—case number two, above—will likely preserve their positions and power after its demise. They may have been nationalists before the dictator's rise to power and will continue to be so after his fall. Collaborators also have much to gain in terms of research funding (Arnold, 1990:467–8). In those countries that have made the transition from communism to capitalist democracy, relatively more archaeology was conducted under the totalitarian government. Money flowed freely as long as the excavation results supported the state's position (see Begg, this volume). For instance, in the 3rd Reich there was an increase from 13 lecturers in Pre- and Protohistory in 1928 to 52 in 1941 (Hassmann, 2002:88).

> There is no denying that, given the limited size of the discipline, Pre- and Protohistory, from amongst the fields of learning, was selected for promotion under the Nazi regime, on account of its ideological usefulness. As Veit concludes, the tragedy is 'that just as prehistory achieved its greatest importance, it also came in for its greatest misuse'. (Hassmann, 2002:88)

The third and final case is perhaps the most typical. The archaeologist remains flexible, ready to say what the dictator wants to hear, if that becomes necessary (see Shaw, this volume). Adapting Stone's powerful description of the experience of artists under Mussolini, the practice of archaeology under dictatorship is often marked by "accommodation and collaboration" (1998:257). The dictator needs the archaeologist, and the archaeologist needs the dictator. Given this scenario, the archaeologist may be either a hapless victim or he may actively work the system, though more often than not he operates somewhere in between these

two extremes. Flexibility is an adaptive response, a survival mechanism, and this behavior often continues into the post-totalitarian period, following the end of dictatorship. Those archaeologists who rode the fence under a dictator may prosper after his fall, especially with the advent of western-style democracy and capitalism, which typically reward moderation and flexibility.

Most of the totalitarian dictatorships established in the first half of the 20th century, many of them European, have now collapsed. While functioning democracies have been created in some of these (e.g., Germany, Italy, Spain), others have had trouble curbing autocratic tendencies (e.g., Russia, Serbia). Of course, many dictatorships still operate in the Middle East, Africa, and various parts of Asia, as well as in the West (e.g., Cuba). To a great extent, however, the study of post-totalitarian governments, especially those in countries that were once part of the Soviet Union, is still maturing and there is no clear consensus regarding the causes of collapse and the lasting effects of totalitarianism (Linz, 2000:7; Saltemarsh, 2001; for particular case studies, see Dolukhanov, 1993: ex-USSR; Miraj and Zeqo, 1993: Albania; Neustupný, 1993: Czechoslovakia; Schild, 1993: Poland). Recently, though, archaeologists have made great strides, pushed along by post-processual theoretical currents (Meskell, 1998b:4–7), in the study of archaeological institutions both before, during, and after dictatorship.

Junker (1998) describes the largely political strategies that allowed the German Archaeological Institute (the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* or DAI), which was founded in 1829, to survive the National Socialist era. The Nazi party supported the archaeological activities of two new organizations, the National Institute for German Prehistory, under the direction of Alfred Rosenberg, and the SS's *Ausgrabungswesen* (excavation section) and *Ahnenerbe* ("Ancestral Heritage") wing, controlled by Heinrich Himmler (Junker, 1998:287–8). Rosenberg's outfit (which never really got off the ground; Arnold, 1990:469) worked exclusively in Germany and sought to prove the cultural primacy of the German (Aryan) peoples. Himmler saw the ideological value of archaeology and sought to collect (or, if necessary, fabricate) archaeological data for the purposes of propaganda. Generally speaking, the DAI's mission changed very little, rather changes to the structure of the organization were required (e.g., decisions were to be made by a director, rather than by consensus). The DAI managed to adapt to the realities of National Socialism without greatly compromising its scholarly integrity and international reputation (for example, by neglecting to address the question of race; Junker, 1998:289). The members of the DAI, in effect, rode the fence, neither supporting the Nazi agenda too much, nor too little. Consequently, the DAI survived the collapse of the Third Reich, whereas the National Institute for German Prehistory and the archaeological units of the SS, obviously, did not.

Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez describe in this volume the practice of archaeology in Spain under Franco and draw direct comparisons to archaeology in Germany under Hitler. Many of the strategies employed by the German DAI were

similarly developed by the Spanish *Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas* (CGEA). However, the quality of archaeological research under Franco—who was apparently rather ambivalent when it came to Spanish archaeology—appears to have suffered, primarily due to a system of patronage that promoted non-professional archaeologists, though this was a problem that had emerged well before the Spanish civil war and persisted after the end of the CGEA. As in Germany, the status quo in Spanish archaeology was maintained; however, the poor quality of archaeological research under Franco appears to have been the result of a shrinking, rather than expanding, budget (unusual, as in most dictatorships, the budget for archaeology grows) and was encouraged by the director of the CGEA, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, who worked the political system to his own advantage. In short, Spanish archaeology's system of patronage was able to flourish under totalitarianism, a political system in which key officials are typically granted exclusive decision-making powers (see also Díaz-Andreu, 1993:76–77). In 1955, the CGEA was abolished by decree and the Spanish archaeological system was re-vamped, but the fall of the CGEA had as much to do with inept archaeological research as it did with the fall of Santa-Olalla himself.

2. ALBANIAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ENVER HOXHA

> Not only should you love and always pay attention to your country and state, for they bore and have educated you, but you should also defend and save them, even with blood.[4]
>
> Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg (1405–1468)

Our interest in this topic—archaeology under dictatorship—stems from our understanding of archaeology as it was practiced in the Balkan nation of Albania under the communist dictatorship of Enver Hoxha.[5] As attested in his written works, Hoxha recognized the ideological value of his nation's past and sought to exploit directly the archaeological record (e.g., Hoxha, 1985:269–9). As in many Mediterranean countries, the rough outline of Albania's turbulent history is revealed by its well-preserved and dramatic archaeological sites. Simply put, one cannot avoid the conclusion that for much of their existence, the Albanian people were subject to external domination: by Romans, Byzantines, Venetians, Normans, Ottomans, Austrians, Italians, Nazis, Greeks, and Serbs. Instead of rejecting this history, Hoxha embraced it, using it to argue for the importance of a strongly centralized, authoritarian government, a xenophobic foreign policy, and a powerful military.

> Through all the centuries of their history, the Albanian people have always striven and fought to be united in the face of any invasion which threatened their freedom and the motherland. This tradition was handed down from

> generation to generation as a great lesson and legacy, and precisely herein must be sought one of the sources of the vitality of our people, of their ability to withstand the most ferocious and powerful enemies and occupiers and to avoid assimilation by them. (Hoxha, 1984:11)

Hoxha also emphasized the autochthonous ethnogenesis of the Albanians, tracing their origins to the ancient Illyrians (cf. Slapsak and Novakovic, 1996:269–272 for examples of the political appropriation of "Illyrian" archaeology and history by the Slovenian state). At his insistence, Albanian linguists and philologists connected the Albanian language, unlike any other in Europe, to the extinct language of the Illyrians. Physical anthropologists sought to prove that Albanians were biologically distinct from other Indo-European populations (now dis-proved through genetic analysis; see Belledi et al., 2000). Money poured into the Albanian Academy of Science, specifically earmarked for investigations of Illyrian archaeology (Miraj and Zeqo, 1993). The developing archaeological framework, sanctioned and enforced by the Hoxha government, made clear that the ancestors of modern-day Albanians had once possessed a unique culture and, more importantly, had controlled a large and unified territory. Under Hoxha, Albanian archaeologists argued that southern Albanian Iron Age urban centers, often indistinguishable from Greek-style poleis, were in reality wholly Illyrian, and that more often than not, Greeks were the beneficiaries of Illyrian ideas and innovations, as opposed to the other way around. For example, the names of the majority of Greek gods and goddesses were said to stem from Illyrian, not Greek, root words.

The links between archaeology and politics that Hoxha sponsored are described by Muzafer Korkuti, one of the dominant figures in post-war Albanian archaeology and now Director of the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana.

> Archaeology is part of the politics which the party in power has and this was understood better than anything else by Enver Hoxha. Folklore and archaeology were respected because they are the indicators of the nation, and a party that shows respect to national identity is listened to by the people; good or bad as this may be. Enver Hoxha did this as did Hitler. In Germany in the 1930s there was an increase in Balkan studies and languages and this too was all part of nationalism. (Interview 10th July 2002)

The complex mix of "accommodation and collaboration" which doing archaeology under Enver Hoxha's patronage required is vividly described by Korkuti.

> For as long as the party at the time gave you money to do archaeology you had to support the party line and go along with it. In a lecture I gave about the Illyrians in 1972 I had to cite some words from Enver Hoxha but the rest of the lecture had nothing to do with what he said. For me it was important the help he gave me to study and the possibilities to exchange experiences with other cultures so I had to acknowledge his words. (Interview 10th July 2002)

As many of the contributors to this book show, the practice of archaeology under dictatorships had and has its benefits. Where the past is such an important part of the political toolbox, funding, for the right sort of research, becomes no problem (cf. Miraj and Zeqo [1993] with regard to Albania). Korkuti, remembering his earlier tenure as Director of the Archaeological Institute, describes the activity of that period.

> Between 1978 and 1988 we had around 20 projects working (though of course not all of them big) and the State was paying the workers and every project had no fewer than 20–30 workers . . . just workers! There were also photographers, illustrators . . . our restrictions were the personnel rather than the money. (Interview, July 10th 2002)

The almost invisible gloved hand of patronage substituted for the iron fist of repression in the Albanian situation (compare the Albanian situation to that of Franco's Spain, described by Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez, this volume). In a small country where an intellectual elite knew each other intimately, the "disappearances" which a Stalinist Russia absorbed could not pass un-noticed. But, despite the light touch, clear boundaries had been drawn around certain areas of investigation.

> During this time scholars had to defend several hot issues; the Illyrians being the most ancient people in the Balkans and the age of the Illyrian language, for example. These were the hot spots and there was meant to be a single opinion. For other issues, outside these ones, the scholar was free to conclude what they would. Look at the question of the Kosovar territory: we had to defend the idea that the Slavs arrived after the Illyrians. In this case Enver Hoxha only permitted one opinion. One of the other restrictions was on talking too much about influences from the West. The dictator wanted to restrict Western influence. But for everything else he gave free pass to balance these restrictions. Nothing was visible at first sight, but looking back you can see these restrictions in place. (Interview, July 12th 2002)

Under the communist government, Albanian archaeologists found themselves in a potentially difficult position. They had to toe the party line, or risk punishment, the most common being internal exile (though Korkuti could not recall a single case of an archaeologist being punished outright by the government). At the same time, archaeologists were the most likely of all Albanians to be allowed out of the closed country (to travel to other communist countries, but also to the west; Korkuti, for example, studied in France under Francois Bordes). For Hoxha, this made archaeologists both valuable propagandists and a potential threat. Strangely, with the fall of the communist government, many archaeologists became leading politicians—Neritan Ceka, a member of the Albanian parliament, being a good example (cf. similar examples of this phenomenon from the former Soviet Union in Chernykh, 1995:144). Archaeologists were among the limited number of citizens

who possessed knowledge of western-style democracies and capitalist economic systems, and who also had contacts in the outside world. They naturally moved into positions of political leadership.

The political crises of the late 1980s and early 1990s saw the end of the financial and intellectual certainties of the post-war period for archaeologists (Miraj and Zeqo, 1993:125). However, as a new political economy developed in Albania, politicians (some of them archaeologists) found that the Hoxha regime's take on the past was in fact a very useful one (cf. Chernykh, 1995 for similarities to modern Russia). Because it was intended to help build an Albanian national identity, it could serve the same purpose in a capitalist democracy that it had in a communist dictatorship. However, in the dangerous environment of the post-communist Balkans, building a national identity might easily slide into nationalism and inflammatory calls for territorial expansion (cf. Slapsak and Novakovic, 1996). For Albanians, the connection between nationalistic politics and archaeology is especially strong in Kosovo, a region of Serbia nominally claimed by Albania, and in southern Albania, a part of Albania claimed by Greece, so-called "Northern Epirus." In 2001 and 2002, teams of Albanian archaeologists from Tirana traveled to Kosovo to undertake archaeological research, but the trips might more accurately be seen as a political statement: "We, Albanians, now control Kosovo's past." Ethnic Albanian scholars from Kosovo also attended the recent international symposium "Archaeological Year 2002" held in Tirana, Albania. Their Albanian colleagues, having escaped dictatorship in 1991, tutored them on the difficulties of the transition to democracy, often referring to the new "nation" of Kosovo. In these situations, Albanian archaeology, especially archaeological interpretations of the Illyrians, are often (though, not always) applied uncritically and in general are still not open to serious debate. As the Croatian scholar Predrag Matvejevic noted—prophetically and rather matter-of-factly—in his 1987 book, published in the United States in 1999 under the title *Mediterranean: A Cultural Landscape*: "The multiplicity of peoples in Illyria will make for major problems when the time for nation-building comes to the Balkans" (198).

Whereas the older generation of Albanian archaeologists had built reputations based on very narrow interpretations of Albania's archaeological record, the younger generation of archaeologists, especially those trained in the west, does not necessarily feel the same degree of loyalty to the received archaeological tradition. Some young archaeologists do, for a variety of reasons, at least pay lip service to that tradition. In some cases, they are themselves nationalists, or they recognize that they may not get a job in archaeology if they take a contrary position. In this way, archaeological theoretical frameworks formed under communism, largely untested and perhaps incorrect, have survived intact in the "new" Albania.

However, there is in Albanian archaeology today at least a willingness to change. To some extent, western archaeologists working in Albania can question rote interpretations of the Albanian archaeological record, in part because they

fund archaeological research. But, more meaningfully, some young Albanian archaeologists are themselves seriously challenging the status quo. In January of 2002, a colloquium was held at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America entitled "Deconstructing and Reconstructing Albanian Archaeology" (see published abstracts in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 106:279–81). In this session, several young Albanian archaeologists presented a developing vision for a future, more reflexive Albanian archaeology. They spoke of an Albanian science of archaeology, designed to objectively investigate the nation's past. They also recognized that to de-construct Albanian archaeology, they might need to enlist the help of those who constructed it, those archaeologists who came of age under Hoxha and now wield power in the government, the Academy of Science, and at the University of Tirana. Doing so, they admit, will not be easy.

3. CONCLUSION

> We can no longer afford to take that which was good in the past and simply call it our heritage, to discard the bad and simply think of it as a dead load which by itself time will bury in oblivion.
>
> Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1973:ix)

The Albanian experience of archaeology under totalitarian dictatorship may serve as a case-study in the difficulties of creating a post-totalitarian national archaeological system without reifying the archaeological mythologies originally concocted to support nationalistic political ideologies. The chapters in this volume present many other examples of archaeology under dictatorship from various Mediterranean countries: Greece, Italy, Albania, Egypt, Libya, Spain, and Turkey. In most cases, there are apparent differences in how archaeologists reacted to pressures applied by the state. In some situations, archaeologists appear to have fully supported a dictator's political agenda, as in Gilkes's example (this volume) of the Italian Archaeological Mission to Albania, which bolstered the Fascist government's attempts to annex Albania. However, other authors describe a wide variety in the responses of individual archaeologists to dictators through time. In many instances and in a number of ways, archaeologists actively sought to diminish the state's influence over archaeological theory-building and the archaeological record.

It also is the case that in many post-totalitarian, now democratic nations, the period of dictatorship may be looked upon with a certain amount of nostalgia, even pride (Knapp and Antoniadou, 1998:14, 32). Korkuti, for example, (almost wistfully) describes the strong financial support the Albanian Institute of Archaeology once received from the Hoxha regime and the great interest in Albanian archaeology Hoxha himself had often expressed (of course, Korkuti is also quick to denounce Hoxha's psychotic political tactics). He also appears to miss the intense feelings of camaraderie Albanian archaeologists had once experienced, as

they labored together to understand their new nation's past. Now, Albanian archaeologists largely depend on the support of foreign (American, British, French, Italian) projects in order to conduct research. This, of course, has created on the part of many Albanian archaeologists a sense of loss: loss of control over the investigation and interpretation of their own past. For some Albanian archaeologists, there has in recent years been retrenchment, and a drive to reassert the centrality of the research they conducted under Hoxha. Younger generations of Albanian archaeologists, students in particular, seem, for the most part, to be responding positively to this process, sharing in their mentors' nostalgia, in some cases exhibiting a degree of anomie, directed in large part at the failures in Albania of western-style capitalist democracy, including capitalist, democratic styles of archaeological research.

Given developments such as these, it has been suggested that attacking post-totalitarian archaeologies in young developing nations constitutes a form of neo-colonialism (see discussions in Meskell, 1998b:4–5; Trigger, 1984:368–9). Operating from positions of power (financial, technological, ideological, etc.), representatives of "imperialist" national archaeologies (cf. Trigger, 1984) may build support for their own interpretations of the past by disparaging those of archaeologists who once served under dictators. At the same time, some post-processual archaeologists have called for a relativist approach to the past, informed by the post-modern critique (cf. Meskell, 1998b:4–5). Given this approach, all interpretations of the archaeological record are potentially equally valid, those produced in democracies as well as those produced under dictatorship. However, as Kohl and Fawcett (1995b:8–9) have argued, we must as professional archaeologists face these issues with some sense of responsibility. There are still today situations in which archaeology is being grossly distorted for purely political reasons (e.g., in the Republic of Georgia; Kohl and Tsetskhladze, 1995)—if anything, modern archaeological techniques (such as radiocarbon dating) and approaches (employing multiple and competing hypotheses) have made it possible to narrow the scope of possibilities, eliminating some of the more outlandish archaeological nationalistic claims (Trigger, 1995:273–77). As Arnold (2002a:405) has argued:

> Attempts to give all interested parties an equal voice, irrespective of whether their claims can be supported by the empirical evidence, can lead to only one outcome: if all opinions are equally valid, then the group best able to stifle opposition will be the group whose opinion becomes dominant. This is the definition of dictatorship.

The study of archaeology and dictatorship raises other interesting questions for all archaeological practitioners. We might also ask what the implications of the study of archaeology as practiced under dictatorship are for studies of those archaeological records created under dictatorship. As Colin Renfrew has recently said (2001:19):

> Well, that's not what I mean or meant by social archaeology, but I'm beginning to feel that's what social archaeology may be taken to mean by many today, namely the role of archaeology in contemporary society. I'm sure that's an interesting field, and I can see that there are many archaeologists who find it really attractive. But I think if you really want to do politics, why not go and do politics? Why sit around being an archaeologist? My motivation for doing archaeology is to find out about the past...

Also, if indeed modern dictators typically have used the past for ideological purposes, it seems equally apparent that past dictators have done so as well (Trigger, 1995:266; see also Schnapp, 2002:135–6 for several interesting examples). For instance, Ali Pasha of Tepelena, who ruled portions of Greece and Albania in the early 19th century, mined ancient archaeological sites for architectural materials used to embellish his palaces (Galaty et al., 1999:207). What effects might such behavior have had on archaeological sites throughout the world? Are there methodological implications for the practice of archaeology in regions once controlled by dictators? It is also quite clear that ancient dictators, such as Julius Caesar, produced political propaganda based on biased understandings of "barbarian" histories and cultural behaviors (Arnold, 2002b:106). In many cases today, these texts, such as Caesar's *Commentaries* on the battle for Gaul, written 52–58 BC, are still employed as primary sources of information on non-Roman, indigenous European cultures of the late Iron Age. Can our more nuanced understanding of modern dictatorships, informed by oral history and detailed documentation, give us new insights into the material and documentary records of ancient states from all periods of history? Can insights into the ways dictators have controlled the past and the practice of archaeology in the middle of the 20th century help our colleagues in 21st-century dictatorships like North Korea or Zimbabwe (see Garlake, 1984) understand their experiences?

The questions that the contributors to this volume raise are perhaps more numerous than the answers. But, in conclusion, we believe that the benefits of a comparative, diachronic approach to archaeology under dictatorship are made clear in a volume such as this. As the archaeologists of young democracies continue to struggle with the legacy and challenges of totalitarian pasts, it is useful to remember and to remind that they do not struggle alone. And furthermore, that successful solutions implemented in one nation may prove useful in others.

Notes

1. Pollock and Lutz (1994) make the very interesting argument that during the first Gulf War, the United States government and media exploited and manipulated the American public's appreciation (especially due to their perceived biblical importance) for Iraq's extraordinary archaeological resources, making saving these resources from Hussein one more reason for invading. This is another example of a democratic nation using archaeology for political purposes.

2. Arnold (2002b) provides descriptions of other modern states in which archaeology has been used to underwrite genocide, in particular in Cambodia.
3. Arnold (1990:470–3) proposes a similar scheme to categorize the response of German prehistorians to the Nazis in the 1930s. She describes "... the party-liners; the acquiescent and passive majority; and the critical opposition" (470). See also Maischberger (2002:210–11), regarding "victim(s)... culprit(s)... (and) opportunist(s)..."
4. Translated from the Albanian by Mr. Ols Lafe; attributed to Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg (1405–1468), Albania's greatest culture hero, who defended the country from the Ottoman Turks. From a display in the museum built by the communist regime in 1982 at Kruja, Albania, the Kastrioti family's ancestral castle.
5. In a recently published collection of papers by cultural anthropologists working in post-socialist nations (De Soto and Dudwick, 2000), authors touch on many of the same challenges to which we have responded in Albania. In particular, Brown (2000) describes the rigid, academic hierarchies still operating in the Macedonian Institute for National History and the desire on the part of his Macedonian colleagues to be recognized by Westerners as legitimate scholars in their own right, despite the difficult legacies of totalitarianism.

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Chapter 2

Fascism in the Desert

A Microcosmic View of Archaeological Politics

D. J. IAN BEGG

It is arguable whether or not the foreign policy of a dictatorship can be more extreme than that of democracies. Depending upon the nature of the particular dictatorship, foreign policy might be more volatile than consistent, subject to the whims of the individual ruler. While imperialism has certainly been supported by democracies, it can neatly suit the needs of a dictator: he can encourage popular support at home with a policy of imperialistic aggression while inflicting the effects on innocent neighbors, whom he need only conquer or suppress.

Archaeology is an especially useful tool for analyzing the phenomenon of dictatorial imperialism because its activities are more dependant than most other disciplines on supplementary funding, at least in the humanities, and the source of the funding can have a direct bearing on the results desired and achieved. Conversely, archaeology abroad as an example of imperialistic policies back home may reflect not only a dictator's foreign policy, but also the nature of its evolution over time. In the efforts of Italian archaeologists to see themselves in foreign countries, they fit Trigger's definition of imperial archaeologists (Trigger, 1984:363–368).

It is the purpose of this study to examine the effects of funding, as a reflection of fascist foreign policy, on one excavation in particular, that being the Graeco-Roman site of Tebtunis in the Egyptian desert south of the Fayyum basin south west of Cairo, directed by Carlo Anti of the University of Padua. Recently two sets of archives have come to light belonging to the field director of the excavations, Gilbert Bagnani, and these will be utilized to contextualize this new information within a framework of recently published records from the state archives, and to illustrate the relationship between excavations and state policy as manifested

D. J. IAN BEGG • Trent University

through funding. In addition, other references in the Bagnani archives to fascist activities in Egypt will be included in the discussion.

In *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum*, Marta Petricioli contextualized Italian overseas activities within the framework of Italian foreign policy from 1900 to 1945. The Italian Foreign Ministry was not actively offering financial support for archaeological endeavors abroad, which had been started by various private individuals, until a concession granted to the Americans at Cyrene in 1910 spurred them to establish a fixed sum of 50,000 gold lire annually in support of archaeological missions, initially in territories in the disintegrating Ottoman Empire (Petricioli, 1990:409–413). In this context, archaeology was merely being used as one of the tools to implement the aims of Italian foreign policy, the so-called "peaceful penetration of the Mediterranean" (Petricioli, 1986:20).

New, however, were the energization, systemization, and centralization of such efforts by the fascists within a coherent policy. For example, the Dante Alighieri societies were fascistized in order to be a useful tool to empower the Italian schools and facilitate cultural excursions of Arab students to Italy (Quartararo, 1980:219). In 1933 an Italian Institute of Oriental Studies and an Arab Academy were instituted (Quartararo, 1980:224). Nonetheless, this activist approach still lacked specific goals, "intrigues without purpose" as the British Foreign Office concluded (Quartararo, 1980:42–45).

New, also, were the fascists' emphasis on Romanità, and their pressing need for visible results. "During at least the first decade of the twentieth century aspects of classical Roman history were often used metaphorically for the propaganda of conservative and reactionary ideas in the press and political debates" (Visser, 1992:7), but the focus and emphasis on Romanità became a central tenet of fascist propaganda. In fascist mythology, the empire of Rome was native to Italy and was being reestablished by Mussolini, the modern counterpart of the first emperor Augustus. In both cases, the city of Rome became the capital of the whole peninsula only a few generations after wars had been fought to unite Italy. Moreover, it emphasized the ruling nature of Rome, both ancient and modern, over neighboring lands. As well, new forms of government (both covert dictatorships initially) had been instituted in Rome to administer the newly acquired imperial territories. So the concept of Rome could be used as a new unifying force to encourage support for the government and its policies.

While several writers have considered Romanità as a cult (Visser, 1992: 5–22), one demonstrable manifestation of dictatorship can be the cult of the ruler himself, and the historical coincidence of the two dictators enabled the concept of Romanità to be exploited as effectively as it was. The state propaganda of Romanità made explicit a connection between the ancient Roman Empire as set up by Augustus, and the new Empire being set up by Mussolini; it camouflaged the fact, easily forgotten today, that Mussolini was only the head of the government and

King Victor Emanuel remained the head of state with considerable constitutional powers.

The ramifications of this policy were tangible. In an age before electronic mass media, Mussolini spread his propaganda though journals (Mussolini had been a journalist himself), mass spectacles (Schnapp, 1996), and exhibitions, and for these media concrete symbols of ancient Rome were invaluable. For example, the Ara Pacis, an ancient propagandistic monument celebrating the peace brought by Augustus, was excavated in a great feat of fascist engineering and reconstructed, though surrounded by fascist symbols of war (Kostof, 1978:270–325). The Romanità policy was so culturally specific that it privileged one archaeological stratum to the detriment of any others, and classical archaeologists were in the forefront of those deriving benefits from its excavation, reconstruction and popular interest at exhibitions (Guidi, 1996:113).

The propagandistic need to display ancient monuments as soon as possible required hasty clearance ("topographical excavation" to use Carlo Anti's phrase) to expose the predecessors of their modern counterparts, which they in turn inspired, both at home and abroad. Expositions like the 1938 bimillennary of Augustus, organized by the fascist Etruscologist, Giulio Quirino Giglioli, emphasized the continuity between the old and the new Roman empires, and revealed to the fascists the potential of Ostia, the ancient harbor and presumed visible image of Rome and a model for the new distinctively native Italian architecture; as a result, a great deal of this site was cleared in four years in preparation for a planned international exposition in 1942 (Gessert, 2003).

A brief background to the Italian presence in Egypt may be useful. The prevalence of Venetian and Genoese merchants had made Italian the lingua franca of the East before Napoleon's expedition, and Italian was still the language of commerce in Alexandria and the Cairo stock exchange. The colony of about 60,000, second only to that of the Greeks, included bankers, professionals, engineers, and merchants; many of these were Masons who initially resisted being attracted into the "fasces" at Alexandria and Cairo (Crider, 1978:85). Fascist foreign policy was a continuation of their predecessors' expansionist efforts, the so-called "peaceful penetration of the Mediterranean" through commercial or cultural means. The foreign minister, Dino Grandi, directed Italian ambassadors not to limit themselves to official functions but to "stay in close contact with the emigrant masses" (Segre, 1988:206). As the Cairo correspondent for *The Times* wrote on the occasion of the royal visit to Egypt in 1933:

> Everywhere the Italian consuls are actively interesting themselves in the affairs of the countries in which they are posted, in order to miss no opportunity of making Italian influence felt; everywhere Italian agents and travelers are energetically pushing Italian business well supported by the Italian banks. The Italian Government is very liberal in its support of Italian schools, realizing,

> as the British Government apparently does not, that if trade follows the flag that flag can be shown just as effectively in a classroom or over a school building as in a battleship. All through the countries of the Near East the Italian Government endeavours to attract students to Italy by offering them greatly reduced fares in Italian vessels, and the remission of their first year's fees at Italian schools and universities. ("Italy," 1933:13)

Thus Grandi was actively implementing the old policy of "peaceful penetration," and the establishment of Italian schools in Egypt open to all was not entirely altruistic, despite Anti's disingenuous claim to the contrary (Anti, 1933a:550).

Although an outstanding early collection of Egyptian antiquities assembled by Bernardino Drovetti had been acquired by King Victor Emmanuel I, forming the nucleus of the collection in the Turin Museum in 1824, Italian excavations in Egypt were not undertaken until 1903 when Ernesto Schiaparelli, the director of the Turin Museum, established the Italian Archaeological Mission financially supported personally by King Victor Emanuel III. Schiaparelli dug intermittently at many sites over the following two decades including in the Valley of the Queens, but most of his excavations were never published and no notes were ever found (Donadoni, Vurti, and Donadoni Roveri, 1990:234–264). Later financial support came from the General Directorate of Antichità e Belle Arti, a department of the Ministry of Education. Evaristo Breccia, the Italian director of the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria from 1904 to 1931, explored several sites looking for papyri for the Florentine papyrologist Girolamo Vitelli, and these were supported by the Accademia dei Lincei.

In January 1928 the minister of public instruction, Pietro Fedele, initiated the creation of a new standing committee to oversee and coordinate Italian archaeological missions and institutes abroad. This suggestion was welcomed by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which since 1910 had maintained close contacts with the archaeologists working abroad but which only now would begin to demonstrate leadership in directions intended to further its own aims (Petricioli, 1990:289–290). Its undersecretary Dino Grandi was a young lawyer, journalist and leading fascist who was not afraid to have philosophical differences with Mussolini, and who would eventually vote to oust him at the Grand Council meeting of July 1943. As undersecretary since 1925, his decision-making was limited as Mussolini himself was the foreign minister (De Felice, 1982:254–260). Grandi nominated as his Ministry's representative on the new committee the director of political affairs for Europe, Levant, and Africa, Raffaele Guariglia, a career diplomat and radical advocate of aggression in Africa. The other members were the archaeologists Ernesto Schiaparelli, Federico Halbherr, Alessandro Della Seta, Biagio Pace, and Roberto Paribeni, who chaired it from his position as Director General of Antichità e Belle Arti. The new committee first met at the Directorate on February 11, 1928. They proposed an allocation of 500,000 lire of which 100,000 was to be split

between Egypt and Transjordan, but the total would require a contribution of 150,000 from Finance which, despite Mussolini's support, it subsequently refused (Petricioli, 1990:290–292).

Upon Schiaparelli's death on February 17, 1928, a new Egyptian mission under the leadership of Carlo Anti was set up to reexamine Schiaparelli's excavations in order to publish them. Anti, however, was a lecturer in classical archaeology at the University of Padua who had excavated at the Greek site of Cyrene in Libya. He was interested in the then fashionable subject of urban planning at a time when the fascists were planning their new towns in Libya and the reclaimed marshes south of Rome. He also explicitly believed that ruins had a political value (Anti, 1933b:315).

By May 1929, the committee was still seeking the 500,000 but this time 250,000 was intended for Egypt alone. In September 1929, Mussolini transferred his portfolio of Foreign Affairs to Grandi, who attempted to attain fascist goals through more diplomatic means than his predecessor. As the new foreign minster Grandi then granted 500,000 from his own cabinet over Finance's opposition (Petricioli, 1990:301), in line with his pro-active foreign policy of peaceful penetration of the Mediterranean, which now included archaeology.

Anti wanted to excavate at Tebtunis, which he believed would reveal a typical agricultural town of the Graeco-Roman period in Egypt, like that of Karanis in the north of the Fayyum then being excavated by the University of Michigan. The site had first been explored for papyri by Grenfell and Hunt in 1899 and then allowed to be plundered for sebakh and papyri until excavations were resumed by Breccia in 1929 for the Florentine papyrologists Girolamo Vitelli and Medea Norsa. Finding disappointingly little that season, Breccia agreed to turn over the concession to Anti on the condition that any papyri permitted to leave Egypt would still go to Florence.

Anti's mission began late because the 100,000 lire of the ordinary allocation was completely insufficient but in January 1930 at Anti's request the ministry had Paribeni send 250,000 in extraordinary funds for the mission, of which Anti received at once another 100,000 lire. This permitted him "to confront two digs, a pharaonic and a Graeco-Roman," respectively at Ghebelein in Upper Egypt and at Umm el Breighat, the ancient Tebtunis in the Fayyum. The pharaonic excavation at Ghebelein was entrusted to Giulio Farina (Petricioli, 1990:380–381) and ran from February until April 1930. In his first season at Tebtunis, from February 15 until May 10, 1930, instead of probing inside all the houses for papyri Anti intentionally had an architect on the site, Fausto Franco, who cleared the streets around the houses to ascertain the town plan. Anti called this method topographical, not stratigraphical, excavation (Anti, 1996:34–38).

By July 1930 he had asked Gilbert Bagnani to assist him at Tebtunis. He had known Bagnani for a decade and the two had worked separately at Cyrene. Bagnani had independent means and never held a salaried position in fascist

Italy. As an academic outsider, he was free to pursue whatever unfashionable or politically incorrect field interested him, such as Egyptology and Coptic monasteries. Indeed, he was to spend much of the following year studying hieroglyphs with Alan Gardiner and examining Egyptian collections in museums. Anti told Bagnani: "What I appreciate in you is your excellent understanding of the needs and conditions of a life in common, not only during the work, but also out of office hours. Also you have excellent organizing gifts and are wonderfully reliable and can foresee almost any eventuality" (11 March 1931).

For 1931 Anti hoped to be able to dig at Ghebelein, Tebtunis and the Valley of the Queens in the following season but the extraordinary grant was not renewed and Farina's work at Ghebelein was postponed. According to Bagnani's letters, the 1931 season was a struggle financially: Paribeni would have held back 60,000 lire if Anti had not already committed to bring out Bagnani. "When I come back I shall have to go up to Turin since Anti has given me some of the material of last season to publish. It is rather a wheeze and will make Farina furious. He is already taking it rather badly that he is not out here this year. [Giulio Farina 1889–1947 succeeded Schiaparelli as director of Turin Museum in 1923.] It is only by luck that I am since at the very last moment Paribeni tried to do Anti out of 60,000 lire and had I not been already about to come out, I might have been stopped. Anti used me on the contrary as a lever with which to get the money back" (19 December 1930). "We are in a very bad way financially, and if we can't get any more money we are going to close the dig on the 20th. . . . Anti hopes to be able to get special funds for the [Valley of the] Queens and keep on Tebtunis on the ordinary funds. In that case I expect we should dig at Tebtunis during December and go up to Luxor in January and start there. In any case we can't do much at Luxor next year since quite half the available cash will go into the house and the Decauville. At Tebtunis next year I have proposed that we build ourselves a couple of big rooms. Tents are not bad just to sleep in but are the devil to live in. We could have one big room as mess and where Anti and I could work and another for Franco who poor devil needs space for his drawings and plans. . . . PS. Paribeni has sent us another 27,000 lire. If you go and see him tell him that it isn't nearly enough and we want another 20,000 as well to finish everything nicely. But we'd accept 10,000 gratefully. In fact we won't sneeze at any sum!" (4 March 1931).

Archaeologically, however, the season was successful beyond their expectations, revealing not only an enormous sanctuary of the oracular crocodile god, but also the remnants of the temple archives. The immediate response to the discovery of the papyri was that "Paribeni, having heard of our discovery of papyri, has sent another 20,000 lire and Anti has got another 10,000 from the University of Padua, with Vitelli's, we have an extra 50,000 lire and are in clover" (20 March 1931). With only 170,000 lire he had increased the equipment of the mission, built a house for the guards, and "carried out a work of enormous excavation, employing in a more intense manner for 85 days an average force of 160 men, so as to be able

to transport about 20,000 cubic meters of sand" (Petricioli, 1990:382). It is significant for us that, although Graeco-Roman in date, the remains of the sanctuary were substantially Egyptian in character.

Throughout the summer of 1931 Anti argued for the resumption of activity in the Valley of the Queens. Schiaparelli's work was unfinished leaving the site resembling a battle field, and the possibilities of important discoveries were great, and Italy was the only country granted a concession there, which would be lost if not acted upon. Using Anti's arguments Guariglia tried in vain to persuade Grandi to give funds for the Valley project; there even were anonymous articles in the *Popolo d'Italia* employing Anti's arguments trying to rouse popular support for their cause, but all the ministries refused (Petricioli, 1990:383–385).

At this time the search was on for a successor to Breccia as the director of the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria. Anti, an active fascist (Isnenghi, 1992:223–239; Manacorda, 1982:451–452) proposed Bagnani but Breccia rejected him because he believed that he was "a snob who affected to speak English, married to a Canadian, presumptuous and antifascist." Another candidate, Doro Levi, was rejected because he was "Jewish, married to a Greek and therefore considered not suitable to hold a position of defense of Italianità" (Petricioli, 1990:390). Bagnani's own comments are enlightening: "Della Seta proposed Levi, but his serious fault is not the Jew but the Greek wife in a place like Alex. . . . I am in a strong position. . . . I think that my not being a fascist, and being half English with an English wife, will count against me" (26 January 1932).

Anti's budget for the 1932 season was half of the previous year's, "in total 98,600 lire between the residue and new allotments. Notwithstanding this, he succeeded in conducting a digging campaign of two months at Tebtunis, built a house for the mission and for twenty days sent Bagnani to the Valley of the Queens, with the objective of obtaining the renewal of that concession also for the following year" (Petricioli, 1990:385). At Tebtunis Anti and Bagnani finished clearing the large sanctuary of sand but found that the limestone temple had been dismantled in antiquity.

Of greater significance for the future of the dig, however, was the fact that they knew that Anti was going to be promoted to being the rector of the University of Padua in October 1932, remaining as director of the dig in name only and leaving Bagnani as acting or field director; not having a formal position in Italy, Bagnani was not qualified to be the actual director. While extensively expanding his university over the next decade, Anti lost interest in pursuing Egyptian excavations.

In July 1932 on the eve of the new financial year, Paribeni renewed his appeals to Grandi to grant another extraordinary contribution to maintain what had been started, as there remained only 133,817.70 lire. In the meantime, feeling increasingly isolated diplomatically, Mussolini became his own foreign minister again in July 1932, sending Grandi as Ambassador to London and, subsequently,

Guariglia to Madrid (Robertson, 1977:21). Guariglia was replaced on the committee by Gino Buti. In September Guariglia asked Mussolini for his opinion about a second extraordinary grant. His memo received a "favorable" margin note by Mussolini himself although Foreign Undersecretary Suvich added a note to economize, which effectively halved the hoped for contribution to 500,000. Of this, 80,000 was allocated for Anti though there was a possibility of reducing this figure because Anti was to be replaced by his assistant Bagnani. Even so, Foreign Undersecretary Suvich was reluctant to release any funds and it is not clear just how much Bagnani did receive for the 1933 season. Also, there was the possibility of some additional funding to cover the costs attendant upon the anticipated visit to Tebtunis by the Italian royal family (Petricioli, 1990:302–303).

The 1933 season began with preparations for the royal visits which primarily involved the construction of a road through the desert to the site and arranging for large ceremonial tents to be set up in place. While there were political reasons for the trip to Egypt as well as promoting further "penetration" with more schools for Egyptians (Quartararo, 1980:216), the visit to the site might reflect a genuine interest on the part of the king, who had personally supported Italian archaeological activity in Egypt during the first years of his reign. Bagnani himself was assigned to escort the lesser royals like Princess Mafalda and her husband, Prince Philip of Hesse, whom he already knew. (As one of the German royals who supported the Nazis, Hitler would use him to communicate Mussolini's acceptance of the Anschluss of Austria in 1938; Mafalda would be captured by the Germans and die at Buchenwald after an allied air raid in 1944.) On board the royal ship at Luxor, while Bagnani was talking with the King, Hesse came in with a telegram about the bombing of the Reichstag in Berlin and said that "nothing could be better for us" (letter from Gilbert Bagnani, Tuesday, 28 February 1933).

After the royal visits to Tebtunis on March 6 and 29, Bagnani decided to excavate the Coptic monastery northeast of the ancient town because it was being dismantled by sebakhin. Although one church was covered with wall paintings displayed today in the Coptic museum in Cairo, it elicited no more interest generally than did the demolished houses above Trajan's Forum in Rome; the cult of Romanità could be explicitly anti-oriental (Visser, 1992:20, n. 23). The opposite reaction occurred when Italian newspapers made so much of the evidence for imperial Rome from Jacopi's discoveries at Aphrodisias in Turkey in 1937 that the Turks refused to renew the permit (Petricioli, 1990:354–357).

In regard to missions in the "Levant," Mussolini wrote in the margin of a note of 4 September 1933 "Do not ask for new funds" (Petricioli, 1990:306). The lack of secure funding and the absence of Anti's constant political influence became painfully apparent in the 1934 season. At a meeting of the committee on 2 February 1934, Paribeni announced that the Anti-Bagnani mission in Egypt was financially suspended because as before the annual ordinary contribution had not yet been deposited (Petricioli, 1990:307). To Bagnani's rescue came a

papyrologist bringing privately raised funds from Milan, Achille Vogliano; he had had no previous archaeological or Egyptian experience and arrived at Tebtunis 28 February awaiting the approval of a permit to dig at the nearby site of Medinet Madi. Bagnani had begun the excavation of two large rectangular structures in February but Anti told him to put himself at Vogliano's disposal. So on 4 March 1934 Bagnani resumed digging but started a new excavation notebook which he entitled "Campagna di scavo della R. Università di Milano." Anti had not thought through the ramifications of Vogliano's status as a visitor at Tebtunis, and one can only imagine his chagrin and embarrassment to learn that within the month Bagnani had discovered one of the largest hoards of papyri ever excavated in Egypt, which Vogliano claimed as his own, to the consternation of the Florentine papyrologists Vitelli and Norsa.

Before Bagnani began his next regular season at Tebtunis, there were funds available from Giglioli, who was in charge of the preparations for the upcoming exhibition to commemorate the bimillennium of Augustus, to send Bagnani to make preparations to have a cast made of a relief sculpture at Dendera. The Temple of Hathor had a sculpted relief at the back of Cleopatra and her son by Julius Caesar, Caesarion. In November 1934 Bagnani "went off to Dendera by car with Michel and spent the day there measuring the reliefs and choosing the scenes that are worth reproducing for the Mostra Augustea. I think it will be better if they don't try and get too much but simply one or two really surprising pieces like the Cleopatra and Caesarion which stands over 6 metres high and about 10 in length. Where they will put it God only knows but it would make a wonderful effect in the main hall of the Palazzo dell'Esposizione which is apparently the place they are going to have it. . . . I am sending G.Q. [Giglioli] a long report on the visit together with a collection of photographs. When they decide I suppose they will let me know" (Letter of Friday, 23 November 1934). At the time when the temple was built, Cleopatra was the Pharaoh of Egypt and enemy of Rome, and her son was eventually killed by Augustus as a dangerous rival but, two millennia later, their significance for Rome had changed dramatically: the relief sculpture was now symbolic of the extent of Rome's ancient empire. For this purpose at the fascist exhibition, there were funds available.

Bagnani's selection of this particular relief highlights the political awkwardness of fascist excavations in Egypt: they could never have produced serious visible evidence of Romanità from a civilization that had preceded the Roman Empire by three thousand years. Even if they had discovered standing Roman monuments, like those in their Libyan colonies (Terrenato, 2001:80), these would not have been clearly superior to those of the Egyptians themselves.

Another, though smaller, extraordinary grant totaling 331,000 lire allowed an allocation by Paribeni in November 1934 of 60,000 lire to Bagnani for Tebtunis in the coming season, which was placed in Ambassador Pagliano's account in December (Friday, 7 December 1934). The season lasted from 6 December until

10 April and Bagnani was finally able to construct a Decauville railway to remove the sand to the fringes of the mound and, accordingly, to clear more of the public buildings along the processional avenue leading to the sanctuary. For the rest of the month of April Bagnani organized and began the excavations at Medinet Madi for Vogliano.

At a committee meeting on 22 February, 1935, only 30,000 lire was allocated for Egypt to be split among three excavations for 1936—Farina, Bagnani, and Vogliano (Petricioli, 1990:392). At this same time, however, there was a growing emphasis in Italy on Italianità and Romanità, visible architecturally (MacDonald, 1982:298–320), as Mussolini and Italy felt increasingly threatened by sanctions from the League of Nations for sending Italian troops to invade Ethiopia. In September Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law and minister of propaganda, set up the Agency for Egypt and the Orient as a propaganda and spy vehicle with offices in Alexandria and Cairo (Quartararo, 1980:228). By 30 December 1935 Paribeni was able to propose 100,000 for all four missions in Egypt—Monneret, Anti, Vogliano, Farina (Petricioli, 1990:309) and encouraged Anti to return to Tebtunis to deal with some problems that had arisen with Vogliano and his dig at Medinet Madi, and so that the mission to Tebtunis, for which 30,000 lire was allocated, not appear abandoned (Petricioli, 1990:392). Bagnani and his wife had gone to Canada in 1935 because both their mothers (Canadian) had died that year. They returned, however, for one final, brief season, which ran from 26 April to 8 May 1936, as evidenced by the pay sheets receipted with thumb prints. They excavated immediately northwest of the sanctuary and had a second series of aerial photographs taken. The Bagnanis then left Egypt for good, sailing for Greece and moving to Canada.

In practice at the personal level, these were intelligent men prepared to work together despite their political differences. Anti embraced the ideals of fascist ideology wholeheartedly, later becoming the director of the Antichita e Belle Arti in the Republic of Salo, but he was unusual if not remarkable in his willingness to promote non-fascists like Bagnani. He also hired the painter Massimo Campigli, well known as Jewish, to create the murals in the faculty of letters building, the Liviano, and promoted the Latinist Concetto Marchesi, although known to the police as anti-fascist (Barbanera, 1998:150). To become the official director of the excavations after Anti's withdrawal, Bagnani would have had to obtain an official position in the Italian administration. Despite his known opposition to fascist policies, he was prepared to sign the fascist oath in 1933 in preparation for this, and subsequently had a fascist card. Nonetheless, he immigrated to Canada in 1936 in order to protect his Canadian assets, which by a decree of December 1934 had to be declared to the Exchange Institute, with conversion into lire obligatory on demand.

Their respective political beliefs may have unconsciously affected their interpretations of what they were finding. When Anti analyzed the urban planning

of Tebtunis, he prioritized the imposition of a Graeco-Roman grid plan on an older Egyptian nucleus, without any archaeological or stratigraphic evidence for his analysis (Anti, 1930:104–106). On the other hand, when Bagnani discovered what he interpreted as a public market building akin to those in Rome, he noted its similarity to the market buildings in old Cairo (Bagnani, 1935:3).[1]

This survey of only one of the Egyptian projects undertaken during the Ventennio reveals clearly the pivotal roles played by Grandi and Paribeni. It was Grandi's position as foreign minister than enabled him to include archaeology in his implementation of the policy of peaceful penetration. Within the budgetary constraints imposed by financial considerations Paribeni, as head of Antichita e Belle Arti and president of the committee, made the decisions as to which appeals and missions were to receive financial support. As coordinator of the Italian missions abroad from 1919 until 1943, he "outlined the course to be followed based on local and general political conditions, suggested new initiatives, requested and distributed financings, presented budget estimates and final budgets of expenses" all the while enjoying the full support of the Foreign Office (Petricioli, 1990:417). As the proposer of the individual allocations, he had considerable room to maneuver in the actual distribution of the funds, responding with generosity to major discoveries or willing to suspend missions already initiated. His priorities manifested the fascist policy of Romanità and, for his many years of devoted work on behalf of the fascist cause, he was dismissed from the Accademia dei Lincei in 1945 (Manacorda, 1982:453–454).

So in summary, Anti's excavations at Tebtunis were financed primarily and substantially through the Foreign Ministry, especially under Grandi's leadership ("peaceful penetration"), while the fortuitous discovery of masses of papyri elicited further private funding. Indeed, Tebtunis has provided the greatest number of papyri after Oxyrhynchus (which does not have the excavated archaeological remains to provide a physical context), and the bulk of these papyri belong to the Roman period. Without the discovery of visibly Roman monuments, however, not to mention tangible results of "peaceful penetration," fascist interest and funding in Egypt disappeared. Thus the state had an interest in specific archaeological results (Romanità) even beyond its national boundaries, which in turn affected the excavations through declining support. There was a brief resurgence of funding when they still hoped that there would be some propaganda value in demonstrating an Italian presence in Egypt during the Ethiopian crisis, but as this did not seem sufficiently precise or effective for their immediate political purposes, the allocations were allowed to wither away.

The excavations of this very important site ceased without publication for several reasons: the fascist director lost interest in Egypt; the anti-fascist field director held no official position; the site was not demonstrably Roman, but Egyptian; other sites offered more hope of displaying Romanità; Romanità took on an added significance from 1935; the deepening economic crisis threatened a

governmental takeover of overseas assets, and thus the financial independence, of the field director.

As a note of caution, it should be pointed out that the conclusions of this examination of the relationship of the history of the excavations and the funding and its motivations are inferences based on circumstantial, not explicit, evidence: it was imperialistic Italian foreign policy like "peaceful penetration" that enabled Anti to start the excavation in Egypt, Anti's fascist interest in town planning that selected the site, and fascist propaganda like Romanità that contributed to its demise.

Note

1. I am grateful to Prof. Claudio Gallazzi of Milan for lending me a copy of this report.

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Chapter 3

The Trojans in Epirus
Archaeology, Myth, and Identity in Inter-War Albania[1]

OLIVER GILKES

We passed along the coastline of Epirus
To port Chaonia, where we put in,
Below Buthrotum on the height...
I saw before me Troy in miniature,
A slender copy of our massive tower,
A dry brooklet named Xanthus... and I pressed
My body to a Scaean Gate...
(Aeneid III 388–480)

1. INTRODUCTION: NEW MEN AND MYTHS

Between 1924 and 1943 southern Albania was the venue for the revisiting of the myth of the flight of Aeneas and his followers from the destruction of Troy, and the fulfilment of their destiny in Italy (figure 3.1). The Italian State had existed as a unified entity only since 1870, and the Virgilian legend resonated strongly with the search for unity and purpose that was pursued by the "least of the Great Powers." The fascist government of Benito Mussolini came to power in 1922, on the back of another myth, that of the national salvation effected by the march on Rome and the fascist revolution. Once in power the fascists continued to draw on the power of legend and associated commemoration. This provided them with

OLIVER GILKES • University of East Anglia

Figure 3.1. Aeneas, arriving at Butrint, is greeted by King Helenus (MCR).

the foundation of tradition with which to impose the new modes of consciousness deemed necessary for the dawning of a new era.

A social renaissance and the reconstitution of societies and individuals was a theme that ran strongly through all the totalitarian states of inter-war Europe (Mazower, 1998:77–105). In the Soviet Union "socialist man" was to be created by the heightening of class-consciousness and collectivization. Architects, for instance, directed their efforts towards the creation of spaces in which these "new men" could flourish and work in collective harmony (Hudson, 1993:50–51). In Nazi Germany culture and racial theory were manipulated to the same ends. Italy was no different; and clearly there existed a strong dialectic between the methods used by all three regimes to achieve their superficially diverse objectives; to fuse the public and private selves of their citizens in the commonality of the state. In these programs the "invention of tradition," as Eric Hobsbawm defined it (Hobsbawm, 1994a:1–14), was a significant activity.

As with architecture and art, archaeology was a tool to be deployed in all these cases, though its exact form varied. It is easy to see why this should be so. The Russian art historian Igor Golomstock, discussing what he defined as "totalitarian art"—that is realist art—defined the relationship between cultural myth and reality in totalitarian systems: "In a totalitarian system art performs the function of transforming the raw material of dry ideology into the fuel of

images and myths intended for general consumption" (Golomstock, 1990:xii). It achieved this by taking ideas and moulding them into a physical medium. Archaeology can be said to employ the reverse process, taking and filtering physical realities to create myths. For the totalitarian systems of the 20th century this was especially so, though with differing inspiration and direction. With its Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the Soviet Union naturally veered towards a culture historical approach that stressed the adaptation of society to technology (Trigger, 1989:212–253). The Nazis were stimulated by their racial theories towards prehistoric studies, though the archaeological and cultural activities of the SS Ahnenerbe and Alfred Rosenberg's racial institute ranged widely (Nicholas, 1995), and clashed with a more traditionally founded scholarship (Maischberger, 2002) and, indeed, with Hitler's own classical preferences (Spotts, 2002:16–17, 21–22).

However, the fascists in Italy could draw inspiration directly from the everyday environment of the classical remains that littered Italian towns and cities—as well as a classical literary tradition learnt by all Italian schoolchildren. By overstepping the middle ages and other "ages of decadence," the fascists linked themselves to the Romans, whose imperial might and penchant for territorial aggrandizement were exemplars of what could be achieved by the fascist "new men." This doctrine of Romanità (Vissier, 1992) was taken to its logical extreme by looking back into the remote, mythical past to the founder of the Roman line, Aeneas, and his meandering flight to Italy (figure 3.2). It was partly the desire to tap into this tradition that

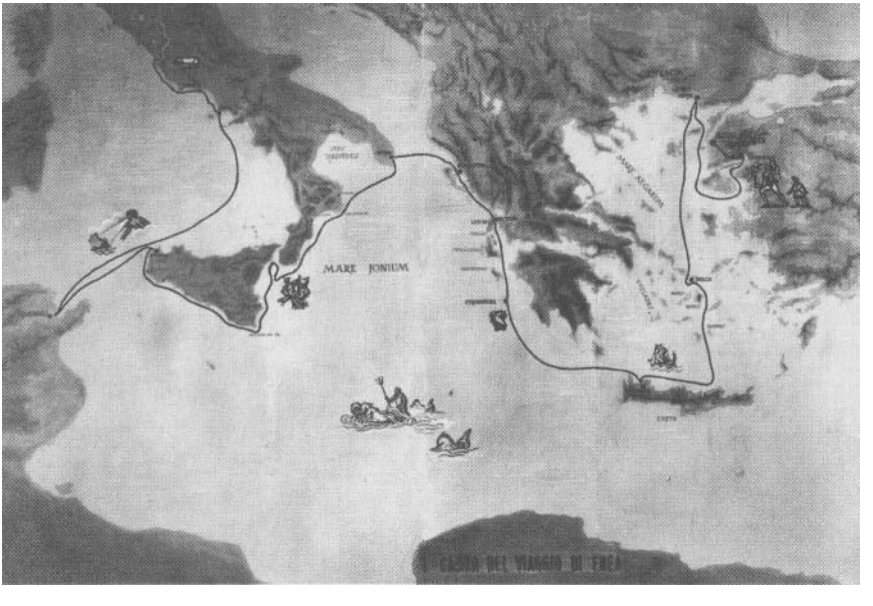

Figure 3.2. The voyage of Aeneas from a map prepared for the Crociera Virgiliana (MCR).

prompted the Italians to dispatch an archaeological mission to southern Albania in 1924.

2. FROM LIBERALISM TO FASCISM: REMAKING THE ROMANS

The exploitation of myth and legend had formed a part of Italian political life since the 1860s. The whole movement of the Risorgimento had looked back to a united Italy under Roman dominion, and the heroes of reunification had consciously seen themselves as following in this tradition. Thus Garibaldi was made and remained Dictator of the Roman Republic of 1848–9 throughout his later adventure, while Massimo d'Azeglio foresaw the need to "make Italians" once the forging of the state was complete.

This imperial dream manifested itself in Italian foreign policy, in the disastrous invasion of Ethiopia in 1896, and in the revived ambitions of the Marquis di San Giuliano, who was Italian foreign minister immediately before the First World War. It was, then, with a series of overambitious commitments in Libya, the Aegean and Albania, that the seeds were sown of later nationalist foreign policy—to recreate a "Roman" empire.

Culturally this desire sought a number of outlets. Marinetti and the futurists declared that "Italy" would henceforth predominate as a watchword over "Liberty" (Bosworth, 1979:418), giving expression to a popular urge towards statism, which would resonate with Mussolini's later totalitarian and corporativist policy. Imperial expansion and the afterglow of the Risorgimento engendered popular interest in Italy's imperial past. Immediately prior to the war, historical films, particularly those narrating heroic episodes from Roman history, enjoyed enormous success (Wyke, 1997:24–26, 41–47).

Archeologically, the need to create a focal point for Italian civilization naturally gravitated towards Rome. Here, there was in any case a desire to suffocate residual Papal influence with a rash of new institutions and projects, which literally surrounded the Vatican and rivalled its domination of the city. Creating the "third Rome" to accompany the "third Italy" involved uncovering its remote past. The great excavations undertaken by Giacomo Boni and Rodolfo Lanciani in the city's center brought to light the truth of Rome's imperial age and delved into its mythical origins (Lanciani, 1901:1–39; 1897:211–213). The discovery and excavation of the Lapis Niger brought modern Rome into direct contact with the age of Romulus and Remus. Lanciani was very much an international figure, and his regular letters to *The Athaneum*, chronicling the ongoing transformation, are suggestive of the contemporary zeitgeist (Cubberley, 1988). The old and new were juxtaposed, inevitably so given the pace of construction within Rome itself, though Lanciani, a true Roman, could not avoid expressing regret over the destruction of the sleepy city of the Papal era.

Lanciani was also the moving figure in the instigation of the archaeological exhibition of 1911. This event, the forerunner of the Mostra Augustea of 1938, was opened in the Baths of Diocletian to accompany the World Fair of that year. The collection of models, casts and reconstructions, including the entire temple of Augustus at Ankara, underscored this early expression of Romanità, as did Lanciani's opening words:

> Thus, from this aspect of the exhibition it will be clear how all those countries that once were the provinces of Rome are still governed by Roman law, how their peoples continue to travel along roads built by us, to straddle mountains by way of the passes opened by us, to cross rivers by way of the bridges erected by us, while drinking water sourced by us, anticipating good health from springs that even now give their waters to the baths once built by us, and sheltering their vessels in the ports once founded by us, in wartime as in peace. (Lanciani, 1911:10)

While Lanciani did not live to see the full flowering of fascism, dying as he did in 1929, significantly his secretary, Giulio Quirino Giglioli, did, becoming a leading figure in the field of archaeology and Romanità (Barbernera, 2000).

Thus many aspects of "fascist" archaeology, and its nationalist and cultural base, were already in gestation prior to the First World War. It required only the catalyst of an opportunistic and expansionist cultural and foreign policy to coalesce the various elements.

3. FASCISM AND MYTH

The fascist revolution was itself a myth. True to the traditions of the Risorgimento an event was imposed on Italian history and magnified by continual accolade. The March on Rome became one of the principal commemorative points of the regime's annual life (Berezin, 1997:70–73). Its martyrs, their ranks continually enlarged with new additions, were revered as the saints of a new cult (Gentile, 1996:29). The creation of a myth of struggle and battle paralleled the real and heroic events of the 1860s and 70s.

Mabel Berezin has demonstrated how an ongoing program of commemorative activities, held at both a local and national level, was intended to add to the making of the fascist self, forging the "new man" in the commonality of the fires of legend and invented past: "Fascism . . . is best understood as an ideology that fuses the public and private self . . . this fusion occurred *de jure* in the state and emotively in spectacles in the public piazza . . . " (Berezin, 1997:38). The carefully crafted events ranged from regular local manifestations to formal set pieces of social engineering. The 1932 Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista was one such. Its galleries aimed to foment in the visitor the emotions and sensations of the revolutionaries.

By the time he or she reached the evocative chamber of the fascist martyrs at the exit, the visitor would have passed from scepticism to belief and faith in a common destiny (Alfieri and Freddi, 1993; Stone, 1998:162).

In the field of archaeology this search for myths and origins was molded into a logical extension of Romanitá. Boni, for instance, was commissioned to research the origins and true form of the *fasces* to be adopted as the emblem of the new state (Falasca Zamponi, 1997:96; Gentile, 1996:43). The idealizing theories of Benedetto Croce became influential, however ironically (Croce came to oppose Mussolini's regime). These reacted against the positivist ideas being explored in the later 19th century, as archaeology became a national concern (Barbanera, 2000: 124–126; Guidi, 1996:108–112). Thus technical advance was replaced by mysticism. The growth of whole new sectors of the discipline was affected by the attitudes engendered by the emphasis on the ideal (D'Agostino, 1991:53–54).

Once again substantial archaeological projects were initiated to tie the past in with the present. The physical reconstruction of central Rome carried out in the 1930s, together with the even greater series of projects that were not realized, used archaeology as a significant justification and inspiration (Kostof, 1973). Indeed, for the first time a world expert in the field of Roman archaeology led the state, or so Mussolini liked to present himself (Mack Smith, 1981:132). Much of his expertise, however, was cribbed from the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, in part a fascist codification of knowledge (Mack Smith, 1981:130). In regard to cultural matters, Mussolini was, as elsewhere, an opportunist who despised museums and galleries, except where he could turn them to his own ends (Spotts, 2002:323) (figure 3.3).

The developing cult of Mussolini's personality drew on the wellspring of classical inspiration. The lineal series of Roman founders and heroes, Aeneas, Romulus, Augustus, could be seen to culminate in Mussolini as the restorer of the Roman spirit and political power. The commemorative cycle was expanded to include these aspects. Together with the annual birthday of Rome, so Virgil's bimilleniary in 1930 highlighted the figure of Aeneas; and that of Augustus in 1938 was accompanied by another blockbuster exhibition, the Mostra Augustea della Romanità (Catalogo Mostra Augustea della Romanità). In his opening speech the Director, Giulio Quirnino Giglioli, made a direct connection between Mussolini's lineage and the Romans: "... your actions are those of the greatest Romans of 2000 years ago ... as the name of the Romagna, your homeland, shows, its people have preserved more than others their unaltered blood and spirit ... " (Catalogo Mostra Augustea della Romanità; vii).

Excavations exposed the greatness of the Roman past. The clearance of the mausoleum of Augustus and the re-erection of the Ara Pacis in Rome effectively compared Mussolini's bringing of peace and unity to that of Augustus (Manacorda and Tammasia, 1985:195–205). In the Imperial fora in Rome, the past was juxtaposed with the present in the form of a great arterial road, which emphasized the roots of fascist modernity. Archaeological work overseas pointed the way to break

Figure 3.3. Mussolini as archaeologist. Il Duce attends the closing ceremony of the Mostra Augustea in 1938. Mussolini stands in front of the cast of the temple of Augustus at Ankara inscribed with Augustus' *Res Gestae*.

free of the "prison" of the Mediterranean, as with the excavations of the great ports of Rome at Ostia; or justified the Italian presence overseas, as with excavations in Libya, the Dodecanese islands and Albania (Barbanera, 1998; Munzi, 2002; Petricioli, 1990; Zevi, 1986).

Romanità was given greater contemporary importance by its juxtaposition with the associated concept of Italianità, which highlighted the awakening and intervention of the Italian spirit. This was seen in the striving of Italians overseas in "fascist works," such as the construction of the Via Balbia along the Libyan littoral. In an archaeological sense Romanità could be interpreted liberally as the search for origins. Thus the Italian mission was dispatched to Albania in 1924, to retrace the footsteps of Aeneas.

4. THE "FIFTH SHORE": ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE LAND OF THE EAGLES

"Land of Albania where Iskender rose, theme of the young and beacon of the wise . . . " Thus Lord Byron wrote in "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," while reflecting

on the antiquity and lost grandeur of Epirus (Byron, 1909:195). Albania certainly was an antique land, if one that was poorly known to the rest of Europe. Edward Gibbon expressed his amazement at the general European ignorance of the Albanian shore of the Adriatic: "A country in sight of Italy is less known than the wilds of America..." he wrote (Gibbon, 1910:325, n. 2). Despite a fleeting interest during the Napoleonic Wars (Leake, 1835; Pouqueville, 1820), it was only the great power rivalry of the later 19th century that promoted the first true examinations of Albania's history and culture (Wilkes, 1992:4–6). Austro-Hungarian ambitions led to the earliest study of the land, its people and linguistics, with an emphasis on the possibilities of Illyrian survival in the actual Albanian population. These initiatives were part of a wider "Illyrian" phenomenon linked to the emerging national consciousness of the populations of the cosmopolitan Austro-Hungarian world. Italian plans for the economic penetration of Turkey in Europe clashed with those of Austria. Nevertheless, archaeological interest was sufficiently aroused for several researchers, amongst them Paolo Orsi and Roberto Paribeni, to investigate various aspects of the country's antique past (Orsi, 1883; Paribeni, 1903).

It must be said that actual evidence for Trojans in Albania is lacking. However, there is a growing corpus of archaeological material of middle and late Helladic date (c. 2000–1500 BC) from southern Albania, which links this region with the Aegean world of the Homeric age (Bejko, 1994:111–124). There are two distinct traditions. The occurrence of Minyan-type ceramics in the southeast of the country, for example at Maliq in the Korca basin (figure 3.4), points to contacts with Macedonia and Thessaly. Maliq was a deeply stratified site, and the interpreted sequence ranges from the Neolithic through to the Iron Age. It formed a significant pillar of the hypothesis of cultural and ethnic continuity, which was adopted as a theory of national origins by the communist government from the 1950s (Prendi, 1976).

Along the southern coastlands there is a small but significant assemblage of material from tumuli, such as the group in the hinterland of the coastal city of Vlora (Prendi, 1955; Prendi, 1998:94–95). Both these and settlement sites have produced material including some metalwork, both derivative and probable actual Mycenean imports. Seaborne trade is certainly responsible for much of this. Nevertheless, Virgil's inclusion of Butrint in the itinerary of Aeneas' wanderings has far more to do with Roman politics of the later Republic and the presence of senatorial colonists, like Atticus, in Epirus than any ancient tradition (Bowden et al., 2002:209). The construction of Aeneas as an individual and a racial founder, though, was based firmly on a series of literary traditions current in both the eastern and western Mediterranean (Erskine, 2001:15–43).

Nevertheless, by the time Albania's borders were securely ratified in 1921 following the Balkan and First World Wars, there was still little economic or cultural penetration by western powers. The country remained very much a dislocated part of Ottoman Turkey with minimal infrastructure. An English journalist, Joseph Swire, who lived in and wrote about Albania and its capital during the presidency

Figure 3.4. The site of Maliq in the Korcë basin, Albania. The site was discovered during the draining of swamps in the 1950s and 60s, partly by political prisoners.

and later kingship of Achmet Bey Zogu, recorded his impressions of Albania as a Balkan Ruritania: "Tirana in 1930 was an untidy place, though the Albanians were making great efforts to transform it from a quaint Turkish town into a capital that looked like modern. Anything that looked Albanian the Tirana people would not have; they were proud of the great double-barrelled 'Boulevard Mussolini' which seemed to rush resolutely and dustily toward the distant military school between scattered derelicts of the old and the skeletons of the new" (Swire, 1937:193). While the country was undoubtedly still fractious and undeveloped, King Zog was moving to seek outside investment (Fischer, 1984:82–126). Italian entrepreneurs, such as the industrialist Giuseppe Volpi, had been attempting to find stable opportunities since before the First World War. The 1926 and 1927 treaties with Italy, as a result of which Zog became King, were the political elements accompanying this program. However, the Albanian government was interested in creating cultural links as well.

The decision to establish an archaeological mission to Albania was not a carefully conceived part of this program; rather, it came about, as with many other foreign initiatives in Albania, because of political rivalry between the powers. The involvement of the French radical politician Justin Godart resulted in the creation

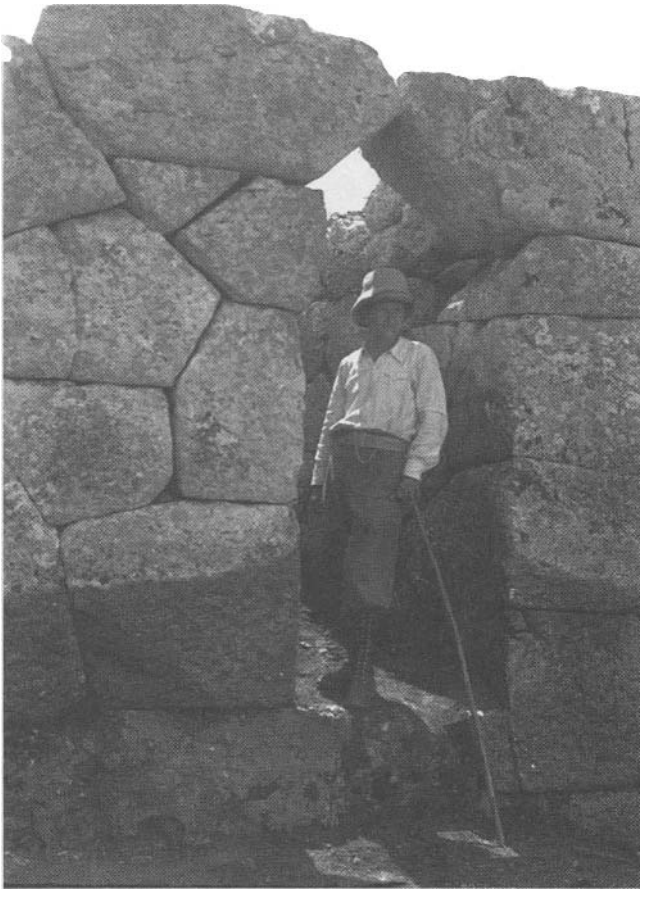

Figure 3.5. Luigi Ugolini stands in the Hellenistic gateway of the acropolis of Cuka e Aitoit (Eagle Mountain), south of Butrint c. 1930. The gate itself was demolished and moved for display to Tirana in the 1980s.

of a French archaeological mission in 1923. This was under the directorship of Leon Rey, who had worked extensively in Macedonia, and its establishment led the Italians to react with an initiative of their own. The Italian mission was conceived in a hurried and ad-hoc fashion (Gilkes and Miraj, 2000). This is apparent from the initial struggle over administrative control, which was itself typical of the infighting between the ministries and *gerarchi* of the fascist regime. Eventually control was vested in the foreign ministry, which after all supported the policy of proactive penetration of Albania. Following some indecision, Roberto Paribeni, Director of the National Roman Museum, proposed a young post-graduate student, Luigi Ugolini, for the directorship (figure 3.5).

Ugolini must have appeared as the perfect choice for the type of mission the foreign ministry had in mind—cheap, effective and easy to control. In addition, and increasingly important as the years passed and fascist propaganda matured, Ugolini was a ready-grown "new man." He came from a humble north-Italian background—his father was an impoverished watchmaker—yet had fought heroically in the war, taking the wound to his kidneys that would kill him in 1936; and he was energetic, charismatic and capable.

The matter of political conviction is significant. Ugolini's home town had a tradition of liberal politics, in a region where the socialist movement had been strong. Ugolini was a fascist, though the meaning of this today is inevitably colored by our own modern experience. Even fascism itself has never been adequately defined. The contemporary explanation of the time, penned by Giovanni Gentile, outlined a philosophically based collective program (Gentile, 1929; Enciclopedia Italiana, 1932), though the actuality of Italian fascism was rather more nebulous and opportunist. Perhaps this lack of any deep-seated doctrine or theory, combined with authoritarianism, is itself a definition. Those who knew Ugolini today state that he was not a fascist, never wearing the *camicia nera*, or attending the ceremonies of the regime (G. Gatti, personal communication). That said, Ugolini clearly adopted many of the accepted forms of compliance and belief. He was careful, for example, to have himself filmed giving the "Roman" salute to his Albanian workforce in 1931, and was reported to have done the same in one of his lectures on Malta (Vella and Gilkes, 2001:370). Paribeni described him as a "fervent fascist" who had joined the party fairly early, in 1923, and who was happy to sign his letters "*fascisticamente*." Italian publicity stressed his youth. One newspaper report of 1928 went so far as to describe him as a "beardless youth." Ugolini was 38 at the time (The Italian Mail, 3/3/1928).

This however, is merely stating the symptoms. There was without doubt a certain level of conviction, perhaps engendered and tempered by his wartime experience, which combined with ambition, produced easy compliance (Petricioli, 1990:283). In this he was merely one of many, in Italy, Germany, Spain and elsewhere, who were prepared to take the rewards offered by the state, in return for open participation in the collective program (Mack Smith, 1981:418–419). This was all that Mussolini's regime required, at least initially, and it was the road taken by many other archaeologists and academics under the regime.

Ugolini specialised as a prehistorian. He had studied under the Etruscologist Pericles Ducati at the University of Bologna, and was well connected with the national archaeological establishment, having as patrons in Rome both Paribeni and Giglioli as well as contacts with the foreign community. He knew the redoubtable Eugenie Strong, formerly assistant director of the British School at Rome, who lived in Rome and retained a considerable influence in archaeological matters. In his undergraduate thesis Ugolini had examined aspects of Bronze Age settlement near his home town of Bertinoro in the Romagna, while prior to undertaking

his first exploratory mission to Albania in 1924, he made a tour of Bronze Age monuments on the islands of Sicily, Malta and Pantelleria. His interests extended to North Africa. In 1931 he was proposed as director of the Italian museum in Alexandria; and in 1934 Ugolini was in contact with Italo Balbo, Governor General of Libya, with a view to undertaking a survey of prehistoric sites there (MP, Cartelli Ugolini).

Following his initial visit to Albania in 1924, Ugolini reported personally to Mussolini in the first of a number of meetings between the two men. On this occasion, Ugolini recommended that further efforts be directed to the southern part of the country. This was an idea enthusiastically taken up by Paribeni who proposed the inexpensive excavation of some Illyrian tombs to: "... satisfy up to a point the fanatical and puerile national pride of the Albanians. Their desire to be able to know and illuminate their ancestors the Illyrians" (ASME AP 1924 Pacco 723/1). However, this expediency spawned the problematic excavation of the classical city of Phoinike between 1925 and 1927, and was followed by the move to another nearby classical site—Butrint.

5. THE RETURN OF AENEAS: EXCAVATIONS AT BUTRINT

Butrint presented several advantages over Phoinike and other sites. Logistically, excavations there were easier; and the crumbling Venetian fortifications provided a highly visible symbol of Italianità (figure 3.6). However, the overriding reason was probably the strong Virgilian connection. Ugolini recounted how during his first brief visit he climbed the overgrown acropolis of Butrint and from the top scanned the vanished realm of King Helenus, while dreaming of excavating this ancient site (Ugolini, 1930:9). He cannot have overlooked the similarities with Heinrich Schliemann at Troy.

Ugolini was a capable archaeologist, ambitious and patriotic. At Butrint he required all his skill to untangle the complicated cultural horizons. Surviving manuscripts and notes in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome show a developed understanding of stratigraphic issues.[2] His work on Malta in particular employed detailed stratigraphic discussion to resolve points of chronological difference. Even his earliest excavations at the Fonte Panaghina, at the foot of the hill of his hometown of Bertinoro, illustrate that the concept of stratification had taken root (Ugolini, 1923). The origin of this appreciation is uncertain—possibly his early study of agronomics at Bologna had included geological studies. Whatever, he was clearly prepared to take on a major archaeological project, though we must be careful of overstating the case. Ugolini's stratigraphic ability was of the same order as that of Boni's, during the late 19th century. This revolved around an understanding of chronological horizons, rather than the scientific analysis of layers and interfaces (Cubberley, 1988:xiii).

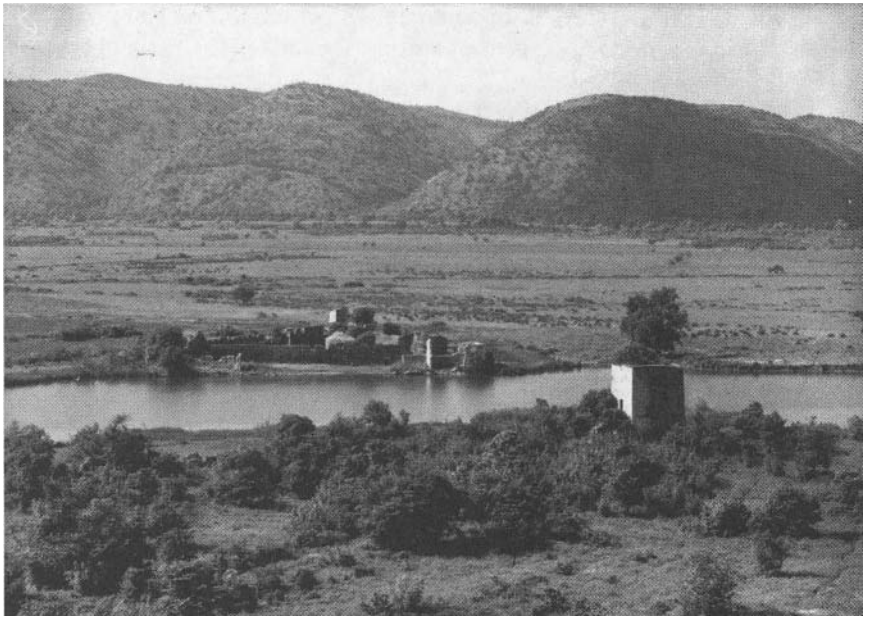

Figure 3.6. The Vivari channel at Butrint and abandoned Venetian fortifications c. 1928.

Ugolini was also conscious of the relationship between archaeology and society. "There is another element," he wrote in an introduction to one of his unpublished monographs on Malta, "that of the political which must not intrude on the peaceful field of science" (MP, Cartelli Ugolini-Malta). Nevertheless, Ugolini became a champion of Italian geopolitical intentions in Albania from an archaeological position. He was able to justify this by adopting two levels of approach. The first *was* political, often at the bidding of Ministers and Ambassadors. Before a series of lectures given in Albania in 1928, the Italian Minister wrote to him that the discourses: "might venture upon the field of history and even of politics" (AQS f.263, v.1927, d.205). This political imperative resulted in a series of publications, culminating in his posthumous 1937 *Myth of Aeneas*, which was, significantly, a popular work. The second approach was scientific. Here Ugolini had his own solid agenda, and planned a long series of volumes on his work. The clear support of the state from the very highest quarters—Mussolini personally approved the funds for some of the earlier monographs—meant that he could plan ahead, disposing of the propaganda while continuing to work on the scientific reports. The eventual series was to include the excavated theater (Gilkes, 2003), the paleochristian baptistery, medieval Butrint and the environs of the city. To judge from the surviving manuscripts, these were solid, scientific tomes, with exhaustive analysis. Only his early death in 1936 interrupted the publication program. Despite the

establishment of a commission to continue the publication program, only one other monograph, on the Acropolis of Butrint (Ugolini, 1942), was published in 1942 after a long delay.

The conflict between these two themes can be seen in the activities of 1926–28. At this time Achmet Zogu became King Zog with Italian support. The two pacts of Tirana bound Albania to Italy. Subsequently Ugolini was asked to give a prestigious lecture at the Collegio Romano in Rome, in the presence of various luminaries including the Education minister and the under-secretary for Foreign Affairs. Ugolini's lecture was to emphasize the antiquity of the Albanians; however, he was unable to exclude entirely his discovery of a far earlier, Neolithic and Chalcolithic civilization, a discovery which challenged the Illyrian-Albanian continuity hypothesis. The extensive Venetian remains in Albania also got a mention. Similarities of archaeological material between the western and eastern shores of the Adriatic were publicized as: "The Friendship of Three Thousand Years" (The Italian Mail 3/3/1928) to accompany the economic and political alliance. Ugolini even began a long and detailed article on "Albania Primitiva" (MCR, Ug30), in which he compared the earlier prehistoric cultures of both countries, with an emphasis on Italian origins, taking material from the Komani region of northern Albania and elements of his own work in the south. This combined a solid empirical description of sites and finds with a series of decidedly woolly suggestions concerning cultural interaction. Indeed, the piece was so obviously at odds with Ugolini's own agenda that it was abandoned after the first paragraph of the section "Italy and Albania in the Primitive Era" (MCR, Ug3). Perhaps a crisis of conscience might be discerned amidst his clear ambition?

If there was such a crisis it was partly misplaced. As with his theories of the origins of Maltese civilization, once derided as: ". . . fascist archaeological ineptitude . . ." (BSR, John Ward Perkins to Sir Mortimer Wheeler 24/6/1964), later research has instead tended to revisit his theories. Discussion of early social and state development in the Adriatic region, for example, has tended to underline the strong trans-Adriatic interaction in prehistory. Indeed this was a theme strongly reiterated by archaeologists working in Enver Hoxha's Albania, albeit with an ironic twist: "However, it attracts one's opinion that during the early Iron Age in this blend of influences from Albania to the other shores of the Adriatic and from Italy to our country, more powerful have been the Illyrian influences across the Adriatic shores" (Andrea, 1985:229).

After 1930 the "friendship of three thousand years" was deemed redundant as other themes and politics intervened. Increasing Italian encroachment and Zog's attempt to discard the Italian alliance after 1930, led to a distinct shift in the "spin" given to the mission's discoveries. The bimilleniary of Virgil's birth provided a catalyst; and the excavations were now to be used as a direct illustration of Romanità. As with the great projects of archaeological clearance in the classical cities of Libya, Italian involvement in Albania would be justified by the past. From

Figure 3.7. Excavations of the 'Porta Scaea' (Scaean Gate) at Butrint c. 1929.

this point on, the mission's publications change their emphasis by focusing on Roman themes. The discovery of a fine imperial portrait group, including Agrippa and Augustus, was given extensive publicity. Roman civilization and culture was compared to the exploitation and oppression meted out to the local population by earlier Greek colonists (Marconi, 1938).

With the introduction of a "Homeric" theme, the excavations at Butrint were presented to the public in a way that could be solidly understood through the emphasis on the classical in Italian public life and education. That Butrint was a symbol of renewal, both of the ancient and the Augustan eras, merely enhanced its possibilities. This mythical connection was extended even to the naming of excavated elements of the city after their supposed Trojan originals. Thus the Hellenistic corbelled gateway that led from the acropolis of the city to Lake Butrint was named the Scaean gate (figure 3.7).

Much publicity was given to the Virgilian celebrations, and in this context the importance of Butrint was underlined. As with many of the other cultural exercises of the regime, an underlying intention was to widen the possible audience that participated in celebrations and commemorations. By this means the fascist myth would be implanted deeper into the national psyche by targeting not only academics and other regular consumers of high culture, but also the commonality

of the Italian people. A series of lectures on Trojan Butrint and the Aeneas myth included the identification of local place names with others cited by Virgil (MCR, Ug26). For the celebrations themselves, Ugolini also contributed to a lavishly illustrated supplement to "*L'Illustrazione Italiana*," which included contributions by Amedeo Maiuri, the excavator of Pompeii, Roberto Paribeni and Mussolini's brother, Arnaldo (Ugolini, 1930). It is easy to see how the sheer number of publications produced by the mission peaked during these years (figure 3.8), though popular articles and newspaper reports were merely one propaganda element. The regime was anxious to make myth from the physical reality of the excavations. The issue of postage stamps—"... that most universal form of public imagery..." (Hobsbawm, 1994b:281)—was a simple method of disseminating cultural and political events to the public, and in this case providing much needed funds for the excavations (ASME AP 1932 19/19). A series of commemorative stamps issued for the Virgilian anniversary included one that shows King Helenus bidding farewell to Aeneas from the Scaean gate itself. The architecture of the gateway was clearly based on photographs of the original (figure 3.9).

By fusing high and popular culture the fascist regime was obliged, in so far as archaeology was concerned, to combine traditional scholarship with new media. There were a number of popular publications touching on Romanitá and archaeology in Albania, including the guide produced by the Consociazione Turistica Italiana (CTI) in 1940 as part of the Guida D'Italia series. Pirro Marconi, Ugolini's successor as director of the mission, largely penned the historical sections. Ugolini himself was forcefully reminded of the popular imperative: "He confided to me one day that having presented to the Duce the results of some earlier excavations in a rigorously scientific volume, he commanded that an account of the work must also be made for the people 'because—added the Chief—because the people have paid with their sacrifices for your researches and have the principal right to the results'" (Ugolini, 1937:3).

The popular right to see the results, and Ugolini's own dynamism, led to the production of a number of film documentaries on Italian excavations at Phoinike and Butrint. Ugolini was concerned to maintain close control over the content, as letters to both Luce and the Foreign Ministry show; and the text panels of the silent films were full of Virgilian allusions.[3] He also fully appreciated the public impact of films and lobbied hard to have a film projector as well as slides with him on an Albanian lecture tour as: "Without one of these words are not only ineffective but dull and incomprehensible, on account of the complexity of the subject" (AQS f.263, v. 1927, d. 205, faqe 29).

Even the very voyage of Aeneas was re-enacted by a prestigious Trans-Mediterranean cruise, the "Crociera Virgiliana." Accompanied by major archaeological luminaries, such as Amadeo Maiuri and Pirro Marconi, a cruise ship retraced Aeneas' steps, stopping at appropriate sites, like Butrint and Carthage. Other stops included Malta, which had no Virgilian association but was of course a

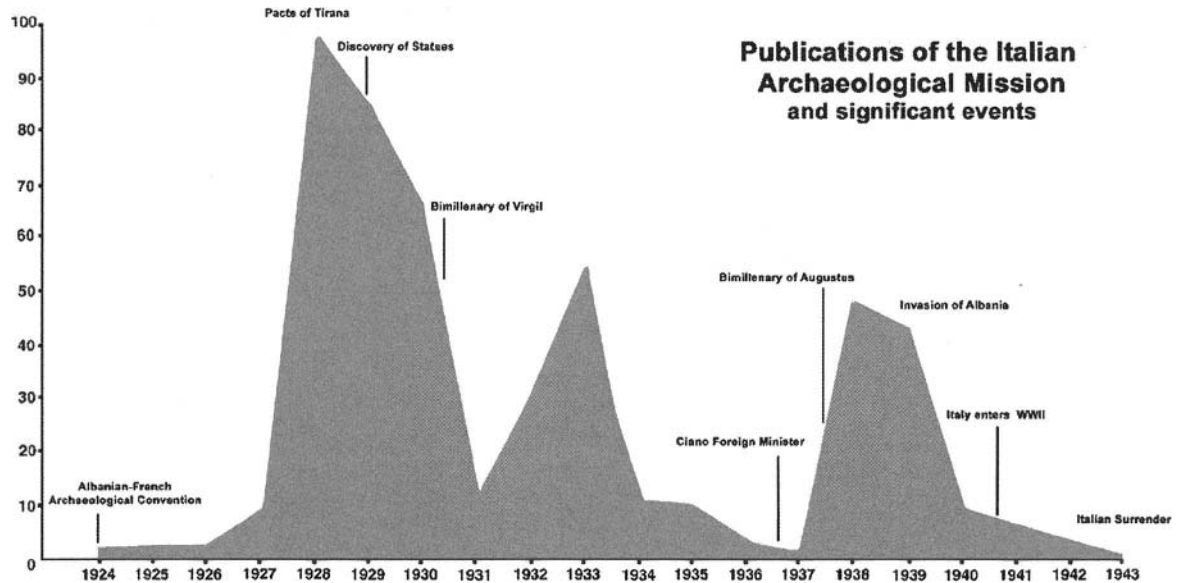

Figure 3.8. Publications of the Italian Archaeological Mission and the wider political context.

Figure 3.9. King Helenus bids farewell to Aeneas from the 'Porta Scaea'. Fifteen Centissimi stamp issued for the Virgilian celebrations 1930–31.

focus of Italianità and fascist geopolitical ambitions. Even publicity for commercial companies employed the legend. A 1928 publicity poster from the shipping line Navigazione Adriatica cleverly combines Albania, Aeneas' ship, and the benefits of Italian civilization underscored by roads and airplanes (figure 3.10).

6. CONCLUSIONS: THE RETURN OF THE ROMANS?

The Albanian problem was finally resolved by the invasion in 1939, which overturned the royal regime of King Zog. However, it remains for us to see exactly how effective the exploitation of the Trojan myth was in relation to Ugolini's mission. Whilst archaeology satisfies the needs of immediate political imperatives, its longer-term impact is less certain. Additionally the whole cycle of communal commemoration, which the fascist party attempted to install as the framework of a new era, did not survive the shock of defeat and the exploding of myths in the Second World War. Despite an entire generation being brought up to "Believe, Obey and Fight," the ideal of tireless sacrifice and striving was unable to overcome older social conditioning. Fascist personalities shattered easily under pressure, taking their myths with them (Berezin, 1997:244). The new man proved not to be so "new" after all.

As regards the archaeological reality, there were no Trojans to be found in Epirus, and the identification of monuments and features with the kingdom of

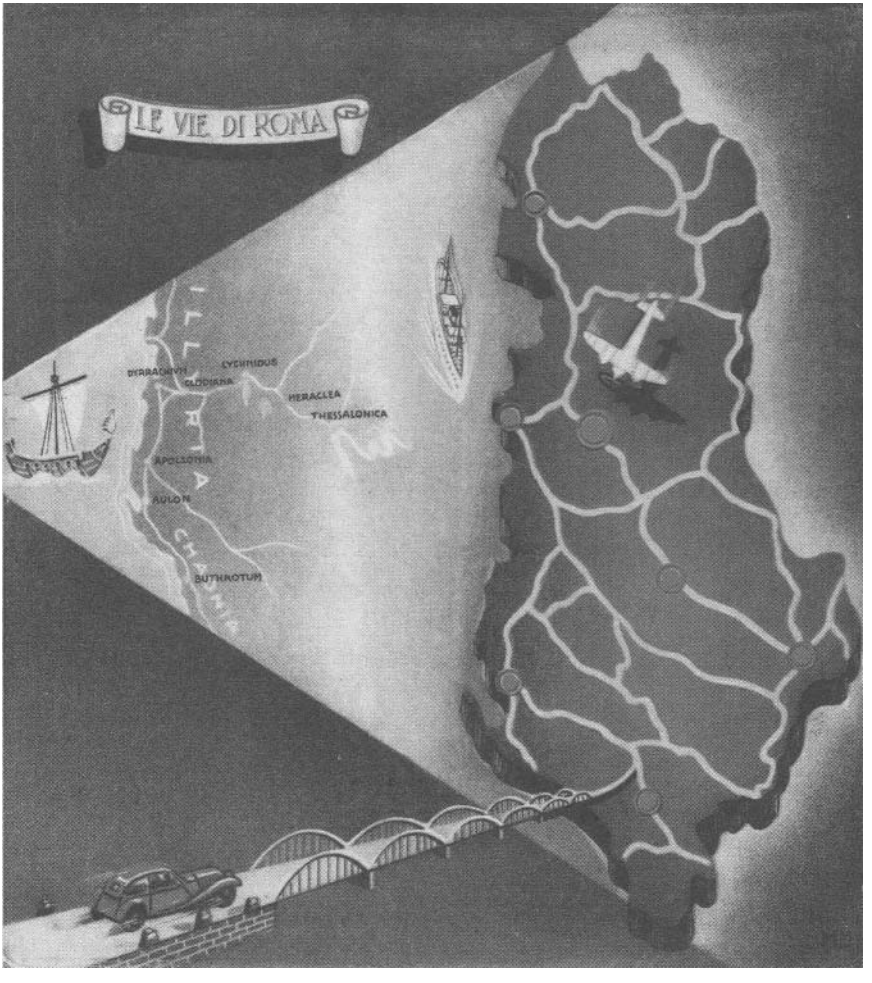

Figure 3.10. The return of the Romans. The roads built by the modern Rome juxtaposed with Aeneas and ancient Albania. Publicity for Navigazione Adriatica.

Helenus was pure propaganda. There was, however, a long and fascinating archaeological sequence. What emerges from a study of Ugolini's non-political works, in Albania, and also in Malta, is how perceptive he was, and how he laid a solid foundation for Albanian archaeology.

Ugolini's death in 1936, that of his successor in 1938, and the beginning of the Second World War in 1939, prevented the publication of Ugolini's great scientific program and condemned a substantive piece of research to oblivion. Despite the resources expended in the excavations and the ensuing publicity, the mission left

little palpable impact on Italy, where a series of new myths concerning the fate of Ugolini and his work have grown up. The loss of the archive is still explained away by its supposed destruction in the air crash that killed the unfortunate Pirro Marconi. The reality is rather more mundane—the archive was simply packed in boxes and placed in storage at the Museo dell'Impero, where Giglioli was director, and forgotten. Other Italian initiatives in Albania were susceptible to a similar fate. The Italian Royal Geographical Society also supported a mission in the country, and gave the last word on this subject. In 1943 Professor Castiglioni, the head of the mission, wrote a sad note to the society's secretary about a recently published volume on the geography of Albania: "... unfortunately no one is interested in Albania any more ..." (SGI, Missione Geografico fasc. 8).

Notes

1. The research into the Italian expedition to Albania has been made possible due to the generous support of the Butrint Foundation, its trustees Lord Rothschild and Lord Sainsbury of Preston Candover, The Drue Heinz Trust and the Packard Humanities Institute.
2. The manuscripts for four more major volumes on Albania survive in this repository while several unpublished works on Malta are to be found in the archive of the Museo Pigorini.
3. Istituto Luce filmed Ugolini at work on a number of occasions. Four films made from this footage survive in the Archivio Storico and can be viewed at the Luce website: http://www.luce.it/index.html.

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Chapter 4

Italian Colonial Archaeology in Libya 1912–1942

STEFAN ALTEKAMP

1. INTRODUCTION

Classical archaeology represents an academic study of classical antiquity and is an archaeological discipline. It interprets classical antiquity by using archaeological methods. These methods consist of: formal analysis, typology and iconography, which can be applied even to individual artifacts regardless of their provenance; and context-oriented methods of prospection, whether it be a form of survey or actual excavation. The methods belonging to the latter of these categories were more recently academicized than the former. Due to this development, the types of evidence that archaeological research can produce have become increasingly extensive.

The capability of theoretical archaeology corresponds much more closely to the output of field archaeology than is often assumed. Field archaeology is an exceptional case within the Humanities because of the considerable financial requirements that go with it. This special characteristic separates it from other methods of researching the past, such as ancient history and philology.

Another fundamental difference is the way in which the particular sources are treated. The availability of textual source material for historians and philologists is made secure through publication, and a major proportion of this material has already been available in print for a considerable time. The understanding of these sources may be altered by new interpretations without threatening their physical existence, allowing them to remain intact for future study. On the one hand, the

STEFAN ALTEKAMP • Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

amount of archaeological source material is constantly increasing due to continual new discovery through excavation. However, excavations represent a destructive form of intervention; their practical implementation as well as their documentation is dependent upon an *a priori* assessment or upon restrictive guidelines that frequently have a powerful effect upon the work. On the other hand therefore, research into history and archaeology means not only having to deal with the different interpretations of secure sources, but also with the fact that due to a variety of human influences, the sources have often been reduced. These circumstances have permanently and irrevocably handicapped the research that is the subject of this article.

During the 19th century, archaeology generally gained strength, both institutionally and academically. Classical archaeology was certainly not the last to feel these changes, and they provided a foundation upon which the professionalism of the 20th century came to be developed. This phenomenon manifested itself with the creation of numerous posts in archaeology within the university system and also partly in the setting up of new positions within local government for the management of archaeological heritage.

The strengthening of institutional archaeology is inseparable from the development of the nation-state during the 19th century. Local and regional history was stimulated by national conditions, so that archaeology found itself in the situation where it could open new conceptual and temporal doors. Pan-European competition broke out between the nation-states to appropriate archaeological material from the sites of civilizations that had once inhabited the Mediterranean, Near and Middle East; these ancient societies were seen as being the forerunners of contemporary culture. Each nation had a peculiarity that was displayed in diverse ranges of political activities, or a preference for a specific culture, such as Roman or Hellenic. However, the principle expectations, approach and outcome of the archaeological operations were the same. An increasing sense of nationalism forced the state into an active roll as guarantor, coordinator and financier of the work. The job of presenting the appropriated artifacts was given to prestigious museums, whilst the training of the necessary experts was left to the chairs of the new university faculties.

These phenomena are based upon the cultural imperialism that became an external manifestation of the nation state, but internally it came to define itself by an obligation to be a guardian of cultural heritage (*Kulturstaat*). From this standpoint, the demands for an academic approach in the universities and academies supported new principles: archaeology could not only enjoy a widened capacity for theory and research, but in the cultural guardianship sense, also an increasing right of access to its primary sources, which was enabled by new favorable legislation. The accelerated loss of archaeological sources through population increase, industrialization and urbanization, created a need for the regulation of this destruction. This harmonized with a universal interest in historicism. Simultaneously,

legislation slowly gave the state a monopoly for the carrying out of archaeological excavation. The control over excavation, even if not the execution of it, was passed to the expert archaeologists employed by the state. Field archaeology became nationalized.

Emerging from the concept of the state as cultural guardian was that indispensable social stratum: the intellectual middle class (*Bildungsbürger*). In states with a fossilized political structure, like the German Empire for example, science and culture offered compensatory prestigious fields of pursuit, whether it was an active participation, or the opportunity to provide moral or material patronage. Other political traditions, like that of Italy, guaranteed the *uomini di lettere* a solid integration into the ruling classes. The privileged position of the study of classical antiquity within this system ensured it high status within the contemporary educational canon.

In an academic sense, archaeology evolved its own intellectual and practical apparatus, which was different from that of philology and history. Included in this process was systematizing of field archaeology and the introduction of methods that corresponded to the territorial dimension of its research, such as prospection and mapping. The upturn in the more scientific elements of field archaeology intensified during the first half of the twentieth century to internationally formulated working standards (Boni, 1901, 1913).

In Italy there were deep anti-traditionalist trends connected with fascism which were at work until the late 1920s; not least was an aversion to a perceived omnipresent overvaluation of classical antiquity and its professional exegetes.

The Roman obsession that manifested itself during the later phase of Italian fascism should not automatically be assumed to have been there from the beginning. In opposition to the classical archaeology that had been left over from the nineteenth century, a new archaeological approach had to be constructed that coincided with the specific fascist position. The bourgeois concept of archaeology contained no taboos for the fascists, and without compromise they used it to suit their own needs. Because of the later collapse of the fascist system, only a degree of the conscious realization of this development can be traced by research today. In Libya however, in the frontier situation of the colony where ideology and administration were radicalized, it emerged rapidly in an almost formulaic way (Altekamp, 2000; Munzi, 2001, this volume).

2. AN OUTLINE OF ITALIAN COLONIAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN LIBYA

The interest of Italian archaeologists in Libya was created at the end of the nineteenth century (Barbanera, 1998; Petricioli, 1990). Concrete planning arose from the work conducted on a mission to Crete under the leadership of the

epigraphist Federico Halbherr. The interest in Crete and Libya was twofold. The first at least, was undoubtedly a scholastic one: a consideration of the historical relationship between ancient Crete and Cyrenaica; the second was of national interest, since an archaeological presence abroad, especially in well-known Greek settlements, was seen as being essential for the country's prestige. At the crossroads of both these interests lay Halbherr's lifelong ambition for the establishment of an Italian excavation in Cyrene. At this time he showed less interest in the rest of Libya. Halbherr's plans for an archaeological mission to Crete and Cyrenaica are interesting in the context of foreign policy and the *penetrazione pacifica* of Libya.

During July and August 1910 an Italian expedition journeyed for the first time to Cyrenaica. When they arrived, it emerged that there were clearly other places, apart from Cyrene, which were capable of arousing archaeological interest, such as Taucheira, Ptolemaïs or Messa. The sphere of interest of the expedition was diversified, as a program already devised in 1901 shows. A focus of this expedition, amongst other things, was to confirm the cultural contacts that the region enjoyed during antiquity; due to its deep Greek roots, Cyrenaica did not present a Romano-centric perspective.

With the occupation of Libya at the end of 1911, Libyan colonial archaeology mutated from a foreign politics issue, to a domestic one (figure 4.1). Two archaeological *soprintendenze* were created: one based in Tripoli, and the other in Benghazi.

Figure 4.1. Italian soldier in Cyrenaica, mural (Roma, Casa dei Mutilati); Photo: Stefan Altekamp.

The military situation in Cyrenaica, however, remained unstable for a while and at first it was without archaeological supervision. Although scholarly interest had almost exclusively focussed on Cyrenaica, due to its state of conflict, Tripolitania stepped into the foreground. The Hellenocentric focus of classical archaeology underwent a slow revaluation, which raised the status of Roman archaeology. However, due to the fieldwork in the colony, interest in the Romans grew much more quickly there: in Tripolitania there are no Greek remains.

The early years until around 1923 were marked by responsible specialist work that had to be carried out under extremely difficult conditions. The conditions manifested themselves as a predicament relating to the institutional and legally established position of archaeology and its practical immobility due to a lack of equipment. The bourgeois concept of archaeology as cultural guardian revealed a deficit in its ability to be realized. Salvatore Aurigemma and Pietro Romanelli, the first overseeing archaeologists in Libya, were self-confessed nationalists like the majority of their contemporaries. Nevertheless, they managed to protect the independence of their specialist work. Aurigemma and Romanelli actively carried out their official responsibility for the protection of all Libyan monuments; also for the many Islamic monuments (e.g., Romanelli, 1923). Even though archaeology could only react in the first few years without really being able to progress according to a plan, it was able to set a new course due to the sturdiness of its performance. Of the few monographs that were published by the Italian *soprintendenze* in Libya, most, and those of the best quality, originated from the early years of Tripolitanian colonial archaeology.

A cultural-political justification for the occupation of Libya was created: it was deemed necessary to transfer the sensitive archaeological inheritance into European hands, because otherwise it would have been threatened with decimation under a Turkish hegemony. However, during the long years of war in the country, the ancient monuments were exposed to a fundamentally greater danger. It is only possible to hypothesize today how much archaeological material was destroyed, and above all, removed by the Italian military and reused for defensive construction. The fate of the ruins of Lepcis Magna is a typical example, since many Italian fortifications were built using ancient worked stones that had been taken from its territory. Aurigemma protested energetically against the quantity that the army had taken, but it was to no avail.

Some extremely painstaking rescue archaeology was being carried out, but it was already discernible from 1912 onwards that a tendency was developing for the desire to visualize ideological expression, using town planning and heritage management. The fairly well preserved victory arch for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Tripolis played no part in the considerations of Federico Halbherr and his circle. However, during the frenzy of intervention induced by the Italian-Libyan war, the arch came to be redefined as a symbol of both an old and a new "Roman" presence in Libya. Rather than from scholarly curiosity, it was the desire

for a political symbol that brought the visible remains of Roman Tripolis into the spotlight as an archaeological monument. This proclivity can be seen most clearly from an unfulfilled plan, possibly from the early 1920s; the extant project outline is for an enclosed *piazza*, employing architecture from the Venetian or Rhodian styles that was both extravagant and fantastical. The style of the buildings surrounding the *piazza* attempts to invoke a claim that they reflect actual urban history; in this case a Romano-Italian continuity from antiquity to the early modern period.

The legitimacy of this view is underlined by a building program that could be considered as being complementary to that of the piazza. This project was actually carried out in 1922/23, and consisted of the reconstruction of the "Red Castle," which was the largest fortification in Tripoli and also the seat of the governor. The Roman architect, Armando Brasini, converted the formerly unarticulated exterior of the stronghold into the distinctive façade of a crusader's castle. This generated an allusion to the momentary presence of the Spanish and the Maltese orders in Tripoli between 1510 and 1551. A baroque side entrance was suggestive of Latin-Christian dominance that belonged to a point in time from the Maltese episode that had long since been assigned to history. The new exterior of the castle evoked the impression of European continuity in Tripoli. The building no longer reflected the long rule of the Arabs and Turks.

It is evident that the patronizing Tripolitanian Governor, Guiseppe Volpi, entered into cooperation with the new *soprintendente* Renato Bartoccini. Bartoccini had a vision of a new policy for archaeology, which was the logical complement to the governor's building policy: at the beginning of the 1920s, the first major planned excavations in Tripolitania began in the ancient ports of Lepcis Magna (figure 4.2) and Sabratha, which were financed by a development program. Bartoccini had to acknowledge that the slow progress of the scholarly-led work threatened the continued existence of the excavation. Because of this he suggested that excavation and consolidation of the ruins be conducted more quickly so that more or less all of the city's main areas could be revealed. And he proposed to proceed with an accelerated exposure and preparation of seemingly homogeneous urban fabrics. Bartoccini's program was aimed at creating the greatest possible visual impact for the unprepared visitor, and also at achieving results with the excavation that the government would find appropriate. Bartoccini left no doubt that by means of excavation, two Roman cities should be restored to life. The additional and simultaneous presentations of both the Phoenician settlement and the later remains of early-Arab inhabitation would create an overly complex impression for the wandering visitor. For Lepcis and Sabratha to present the required "visual impact," it meant concentrating on their Roman phases, which had left behind the most unified and monumental remains. The visual "restoration to life" of purely Roman cities on the Tripolitanian coast must have been a tempting thought for the Italian government. In this way the Arabic appearance of the country could be confronted with a corrective, which in an imposing form brought attention to the

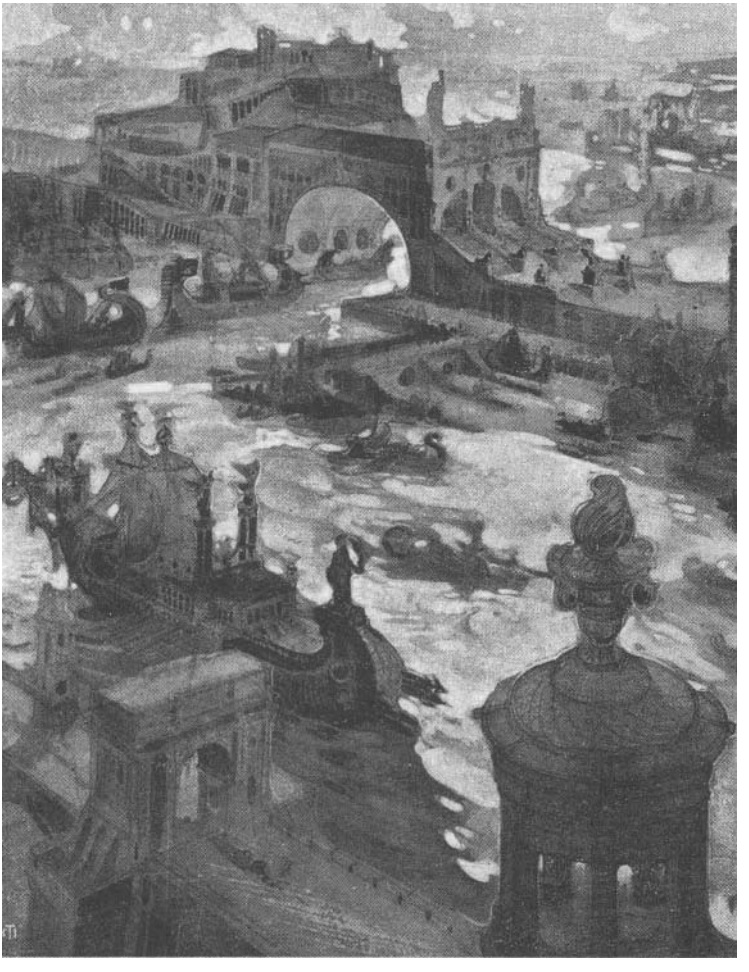

Figure 4.2. Lepcis Magna, fantastic reconstruction; Touring Club Italiano. Rivista Mensile 18, 1912, 59.

previous Roman presence. This presence represented, in the view of Italian colonial ideology, both the highlight of the history of the country and the predecessor of Italian sovereignty.

Bartoccini's calculation worked out. Based upon this new concept, the continuing excavations were generously supported by Volpi and his successors. The remnants of the late phase of the Tripolitanian cities, up to the first century of Arabic rule, were mostly disposed of. As a rule, the buildings in the Roman city were usually constructed to be solid, enduring and to have a representative form.

This meant that the remainder of the later settlement, which consisted mostly of modifications, adaptations or reuse of the older building material, could be belittled as a deformation of the earlier city structure. It was never considered that these later remains represented extremely valuable evidence of a period from which almost no written sources have survived.

The work that was being concentrated on the Roman urban phase therefore led to the destruction of important evidence from other periods. Because of the revised plan, which incorporated a larger area of excavation for visitation purposes, the digging speed was dramatically increased. The result was that all of the archaeological features were poorly recorded, including those of the Roman period. Additionally, this was taking place within a situation that was highly politicized and which displayed increasing cultural narrow-mindedness. The archaeological heritage of the sites was therefore not only conveyed in a very simplified way, but at the same time, this simplification was stained by political ideology.

When it took power, fascism inherited the colonial policy of the late liberal Cabinet, and at the same time, their strongly historicized argument for the legitimacy of their involvement in North Africa (Munzi, 2001, this volume). The quick implementation of a confrontational and repressive colonial policy required a broadening of the ideological basis of their argumentation. The tradition of Italian colonialism reflecting strongly upon the time when Rome had provinces in North Africa, gave fascism a special relationship to colonial archaeology.

The evidence for the selective paralleling between a classical and a modern Romano-Italian colonization is multitudinous—in terms of politics as well as that of archaeology. Based on this extremely simple view of history, the fascists postulated that in antiquity there would have been large numbers of Latin immigrants who came to the Tripolitanian part of the Roman province of *Africa Proconsularis*. Their view was that this influx of population was responsible for the economic upturn of the region during the Roman imperial period. This assumption was false, since no Roman colony was ever built within the Tripolitanian *territorium* and the economic development in the time of the Empire was actually based upon the traditional Punic-Libyan irrigation system and agriculture, and also because under the prevailing conditions of the *imperium* the inhabitants were given access to new markets (Mattingly, 1995; Shaw, 1984). The false colonial view of history could have been examined and corrected at an early stage using archaeological means, however it was indispensable for legitimating the occupation of Libya in the twentieth century. Beginning in the 1920s, Italian archaeology was placed under pressure to accept an official view of history as an unshakeable premise that was then used as the basis for the archaeologists' own research. Under this premise, there was little value in the late antique, early Islamic and the Phoenician phases—the latter especially, was viewed with increasingly anti-Semitic undertones. In particular, Roberto Paribeni was to make his mark with a series of articles on this theme (e.g., Paribeni, 1924/25).

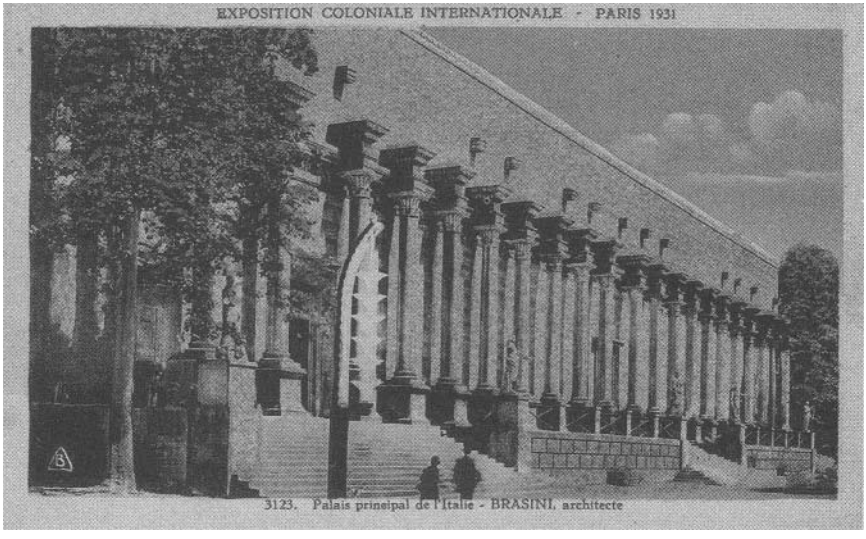

Figure 4.3. Paris, International Colonial Exhibition 1931, Italian pavilion; postcard.

As a consequence, the presentation of Roman Tripolitania demanded monumental restoration and reconstruction. The most lavish of these projects to be realized was the partial reconstruction of the theater at Sabratha. A plan to rebuild the Severan basilica in Lepcis was left on the shelf. Nevertheless, the scheme came to be publicized in 1931 at the international colonial exhibition in Paris, where Armando Brasini, the architect of the reconstruction of the castle in Tripoli, erected an excessively imaginative life-size replica (figure 4.3).

Cyrene was the most important archaeological target for the pioneers in Federico Halbherr's camp. From the beginning however, the exploration of this place was ill starred. Because of its favorable strategic position and comfortable climate, Cyrene had become the headquarters of the army stationed in Cyrenaica since the beginning of the occupation. Similar to Tripolitania, the archaeological sites in eastern Libya had suffered as a consequence of the war, and the presence of a *soprintendente* in remote Benghazi was largely ineffective. Additionally, the serious personal disputes that continued for many years had a negative outcome on the Cyrenaican *soprintendenza*.

A fortunate accident led to the first archaeological investigations in Cyrene at the end of 1913: in December, torrential rainfall led to the exposure of a statue of Venus. The find was a sensation and was reason enough to carry out exploratory excavations in the immediate area. The first excavations revealed the remains of the Hadrianic baths within the Sanctuary of Apollo. However when the fascists came to power in Rome, they displayed their dissatisfaction

with the results of the excavations in Cyrene and in 1923 brought them to a halt.

Due to interventions on the highest political level, this decision was revised in 1924. A solution was found for Cyrene that in the context of Libyan colonial archaeology was both singular and positive. A team of specialists with varying fields of interest were brought together. Apart from the routine work of the Cyrenaican *soprintendenza*, they were expected to carry out a season of excavation in Cyrene every year. The work of the Cyrene mission had an altogether positive outcome. However, the long-term program of work by the mission was terminated in 1938. With the direct intervention of the governor Italo Balbo, the responsibility for Cyrene was once more given to the *soprintendenza* and the excavations were to be expanded and accelerated.

Once Libya had been completely unified, the final phase of colonial archaeology witnessed the logical conclusion of the tendencies that had been initiated in Tripolitania. The situation in Cyrenaica also fitted this model. Contemporaries coined the systematic and complete restructuring of archaeology as "totalitarian." The major players during this phase were the interventionist governor Italo Balbo and the incumbent *soprintendente* Giacomo Caputo.

A special characteristic of this new chapter was the promotion of tourism (Altekamp, 1999). Up until this juncture, only very few tourists had sporadically visited the ancient monuments, and so for propagandist reasons as well as economic ones, the government facilitated the beginning of organized mass tourism (cf. Stone, 1998:170–174). An infrastructure was put in place to cater to package and group tours. The tour choices were carefully compiled and matched to each other. This honing was designed to create an overwhelming visual impact for the often-inexperienced holidaymaker. Archaeology fitted seamlessly into this scheme. The planned tours required a good mix of attractions that were evenly distributed and exclusive. This led to the need for a few quintessential and equally dispersed archaeological parks. Three stopping points were allocated to Tripolitania: Sabratha, Lepcis and lastly Tripolis for its museum. Cyrenaica was under-represented. Because of this, the work of the Cyrene-mission was stopped and new excavations were begun in Ptolemaïs. Nearly all the available resources flowed into the development of the main sites of the *turismo archeologico*. Most other activities outside of these centers came to a standstill, whilst large teams worked all year round in the four major locations.

3. STRUCTURAL OBSERVATIONS

It was normal for the early efforts of colonial archaeology to be systematically devalued during the fascist period (e.g., Bartoccini, 1924/25; Piccioli, 1934). The

accusations were targeted at the supposed lack of concept and a corresponding dearth of tangible results from the early work.

Indeed, the activities of the first ten years were without coherence and any conspicuous effect. Even if these deficits were ameliorated under fascism, this was connected to the fact that the work of the archaeological service retreated from a scholarly methodology. Concepts and working practices of the nineteenth century were left behind and archaeology was integrated into a newly defined cultural-political and ideological framework. The functionaries of the earlier phase of colonial archaeology on the other hand, had tried to implement their work within the traditional institutional and legal relationships.

To be able to properly highlight these differences, it requires a summary of the changes in legal, personnel and financial situations of the archaeological service: the *soprintendenze* in Italy were, and still are, answerable to the *direzione generale delle antichità e belle arti*. The supervision of Libyan archaeology was taken away from this specialist hierarchy in 1912 and handed to the newly-founded colonial ministry which assumed the management of all executive and administrative functions of the colony. The ministry in Rome and the regional governments within the colony competed for the practical authority of Libya. The determined governors in Libya won the upper hand, *de facto*, and control of most of the practical undertakings. This activity made the politicizing of colonial archaeology easier, and more susceptible to ideological influence.

Amongst other things, the colonial administration was responsible for producing publications. A weighty archaeological periodical, entitled *Notiziario Archeologico*, was published until the 1920s. On the order of Rome, *Notiziario* was replaced with the journal *Africa Italiana*. The presentation of *Africa Italiana* was deliberately orientated to a wider audience, and markedly scholastic contributions were unwelcome. The more academic offerings began to be replaced by other publications. In a narrow sense, a specialist periodical for Libyan archaeology ceased to exist, and the archaeological service brought out fewer and fewer impressions.

The budget of the colonial ministry, and enactments relating to the reinvestment of funds by the colonial government can be found within published acts of parliament from this period. From these files it is possible to reconstruct the financial situation of the archaeological service in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The official budget is distinguished by two types of expenditure: that of a more scheduled and continuous nature, and that of a discontinuous and extraordinary character. The scheduled funds of a *soprintendenza* were only really sufficient to cover the salaries of the permanent staff. Only the scheduled finance flowed regularly in both areas of the colony, but the Cyrenaica sites tended to receive the greater proportion of the total. This situation did not seem to correspond to the esteem in which they were held. The extraordinary funds were only employed for excavations and similar uses, and Tripolitania secured the priority over them;

this reflected the consensus view of both government and archaeology in the early years, as well as matching the demands for the larger excavations. In the 1920s and early 1930s considerably more money went to Tripolitania. After the unification of both parts of the colony, the budget for Libya as a whole was kept at a relatively high level.

The delegating of archaeologists in Libya was in contrast to that of the financial expenditure. Before the fascist period, there were sometimes up to five archaeologists simultaneously working in Libya, even though the area of securely controlled territory was often very limited. Later, when the budget was increasing and the area of the territory requiring supervision grew, the number of archaeologists was clearly reduced. In the final phase, the desk-bound *soprintendente* was the only archaeologist in the country, whilst the augmented number of staff of the archaeology service consisted mostly of technicians and architects.

The transformation of archaeology in Libya stood in sharp contradiction to the requirements of professional standards, which had meanwhile been internationally established. Research reveals that around the time of the First World War and just after, archaeological methods were being used that are normally first attributed to the phase after the Second World War. The first decades of the century experienced a particularly innovative phase of field archaeology. However, the relative achievements of this time were not widely recognized.

Even though each new development was headed in a similar direction conceptually, in practice, they remained isolated from each other. Even within the discipline, the knowledge of these accomplishments is to a greater extent, buried. Although archaeology is normally well aware of its own tradition, in this case it has let an important chapter of its history slip through its hands. Ironically, the contribution of Italian archaeology is particularly noteworthy within this context, especially because its value has not been fully recognized.

A characteristic of the various new innovations is an increased interest in all of the material culture within a given archaeological landscape. This widening of horizons mainly involved the deployment of more advanced methods of prospection, inventory, and documentation. Amongst other things, this involved the development of aerial photography, the production of archaeological maps and the establishment of the principles of stratigraphic excavation.

The beginnings of authentic aerial photography probably lie in the years at the turn of the twentieth century (Alvisi, 1989; Della Volpe, 1980). The earliest results of aerial photography, in a true sense, were those of the vertical photographs taken during the excavations of Giacomo Boni in the years 1899/1900. The pictures were taken from a balloon, in collaboration with a specialist unit from an engineer's regiment, which had been experimenting with aerial photography. With further test photographs, the military noticed that the vertical photograph allowed the identification of archaeological features that could not be made out on ground level. A professional relationship developed between the military

photo-reconnaissance team and the archaeologists Giacomo Boni, Rodolfo Lanciani and Giovanni Gargiolli. The latter of these later went on to found the *Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale.*

After the outbreak of the Italian-Turkish war, members of the same reconnaissance unit were posted to Libya. They integrated aerial reconnaissance into the ongoing military operations, but also made it clear that their aerial photos had civil implications. They also brought up the subject of archaeology. Prominent monuments were photographed, like the amphitheater in Sabratha. They also noticed that the ancient harbor construction in Sabratha was visible under the surface of the sea. In this context, it is interesting that a similar harbor structure in Lepcis Magna was only discovered by archaeologists at the end of the 1980s.

A pupil of Lanciani, Guiseppe Lugli, petitioned fruitlessly during the twenties for an increase in the amount of aerial photography being undertaken in Italy for archaeological purposes. Although a national commission for aerial photography was finally formed in 1938, it never came to undertake any practical work. On an international level, the work of Osbert Crawford in England during the 1920s is regarded as being the beginning of this archaeological discipline. From this point an historical line is drawn directly to later developments such as a series of photos taken of Italy by the R.A.F. around the end of the Second World War; this was responsible for a new stimulation in Italian research. The traces of their own (now discontinued) tradition were lost in the background of these later developments.

Turning to the field of cartography, there were international efforts to draw-up archaeological maps of the provinces of the Roman Empire immediately after World War II (Talbert, 1992). Osbert Crawford acted as one of the initiators, just as he had done with aerial photography. Familiar Italian academics also took a leading role in its conception, like Rodolfo Lanciani and Guiseppe Lugli. The "Forma Romani Imperii" project was stimulated by the *Accademia dei Lincei.* International working-committees met constantly under the patronage of the "International Geographical Union," and congresses were held. Even the *soprintendente* for Libya, Giacomo Guidi, was delegated in 1935 in London. The international activities cross-fertilized with national projects. Guiseppe Lugli produced a pilot publication in 1922, in the form of a *carta archeologica d'Italia*, for the area of Terracina/Circeo. The lengthy series, *Forma Italiae*, began in 1926 with the first volume "Anxur-Terracina." In France, the *carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine* appeared in the late 1920s from the directive of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.* In 1924 the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain first brought out their archaeological maps.

In Libya, the conditions for the establishment of an archaeological map were good from the beginning. The *Istituto Geografico Militare* had started to draw-up several series of maps, to various scales, right after the beginning of the occupation. Numerous archaeological monuments had already been placed on them. On this

basis, special maps could have been generated at very low cost. In 1928 Bartoccini suggested this idea, but it was never pursued.

Two strands of development led to an integrated protection of the archaeological sources in their entirety:

1. Legislation for the protection of archaeological sites and the development of a doctrine for heritage management.
2. The introduction of the principles of stratigraphic excavation.

3.1. Heritage Management

The Italian law No. 364 from 20th June 1909 provided for the protection of national assets under the categories: historical, archaeological, prehistoric and artistic. National discussions about a heritage management doctrine, both then and later, emphasized early on the worth of archaeological sites in their diachronic entirety. This meant that archaeology had the duty to document all historical phases of a site.

The Italians had an authoritative participation in the drawing-up of the Charter of Athens 1931, which made these same principles obligatory as a part of international professional work ethics in archaeology. In the same year, a ministerial decree made the charter a norm in Italy.

3.2. Stratigraphy

Stratigraphic excavation as an archaeological method also became a norm. It allowed archaeologists to be able to properly excavate and record complex deposits. This technique was already being used in Italy in the nineteenth century (Barbanera, 1998; Manacorda, 1982). Around the turn of the twentieth century, the excavations of Giacomo Boni in the *Forum Romanum* had constituted a milestone in the history of classical archaeology. In two classic articles, Boni set down the general principles of the stratigraphic technique (Boni, 1901, 1913).

Also in Libya, isolated stratigraphic excavations were taking place. The last *soprintendente,* Caputo, explicitly referred to the technique, although as we have seen, most excavations were consciously refraining from using it.

The methodological standards of the time would have required, at least, the recording of all of the architectural changes to the structural remains through time, if not their preservation. However, this was ignored in practice. Some photographs of the period convey an impression of the interpretative potential of the hastily removed late antique and early Arab habitation remains. At least the drawn record seems to have been accepted by contemporaries as being obligatory, in theory. The summary documentation proves that when the opportunity arose, the excavations

in Libya sporadically made drawings (Caputo, 1987: plate 1f). To a greater extent, Rome provides examples that are more impressive and are today easier to analyze. The plans of Wilhelm Dörpfeld are an early and well-known document in the history of archaeology, which display the late- and post-antique structures in the sanctuary at Olympia (Curtius and Adler, 1897: plate 5a/b).

These efforts put into expanding the traditional limits of the methods of field archaeology, coincided with the intellectually formative phase of the *Annales* school of historians. Interestingly, Marc Bloch also developed as an early advocate for the use of aerial photography, especially for the research of agrarian history, based on his experience as an officer in reconnaissance during the First World War (Raulff, 1995: 101–107. 109f. 124f.). One is impressed by the coexisting far-sightedness in the representatives of the varying disciplines in regard to the number of their innovations. The participants were probably not aware of each other. However, archaeology was decades behind the developments in social and economic history that had been established by the mid-century. During this time the archaeological source material was being constantly reduced, not least by archaeology itself.

4. FASCISM AND ARCHAEOLOGY

It has been often judged that classical archaeology enjoyed an especially privileged status under fascism. This requires revision. Fascism broke away from the nineteenth century tradition in archaeology of seeing the state as a cultural guardian (*Kulturstaat*). It usurped the state monopoly in archaeology and its administrative apparatus. It quashed, however, the link between classical archaeology and the high culture of the educated bourgeoisie. Fascism also removed the obligation for archaeology to be conducted according to scholarly principles. The anti-positivistic reaction had led the introverted archaeological experts to a crisis; there was a new demand for archaeology to have a broader relevance and a better and more up-to-date public interface. Fascism dismantled the isolation of archaeology and integrated it into a new divulging and propagandist context, which was partly conveyed through multimedia. For the first time archaeology came into contact with a broader public. Propaganda and archaeology complemented each other and in combination they were able to confer an avant-garde character (cf. Stone, 1998: 95–127).

Already in the pre-fascist period, field archaeology had not the means to fulfil the potential that came from the corresponding and concurrent advances in archaeological theory. On a scholarly level, archaeology had come to require a greater investment in both time and money; it demanded a greater number of experts with specialist training. The fascist concept provided an answer to these

problems simply by brushing aside scholarly developments and their expensive requirements. It should also be taken into account that the methodological advances in archaeology had lacked public awareness or support from the state. Field archaeology therefore regressed and undertook large and hasty excavations in the style of the early and mid-nineteenth century. It became once again that which the general public imagined archaeology to be. This transformation was made easier by the exploitation of an Italian tradition that stemmed from days of the unification of the state: the stylizing of familiar examples of Roman architecture as national symbols (Williams, 1993).

In Libya under later Italian colonial rule, a scholarly institution, struggling with problems of identity and isolation, was consequently adjusted to new needs which pushed aside inherited principles. While institutions continued, cultural traditions were cut off. State field archaeology lost its close ties with scholarly evolution, and handling of the archaeological heritage was designed to meet political and economic purposes. A reshaped archaeology contributed to communicate non-verbal political messages; it gained media status. Archaeologists whose professional, and also partly, social existence had been affected eventually participated in this process. They agreed to mutate from academics to politicized cultural functionaries. This change of role for the archaeologists happened to coincide with a change of generation: in the realm of innovators and organizers of non-domestic archaeology, there was a succession from the likes of Federico Halbherr and Gaetano de Sanctis to those of Roberto Paribeni; in the area of the domestic *soprindententi*, Salvatore Aurigemma and Pietro Romanelli were succeeded, for example, by Giacomo Caputo.

Fascist colonial archaeology in Libya is a very particular historical case, and at the same time, is representative of the development of archaeology. Despite the specific historical situation, the circumstances in Libya depict the concept of archaeology as being apparently structurally fragile. This concept involves archaeology being undertaken as a public service with support of the taxpayer.

Archaeology is burdened with two things: the expense of carrying out field archaeology, and paradoxically, its appeal and popularity. The general desire for a handling of the past's material remains competes with archaeology in a narrow sense, i.e. with the academic, regulated and exclusive pursuit that is reliant on various media for the transmission of its results. Because there is a perceptible power generated by the public's fascination with the past, this makes scholarly archaeology vulnerable to ideological or economically motivated intervention from forces that seek to exploit this power to their own ends.

The specific historical circumstances of the nineteenth century created a refuge for scholarly archaeology, but the intermezzo of fascism demonstrated how changing cultural and political conditions were able to destroy this protection as quickly as it had been created.[1]

Note

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Chapter 5

Italian Archaeology in Libya
From Colonial Romanità to Decolonization of the Past

MASSIMILIANO MUNZI

1. FOREWORD

Italian imperialism in Africa, especially in Libya, was from the start connected with the ideology of Romanità. Of course, Italy's colonial experience ended traumatically with the disaster of WWII, followed by the collective removal of all signs of fascism, including also the abandonment of the Romano-centrism of Italian archaeology. However, sketching a picture of what were potentially important scientific enterprises, while at the same time facing evidence for hurried, non-stratigraphic excavations subordinated to political ideologies, is a tax that contemporary Italian archaeology must now have the courage to pay. Archaeology played a fundamental role in building the ideology of the historical right of Rome to Libyan land. As a result, the political powers turned particular attention to the discipline and to classical studies, in general. Fascism enlarged greatly and rapidly the already strong recognition of the political value of Romanità and of Roman archaeology, thereby permanently binding the concept of Romanità to itself.

2. COLONIAL ROMANITÀ: FRENCH PRECEDENTS AND THE FIRST ITALIAN EXPERIMENTS

The invention of the myth of Rome as modern political tool goes back to the French revolution and, given the comparisons of George Washington to the

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Roman General Cincinnatus, even to the American revolution. With Simon Bolivar, the myth of Rome in Latin America began: in August 1808 while visiting Rome, the *libertador* stood on Monte Sacro, where the plebeians withdrew during the struggles with the patricians (in 494 and 449 BC), and took a solemn oath to dismantle the Spanish colonial empire (Syme, 1958). In North Africa, already in the first half of the 19th century, French colonialism in Algeria and Tunisia was ennobled by comparisons to Roman colonization, from which it claimed a political and civilizing inheritance. The *Armée d'Afrique* was considered a direct heir of the *Exercitus Africae*. In the legionary camp of Lambaesis, the French garrison in 1849 restored the tomb of the *praefectus legionis III Augustae*, T. Flavius Maximus, affixing a memorial inscription which honored the Roman commandant (Dondin-Payre, 1991). In the meantime, French antiquarians dedicated their studies to the Roman military organization in Africa. René Cagnat arrived to affirm, in his monumental work on the Roman army of Africa, the supremacy of French, as compared to Roman, colonialism: "like them [the Romans] we have gloriously conquered the country, like them we have assured the occupation . . . the only difference is that we did in 50 years more than they did in 300" (Cagnat, 1892:V, 769–778).

The ideology of colonial Romanità, elaborated in France, found fertile ground in the recently unified Italy. But in Italy, the Roman myth gained greater meaning. The claim of historical rights to African regions became part of a mounting nationalism, which employed the idea of the empire of Rome as a tool supporting a policy of expanding international power. The first Italian application of this theme to a colonial situation goes back to the expansion in East Africa at the end of the 19th century. A slab, walled in the façade of the Senatorial Palace on the Campidoglio, was dedicated "to the glorious soldiers of Dogali which, with outstanding value, exceeded the legend of the Fabii." But, similar opinions—that Italy could boast a Roman inheritance for the purposes of supporting colonial expansion—were shared by most members of the international colonial élite. This sheds light on what the famous English explorer, Henry Morton Stanley, meant when he wrote, in 1890, in the introduction to the Italian edition of his book on the exploration of Congo: "Let us hope that the first steps taken in Africa by unified Italy, heir of the Roman name and of the Roman reputation, of the Roman genius and of the Roman spirit of undertaking, are healthy clues that it will emulate the vigour with which ancient Rome was marching without rest towards the apex of reputation and glory" (Stanley, 1890, II:XII).

3. THE ITALO-TURKISH WAR: THE IDEOLOGY OF ROMANITÀ AS A POLITICAL TOOL

Tragically stopped in Ethiopia at Adua, anticipated by the French in Tunisia, Italian colonial imperialism turned to Libya. The war of 1911–1912, launched

by the Giolitti cabinet, found wide support in parliament and from the public, and the myth of civilizing Rome came to assume an important role among the motivations which underpinned the enterprise. But Romanità was not accepted by everybody, not even within the Nationalist movements. Italy at the beginning of the 20th century saw two antithetical nationalisms, the attitudes of which towards the classical tradition were diametrically opposed, though their destinies were both intertwined with fascism.

The Futurist movement violently expressed a modernist Italianism, characterized by struggles against tradition and archaeology, which we discover in the writings of Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, Umberto Boccioni, and Giovanni Papini. The Italo-Turkish war was exalted by the Futurists as a first opportunity to affirm an Italian colonialism backed up by weapons. Marinetti celebrated the Tripoli battle, for example comparing a trench bristling with bayonets to an orchestra, a machine gun to a dangerous woman.

To the contrary, the topic of Italy as the heir to Rome in Libya found great resonance in the circles of the Nationalist Association, whose leader, Enrico Corradini, visited Tripolitania and Cyrenaica on the eve of the war, in the months of June-August 1911. During this visit he was introduced to the rhetoric of the return of Rome, probably influenced by a meeting with the Italian archaeological mission then operating in Tripolitania. Corradini left a description in his travel diary of the meeting in Tripoli with archaeologists. The politician and the archaeologists were astonished by the great fertility of the land of the oases around Tripoli: "Under the plants you see the transformation of the sand into compact, grassy, excellent land. I and the friends of the archaeological mission, Beguinot and Aurigemma, are enthusiastic" (Corradini, 1911:73–74). But above all, Corradini expressed for the first time in a complete way the archaeological motivations for the conquest (Corradini, 1911:193–206):

> But everywhere there are the ruins of the ancient civilizations; wherever the Roman olive tree is still leafing . . . And on our way we found Roman wheels. And the Roman concrete bases, the dams of stones down the slopes of the wadis in order to terrace the good land. And the Roman tanks and the other hydraulic works. And finally the Roman castle that protected the best of the agricultural works. All, so to speak, of the skeleton of the wonderful Roman administration is still there in the loneliness of Cyrenaica, standing against the huts and the flocks of Arabic inertia, against the wires of telegraph, the only sign that the Ottoman Empire is declining. I am not the author of classical memory, but I assert that Cyrenaica, where some see only the hut of the Bedouin, the small fields and the cliffs, waits for new agriculturists and new rulers in order to come back to new life. You must look carefully at the Cyrenaic plateau. The greatest part of the way, that I traveled from Derna to Cyrene, is seeded with ruins.

At the same time, the poet Giuseppe Lipparini dedicated to an imaginary Roman legionary buried at Lepcis Magna these verses: "Roma returns. I feel the

Figure 5.1. Popular Italian postcard with the caption: "Italy brandishes the sword of ancient Rome."

gods wandering over the desert: today the glory that was comes back" (Del Boca, 1986:149). A drawing by Fortunato Matania illustrates this poetic image perfectly. It was published by the English review *The Sphere* and soon reproduced in a popular postcard with the caption: "Italy brandishes the sword of ancient Rome." The engraving, dedicated "To the Italian sailors fighting in Tripolitania," portrays a sailor, immediately upon disembarking on the beach of Tripoli, collecting the sword (*gladius*) of a legionary, half-buried in a dune (figure 5.1).

The dream of the return to Libya found poetic accents in the works of Giovanni Pascoli and Gabriele D'Annunzio. In the famous oration *La grande proletaria si è mossa*, held in the theatre of Barga on November 26, 1911 and published in *La Tribuna* on November 27th, Pascoli summarized the topics beloved of the imperialistic party, mixing expressions of social concern, such as the need for outlets for demographic increase and emigration, with the claim of the historical right of Italy in Libya, as a direct heir of the Roman empire and, like it, a bearer of civilization (Pascoli, 1946:557–569; cf. Segrè, 1978:30–32 and Cagnetta, 1979:17–19):

> An immense region that in the past, thanks to the work of our ancestors, was rich of water and harvests, and green of trees and of garden . . . Rome is there, too . . . Tripoli, Berenike, Lepcis Magna . . . you see again, after many centuries, the Doric colonists and the Roman legions! Look up: there are also the eagles.

The interconnection between colonialism and Romanità became a lyric topic in the words of the Victory of the *Canzone d'oltre mare*, written by D'Annunzio in 1912 (D'Annunzio, 1915:8–9; see Cagnetta, 1980):

> Ch'io mi discalzi presso la fiumana
> di Rumia bella, dove il suo meandro
> nutre l'olivo a Pallade romana,
> Ch'io pieghi e chiuda un ramo d'oleandro
> in Lebda, nella cuna di colui
> che suggellò la tomba d'Alessandro.
> Ch'io m'abbeveri là dove già fui,
> non per l'umide argille alla caverna
> onde il Lete discende i regni bui,
> ma per l'aride sabbie alla cisterna
> di Roma, che nell'ombra una silente
> linfa conserva e una memoria eterna.
> Con me, con me verso il Deserto ardente
> con me verso il deserto senza sfingi
> che aspetta l'arma il solco e la semente.
> Con me stirpe ferace che t'accingi
> nova a riprofondar la traccia antica
> in cui te stessa ed il tuo fato attingi.

The rhetoric of the return of Rome also found meaningful expression in iconographic propaganda, for example in the medals: the issue of the Varese royal ship commemorating the landing at Tripoli, evokes the drawing by Matania of the Marco Polo royal ship, commemorating the landing at Khoms on October 21st, 1911. It depicts the ruins and the palms of Lepcis Magna and bears the inscription *Leptis Magna anno CVII a.C.—Homs ottobre 1911*. Another popular patriotic medal was dedicated "To the Italian army that on the Libyan fields is renewing the glories of Rome" (figure 5.2) (Johnson, 1914:nn. 3, 13, 61).

The Roman topic reached even the monuments for fallen soldiers. A relief at Magliano in Sabina represents three *Bersaglieri* in the battle of Sciara Sciat oasis; at their rear, a Roman Corinthian column stands out; the inscription reminds that they "died fighting in the Roman way for the greatness of the new Italy."

4. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CONQUEST: ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND SOLDIERS

The archaeological missions prepared the ground for the military and political conquest. The Italian archaeologists, led by Federico Halbherr, arrived for the first time in Libya in 1910 and came back in 1911, a few months before the landing of the troops. The scientific motivations that moved this first archaeological enterprise

Figure 5.2. Patriotic medal dedicated "To the Italian army that on the Libyan fields is renewing the glories of Rome." Diameter = 28 mm.

were just a veil for the more substantial political motivations (Aurigemma, 1930; Di Vita, 1983:71, 1986; Petricioli, 1990:91–149). The Italian interest was turned first towards Cyrene, where the American mission of Richard Norton was working. The existing tension between the two missions was exacerbated by the murder of the American archaeologist Helbert Fletcher De Cou, of which the Italians were accused (Goodchild, 1976:290–297; Uhlenbrock, 1998).

The Italian mission did manage to lead the first scientific explorations in Tripolitania. In 1910, Gaetano De Sanctis also arrived, with Halbherr, in Libya. The Catholic historian thought that Italy should complete its civilizing mission in Africa, started by imperial Rome. De Sanctis compared modern colonized Africa with the ancient barbarian West, conquered and carried to civilization by Rome (Canfora, 1976:25–28; Cagnetta, 1979:25–29; Gabba, 1995:60–61, 312). The

following year Salvatore Aurigemma, later director (*soprintendente*) of Tripolitanian antiquities, and the orientalist Francisco Beguinot discovered the important Christian cemetery of the Arabic period at Ain Zara (Aurigemma, 1932) and met the nationalist leader Enrico Corradini at Tripoli.

With the onset of military operations, Libyan antiquities became familiar to the Italians. Excavation of trenches, works for fortifications, roads and quartering caused vandalism but also archaeological discoveries. In particular, the fortuitous discovery of the statue of the Ephesian Artemis, by the *Bersaglieri* in 1912 during the construction of the fort on the hill of the amphitheater at Lepcis Magna, boded well for the work of Italian archaeologists in Libya. Ancient monumental tombs, fortified farms and blockhouses, like the structure on the Mergheb, were often reused for military purposes, already in the years 1911–1912. Some monuments were damaged or destroyed, but at the same time others were documented and mapped.

5. THE "FASCISING" OF ITALIAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN LIBYA

In fascist ideology, Romanità assumed a central role only after the March on Rome (on October 28th, 1922), due principally to the fusion of the party with the Nationalist Association in 1923. By the time they had taken complete power, in 1925–1926, a nationalistic attitude towards Rome was in place. Ancient Rome became the mythical-historical archetype of the new Italia: the myth of Rome, recovered in a modernistic key, permeated the cult and the liturgies of fascism, to the point that the regime tried to make the Italians the Romans of modernity, a people of citizen-soldiers devoted to the religion of the state (Giardina and Vauchez, 2000:212–296; Visser, 1992; on myths and cults of the fascist state, Gentile, 1993, 1996:397–490, 1999:237–268).

In the hands of the regime, the Roman idea of empire became a useful theoretical and propagandistic instrument in the politics of expansion in Africa (Cagnetta, 1977, 1979, 1991–1992). Italian antiquarians and archaeologists were conscious instruments of political strategies. They were almost integrally joined to fascist ideological directives (Canfora, 1976, 1980:76–103; Manacorda, 1982; Manacorda and Tamassia, 1985). Thanks to conspicuous ministerial grants, they could lead excavations of immense size, which permitted them to bring to light entire sectors of ancient coastal towns.

Different from the pre-fascist period, the search for and valorization of the past were functional to the ideological structures of the present. Scientific and propagandistic publications exalted the connections between Roman colonization and the work of Italy in Libya. The ancient systems of irrigation were studied as functional examples to be followed in the present; the ancient farms, thought to be houses for military colonists, prefigured fascist colonial politics favoring veterans.

6. THE METHODS OF ITALIAN COLONIAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The objectives the archaeologists hoped to achieve in Libya were restricted to the Roman period, at the cost of the hurried removal of later, post-classic strata. This procedure was stigmatized by the archaeologists who arrived in Tripolitania with the British Eighth Army. While excavations and restorations went on very quickly, due to their obvious political and propagandistic values, the related publications were delayed decades or never appeared (Bianchi Bandinelli, 1961:8–9; Bianchi Bandinelli, Caputo, and Vergara Caffarelli, 1963:15). In colonial, but also in metropolitan, excavations, Italian archaeologists lacked a culture of scientific and methodological approaches. The standard *modus operandi* was not only removed from contemporary English stratigraphic procedures, but it was also a marked step backwards compared to the stratigraphic experiments of Giacomo Boni at the beginning of the 20th century.

Within the debate on the archaeology of the fascist age, started in the '70s, the colonial archaeologists were accused of vandalism (Manacorda, 1983; Altekamp, 1995, 1998; Barbanera, 1998:129–130). This judgement, now, must be placed in historical context, remembering the methodological backwardness in the fatherland, too. Militant archaeologists did not respect stratigraphical contexts in Rome any more than in Lepcis Magna, Sabratha and Cyrene.

The Italian fieldwork in the colony must moreover be compared with other European experiences in North African or Near Eastern protectorates and colonies. In North Africa, the best comparison is with the French archaeological research in the Maghreb. In Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, as in Libya, the monumental buildings of the Roman cities and the military camps, precious *signa imperii*, came to light via huge, though not stratigraphical, excavations.

7. COLONIAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND RACISM: CARTHAGINIANS AND GARAMANTES

In the interview given to the German Jewish journalist Emil Ludwig in 1932, Mussolini denied the existence of anti-semitism in Italy. He reaffirmed the same position in a famous speech at the fifth Fair of the Levant of Bari, on September 6th, 1934. On this occasion, the *duce* ridiculed the German racial doctrine "conceived by the progeny of people who ignored the writing with which to hand down the documents of their own life, at a time when Rome had Caesar, Vergilius and Augustus" (Ludwig, 1932:75–76; Mussolini, 1935:124).

With the conquest of the Ethiopian empire, fascist colonial politics took an abrupt racist turn. The change, which started in the colonial context in 1936, culminated with the anti-indigenous and anti-Semite legislation of 1938–1939. At that point, the classic colonial racist worries, like those about "half-breeds" and

mixed marriages, were incorporated into a legislative corpus influenced by the Nazi experience. The staunchest faction of Italian racists, in a grotesque paradox, even deplored an emperor like Caracalla. He received a modern *damnatio memoriae,* not only for his Siriac and African ancestry, but also, and most of all, for his politics, in particular his willingness to grant citizenship to urban members of the empire, which was not acceptable given the new Italian imperial ideology. In the first issue of the racist review *La Difesa della Razza* (*The Defence of the Race*), the young editorial secretary Giorgio Almirante, who after the war was leader-secretary of the neo-fascist Italian party (*Movimento Sociale Italiano*), wrote (Almirante, 1938:29):

> The edict of Caracalla—son of the African Septimius Severus born in Gallia, at Lyon—represents the logical conclusion of Severan politics . . . Caracalla, who introduced to Rome the cults of Isis and Serapis, is of such syncretism the faithful personification. African of race, Celtic of morals, he is not at all a Roman emperor and he cannot behave like one. He acts today like the denigrators of racism act in the so-called democratic countries; it makes Rome the crucible in which all people can mix themselves with impunity; and in such a way he hurries the fall of the ancient civilization, that it is the civilization of the Italic race . . . Lacking in the sense of the race, he favours the half-breeds; making citizens of Rome the half-breeds born from the unions of Roman soldiers with the *peregrinae*, to which until that time, enforced by the provincial Minicia law, citizenship had been denied . . . He gives, in one word, the victory to the inner barbarism that, undermining the sense of the race, undermined the same bases of the Empire; and he leads the way to the victory of an external barbarism that will take two centuries and a half to become definitive only thanks to the extraordinary force of resistance of the civil and politic institutions created by the race of Rome. This was the ruining work of the emperor Caracalla: born in Lyon, as said, and called with this name in order to ridicule his maniacal habit to dress himself in Gallic style. The French disease, as it is looked at, is of ancient date.

In that popular review, Almirante exasperated many authorities, especially historians and jurists, like De Sanctis and Pietro De Francisci, the latter chancellor of the University of Rome since 1935 and high priest of fascist Romanità. But a segment of the fascist *intellighenzia* was for a racial attitude directly modelled on the Roman one. They claimed that the diversity of Italian imperial racism was in fact contradicted by the hierarchical classification of the races within the empire, brought fully up-to-date to meet the needs of the colonial mentality of the time. The idea of a racial hierarchy was followed by a difficult fight against the so-called "half-breed" phenomenon, which included a polemic against the French colonialists, guilty of not having sufficiently protected against racial mixing (Cagnetta, 1979:97–105; Surdich, 1991:443–448).

In this confused and conflicting context, the biases towards two people of ancient Libya, the Carthaginians and the Garamantes, originated. Of the

Carthaginians, compared sometimes with modern Englishmen, sometimes with Jews, there had been a negative opinion for some time. The journalistic rhetoric of pre-fascist Italy was influenced by the formula Carthage = modern plutocracy, formulated in those years by Georges Sorel. Anti-Carthaginian positions, connected to the aversion for plutocratic British colonialism, permeated the antiquarian world, reaching even De Sanctis (1931:212, 1964:75; see Canfora, 1976:25–28), and was clearly articulated in the words of Roberto Paribeni, the director general of Italian Antiquities (Paribeni, 1930:3–8; see Altekamp, 2000:156–157):

> The Romans are an agricultural people, and when they take possession of a country, they embrace it all, carry it all their life, give all their work and their spirit to it. The Phoenicians are navigators and merchants, and when they have made sure what they need for the commercial exploitation of a country, they don't care about anything else. These facts are repeated under our eyes, too; our young colonies have many more signs of Italian life than do the old English colonies have signs of English life. I am not exaggerating when I say that the archaeologist who will search after two thousand years in some colony for evidence of English dominion, the traces of the tennis-playing fields and of the light cottage having been destroyed, will be able to collect only some empty whisky bottles.

Such polemical interpretations of Carthaginian history developed in the course of the 30s; we find them in the works of Emanuele Ciaceri (1935:29–31), Mario Attilio Levi (1936:60–61) and Ettore Pais (1938:430, 435; see Cagnetta, 1994). With the advent of the Second World War, in January 1942, described by Mussolini as the "fourth Punic war," the judgements became even more harsh. An anti-Semitism of Nazi origin appeared in a publication of the *Istituto di Studi Romani* in the course of the world-wide conflict (ISR III:3–4):

> The war between Rome and Carthage had been an episode, perhaps the first one and the more important, of the eternal fight between the Semite destroying element and the civilizing Arian element . . . But fortunately the aboriginal element had been touched but not permeated by the Semite element. The Carthaginians who, only preoccupied with economic gain, took care not to fuse with and to assimilate but only to take advantage of these tribes, left their spirits virgin, and only Rome was able to unify them with the contribution of its civilization.

A positive consideration was reserved for the Garamantes. The fourth mission of the *Reale Società Geografica Italiana* in the Fezzan, conducted in 1933–1934 by Biagio Pace, professor at Naples, together with Giacomo Caputo, future Director of Antiquities of Libya, and with the anthropologist Sergio Sergi, concerned, employing for the first time a modern archaeological approach, the oasis of Ghat and the Wadi al-Agial on which the Garamantic city of Garama was built (modern Germa). The anthropological study of the skeletons recovered in the cemeteries

around Garama allowed for the physical classification of the Garamantes as a Mediterranean, rather than negroid, population, as some French scholars had asserted (Caputo, 1937, 1949; Pace, 1933, 1934, 1937:197–299; Pace, Sergi, and Caputo, 1951:443–542; Sergi, 1936, 1938. See also Perona, 1941–1942:94; Tiné, 1986:164–166). The Garamantes became therefore, according to a Mediterranean-centric perspective, the southernmost outpost of the Mediterranean world and the most extreme extension of Rome into the heart of the Sahara. The assertion that the Garamantes were Mediterranean Euro-Africans had a political importance, too: with the Garamantes as ancestors of modern Berbers and Tuareghs, Libya was leaving Africa and becoming Europe.

8. ROMAN TRIPOLITANIA AT SCHOOL, IN EXHIBITIONS AND CINEMA, AND FOR TOURISM

Although among the intellectuals some reservations might have existed, the political propaganda—of the historical right to colonize and the need to restore the ancient glory of Rome—managed by the agents of the regime overwhelmed Italian society, and without avoiding sensitive areas like schools and the juvenile associations of the party. In schools, the syllabus, in particular in its attention to Roman accents, was programmatically revised, though as Bottai wrote for the first issue of *Quaderni di Studi Romani* (Bottai, 1939:4, 12, 14): "Romanità is not teachable; you must interpret, continue, develop it." Which new Romanità this was and in which sense it should be "interpreted, continued and developed" was made clear by the hymn of the university fascist groups (Preti, 1968:15):

> Through the streets of the new empire,
> which go on across the sea,
> we will march,
> as the Duce wants,
> where Rome already passed.

The school books are an extremely precious documentary source in order to understand how colonial Romanità was treated. The book for Libyan third graders is of particular interest. The role of Rome in ancient Tripolitania was exalted and the Italian conquest was tightly connected to the history of Rome (MC, 1934:12–13, 31):

> Everything shows that Italy will be able to give again to these lands, impoverished by many centuries of violence and anarchy and abandonment, the prosperity which they had had in ancient times under the domain of Rome. But to reach this prosperity it is necessary that the populations of Libya have for Italy, which does so much for them, the gratitude and the worship that their ancient ancestors had for Rome.

In the *Mostra Augustea della Romanità* (The Augustan Exhibition of Romanità) of 1937–1938, the myth of the Roman Empire reached its maximum aesthetic realization during the fascist age. The initiative and the contents were created by Giulio Quirino Giglioli, professor of Archaeology and History of Greek and Roman Arts at the University of Rome since 1935. Giglioli was helped by Carlo Galassi Paluzzi, director of the *Istituto di Studi Romani*, and by Antonio Maria Colini, archaeologist of the Municipality of Rome. In the case of these scholars, there was no need for any kind of political encouragement: they were spontaneous converts to fascism. Giglioli's conversion was enthusiastic (he came from a nationalist background), Galassi Paluzzi's was based on a mix of fascism and Catholicism, and Colini's was more superficial. The exhibition provided the means through which a wide portion of the intellectual élite were integrated into the regime. It developed the idea of syncretism—of Augustus and Mussolini, ancient Rome and fascist Italy—drawing an uninterrupted line from the first kings to the rebirth of the empire of Rome under Mussolini (Scriba, 1995a-b).

In addition, in the cinematography of the *Istituto Luce*, one of the modern means of propaganda developed by the regime, African Romanità found

Figure 5.3. Medal commemorating production of the film *Scipione l'Africano*. Diameter = 26 mm.

appropriate expression. In *Scipione l'Africano*, the colossal film of Carmine Gallone produced at Cinecittà in 1937, one year after the victory over Ethiopia, the comparison of Scipio, who defeated the Carthaginians, and Mussolini, who defeated the Ethiopians is made very clear. Nevertheless, in spite of the negative values with which the concept of Carthage was associated, on the medal commemorating the film production the busts of Scipio and Hannibal were side by side, hierarchically on the same level: the empire's goals of conquest had not yet degenerated into racial discrimination (figure 5.3).

9. *DUX* AND *PROCONSULES* IN NEO-ROMAN TRIPOLITANIA

In the two trips made by Mussolini to Libya, great importance was given to archaeology. In the course of his first visit to Tripolitania, carried out in April 1926, Mussolini went to Sabratha. In the visitor's book he wrote: "Between the Rome of the past and the one of the future." He also visited Lepcis Magna, where he admired the arch of Septimius Severus, Hadrian's baths, and the Severan forum and nympheum. To the terrace of the great Severan nympheum, upon which he climbed in order to observe from on high the immense field of ruins, he gave the name, still notorious among the old inhabitants of Lebda, "Mussolini's Belvedere"(Del Boca, 1988:83–85; Visita del Duce, 1926).

In March 1937, Mussolini came back to Libya for the inauguration of Balbo's coastal road. This time his travels began in Cyrenaica (according to Mussolini, a key Roman territory) where on the 13th, he visited Cyrene. The trip reached its acme at Tripoli. At the entrance to the town, late on the afternoon of the 16th, riding at the head of the costumed and mounted indigenous troops, the Duce was acclaimed by Libyan units and by the *Gioventù Araba del Littorio*, which sang in Arabic the songs *Giovinezza* and "of Rome we are the sons, we are the ancient legionaries." The 18th of March, some hours after having received the sword of Islam in the glade of Bugara from the Berber chief Yusuf Cherbisc, "On behalf of the soldiers and the Muslims of Libya, proud to feel themselves sons of fascist Italy," the Duce celebrated in front of the Tripoli Castle the birth of Italian philo-Islamism.

As in 1926, also in 1937 archaeology played a prominent role in the visit to Tripolitania. At Tripoli, the Duce visited the arch of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. At Sabratha he was present at a performance of Sophocle's *Oedipus rex* in the recently restored Roman theatre; at Leptis Magna he admired the Severan city. Mussolini did not return to Libya until his hasty journey in June-July 1942, undertaken with the hope, soon frustrated, that he might enter Alexandria and Cairo at the head of the Axis troops; in those days of nervous anticipation, Romanità and archaeology were far from his thoughts (Altekamp, 2000:239–241, 319–322; Del Boca, 1988:280–286; *Duce in Libia*, 1937; Libia, 1937; *Viaggio del Duce*, 1937).

If Mussolini was the new Augustus, the governors did not renounce their roles as *proconsuls*. Giuseppe Volpi was the first governor of the fascist period. Thanks to his financial support, archaeological research was accelerated. Under the direction of the *soprintendente* Renato Bartoccini, the first season of the great excavations at Sabratha and Leptis Magna and the preparation of the Tripoli and Homs-Lebda museums commenced (*Rinascita della Tripolitania*, 1926). Volpi was at first particularly connected to Sabratha—the town built by the Italians in the vicinity was called Sabratha Vulpia in his honor—but Leptis Magna soon prevailed due to the grandeur of its monuments.

The governor of the Tripolitania liked to pose as *proconsul* or *praeses*, and it was with this second title that he was addressed in a monumental Latin inscription on a sundial still inserted into a wall of Tripoli Castle:

> Anno d(omi)ni MCMXXIII
> Iosepho Vulpio comite
> praeside prov(inciae) Tripolitanae
> Henricus de Albertis nauta
> fecit.

After De Bono and Badoglio, it was under Balbo that the Libyan colony reached its maximum splendor. Supporters and artists flattered him and applauded his proconsular behavior. Like Volpi, Balbo was honored with Latin stone inscriptions, like that in the *Arco dei Fileni* (1937) in the middle of the Libyan coastal road:

> Italo Balbo Libyae proconsule
> anno XV a fascibus restitutis
> primo ab imperio condito.

While Volpi, governor only of Tripolitania, had been greeted with the late-antique title of *praeses prov(inciae) Tripolitanae*, Balbo, who governed all of Libya, modernized his title, calling himself *Libyae proconsul*, an unknown pastiche in which history and anachronistic re-interpretation were joined.

In time, Balbo too became an advocate of Romanità. The development of archaeological projects had, now more than ever, tourist and propagandistic purposes. The priorities of the projects were chosen for their impact on the general public: excavations of Hadrianic baths, the Severan basilica and forum, the market at Leptis Magna; restorations of the theater at Sabratha, Marcus Aurelius' arch and the Assaray al-Hamra castle in Tripoli. As Rodolfo Micacchi, director of the Inspectorate for Schools and Archaeology of the Ministry of the Colonies, said, illustrating the activities of 1934, the new governor "has understood the importance of such activity, together with scientific concerns: to attract to Libya, thanks to their fascination with the ancient cities being brought to light, a greater and greater influx of tourists. They have been granted wider access and this has effectively increased interest" (Micacchi, 1935:124).

The Roman ruins in Tripolitania, excavated and restored, became a fixed stage for journeying politicians. 1937 was an incredible year of visits and of great visibility for archaeology: after Mussolini, the vice-Fuhrer Rudolf Hess was taken by the governor to see the impressive Hadrianic and Severan ruins of Lepcis Magna.

The most important achievement of Balbo, the Libyan coastal road, was for the governor a Roman work and a great mark of civilization. Balbo's Libya, with the new architecture, roads, agricultural developments, and legislative achievements, was compared in a magazine to the Hadrianic *Libya Restituta* celebrated on a rare bronze coin of that emperor (Corò, 1939).

After the tragic end of Balbo, shot down by Italian anti-aircraft artillery over Tobruk some days after the beginning of the Second World War, Graziani was summoned to cover the double role of governor and commandant in chief of the Italian army in northern Africa. Graziani could boast long experience in Libya, where since 1921 as colonel and then general he had led an interminable struggle against the Libyan Mujahedins up to 1932. Graziani was a convinced interpreter of the myth of Rome. His admiration for the ancient generals was fed by a classical education and references to Rome often appear in his Caesar-style books. In Tripolitania and Fezzan, he felt that, since the first military maneuvers, he had been following "in the footprints of Rome, which has left indelible memories everywhere" (Graziani, 1937:123).

Graziani was reminded often of the doings of ancient generals and emperors, to which he often drew comparisons. Graziani, in his memoirs, compared the march of approximately three hundred kilometers in the eastern Tripolitanian desert, faced in 1928 without *impedimenta*, with the expedition of the emperor Julian in Persia (Graziani, 1994:34). A military myth in whose footsteps he believed himself to be walking was L. Cornelius Balbus, *proconsul* of Africa in the Augustan age, who in 21–20 BC led a victorious expedition in the Garamantian region, a model for Graziani's own march through Fezzan (1929–1930).

At Garama, reached in 1930, Graziani confided to the journalist Sandri that "Rome is closer than we think: a little over fifty generations" (Sandri, 1936:62–64). The journalist and the general had spoken often before about Cornelius Balbus; emulation of the Roman *proconsul* was an obsession of Graziani's, who asserted: "Through this desert after Balbus no other Roman army passed: we can be proud to pass here today." Graziani was impressed in Garama by the mausoleum of "Caecilia Plautilla," whom he thought was the wife of a high-ranking Roman civil servant (Graziani, 1937:167–169). He remained truly Roman in his calamitous end, too. Balbo ordered against him, in Libya, a sort of *damnatio memoriae*, of which Graziani wrote (Graziani, 1994:44):

> He destroyed all he could of my memory in Libya, to the point of canceling my name from the commemorative marble symbols that recalled some of my deeds, emulating the Roman centurion of Bu Ngem, who erased the name of his predecessor in that ancient fort.

The epilogue to this personal cult of Rome arrived during the first phase of the Second World War, with the disaster of the Italian army led by Graziani in the Libyan desert. Having lost the halo of "scipionic general," Graziani was even reproached by Mussolini and Farinacci, accused of having hidden his headquarters within a Greek tomb in Cyrene (Goodchild, 1976:319–320). To this accusation Graziani answered that "the Greek tombs could also serve as antiaircraft shelter allowing us to sleep better some nights" (Graziani, 1948:46).

10. THE ARTS IN THE SERVICE OF ROME

The topic of Romanità and archaeology pervaded all forms of artistic expression and, in particular, was given a propagandistic function, thereby making it widely known to the public. A good example of this is the arch of the *Are dei Fileni*, built by Florestano Di Fausto in 1937, commemorating the travels of Mussolini in Libya and the inauguration of the Balbian coastal road, which is told through the story of the heroic sacrifices of two Carthaginian brothers, who were in antiquity memorialized by altars at the border between Proconsularis and Cyrenaica. Di Fausto, champion of a Mediterranean vision of architecture, considered the arch the highest architectural sign of Rome and of the Roman *aequitas* (Di Fausto, 1937). And Balbo commented (Balbo, 1937:13):

> The marble arch ends the millenarian silences of the region which saw before the signs of Rome and combines the past with the present. Latin civilization, strengthened and renewed forever by the genius of Mussolini, with the new imperial road, indicates again to the world the re-born majesty of Rome.

A celebratory publication of the time added that the arch "evoked Egyptian, Hellenistic, Punic and Roman architectural traits" (*Strada litoranea della Libia*, 1937:141); a journalist, who passed the arch in the course of the propagandistic car race from Asmara to Tripoli, explained that the monument "attests, on the Syrtic beaches, that Mussolini's Italy came to bring, with its Roman road, the sign and the seal of the Roman imperial civilization" (Pattarino, 1938:239–245). It is not by chance that the model of this arch, with that of Piacentini's arch in Bolzano, was displayed in the section "Immortality of the idea of Rome. The rebirth of the Empire in fascist Italy" of the Augustan Exhibition of Romanità. On the other hand, the rich sculptural and epigraphic detail, which decorated the arch, provided evidence for its political meaning (Caputo, 1938; *Mostra Augustea della Romanità*, 1937:363–364). The epigraphy is particularly complex: the hymn to Rome, derived from Horatius' *Carmen Saeculare*, ran along the main facade: "*alme sol possis nihil urbe Roma videre maius*;" on the two short facades two long inscriptions, translated by Giorgio Pasquali into Sallustian Latin, from an Italian text of Nello Quilici, journalist and friend of Balbo (*Strada litoranea della Libia*, 1937:145–148).

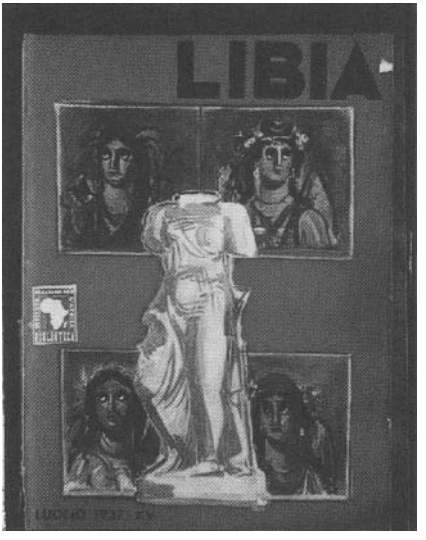

Figure 5.4. *Cover of Libia.* Mosaic of the seasons from the villa of Dar Buc Ammera-Zliten (Felicita Frai).

During the age of Balbo, painters contributed organically to the colonial creations of the regime, translating into images the sense of archaeological inspiration. The Futurist Tato, for the cover of the first issue of the Balbian review *Libia*, which appeared in March 1937, celebrated the great public works of the governor with photos of the Sabratha theatre, the arch of the Fileni and the new coastal road (Libia, I.1, March 1937). But, especially, the group of artists from Ferrara, called in by Balbo to paint colonial churches and other buildings, expressed the metaphysical, huge, immovable, classic and Latin Africa that Margherita Sarfatti invented in the pages of *Tunisiaca* (Sarfatti, 1923). Achille Funi, Felicita Frai and Corso Malverna, for example, revisited archaeological topics in full color on the covers of *Libia* (Libia, I.4, July 1937; II.4, April 1938; III.2, February 1939) (figures 5.4–5.5).

Stamps were one of the privileged official means for exalting the colonizing work in Tripolitania, especially in the fascist period. The Libyan series, approved in 1921, had been inspired by Roman colonization: the subjects were the Ephesian Artemis of Lepcis Magna, a prow of a Roman ship, and a Roman colonizing legionnaire with a bundle of javelins and sword. Roman subjects multiplied in the series produced by the Government of Tripolitania at the beginning of the 1930s. In 1930–1931 some regular and air mail stamps commemorated the 25th anniversary of the Colonial Agricultural Institute through two subjects: a Roman olive-oil press (*torcular*) and the monumental ruins of Lepcis Magna with a seaplane flying over them (figures 5.6–5.7). In the early 30s, other air mail stamps

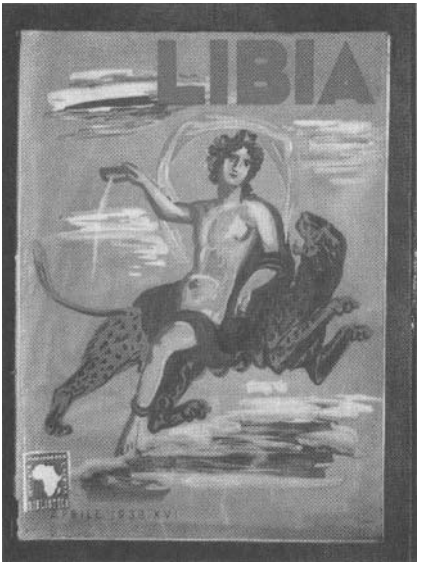

Figure 5.5. *Cover of Libia.* Fresco from the villa of Dar Buc Ammera-Zliten (Achille Funi).

Figure 5.6. Stamp commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Colonial Agricultural Institute, 1930–1931: *a Roman torcular.*

of Tripolitania showed a detail of the Marcus Aurelius arch in Tripoli, designed by Carlo Mezzana for the Zeppelin cruise, and Hadrian's bath in Lepcis Magna (figures 5.8–5.9).

The perfect symbolic synthesis of the ideological assumptions of fascist colonization was reached in an Italian stamp of the series *Decennale della Marcia su Roma*, designed by Carlo Mezzana and unveiled in October 1932. It celebrated the works of colonization in Libya: a modern colonizing soldier tills with spade the African land to the side of a Roman paved road, next to which a Roman milestone with the inscription SPQR rests. The motto says "coming back to where we already were" (figure 5.10).

Figure 5.7. Stamp commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Colonial Agricultural Institute, 1930–1931: ruins of Leptis Magna.

Figure 5.8. Air mail stamp of Tripolitania, early 1930s: the Marcus Aurelius arch in Tripoli.

Figure 5.9. Air mail stamp of Tripolitania, early 1930s: Hadrans bath at Lepcis Magna.

Figure 5.10. Italian stamp of the series *Decennale della Marcia su Roma*, designed by Carlo Mezzana and unveiled in October 1932. The motto says "coming back to where we already were."

Figure 5.11. Stamp from the commemorative series for the International Trade Fair of Tripoli (*Fiera Campionaria di Tripoli*): the Marcus Aurelius arch in Tripoli with the restoration shelter (I edition, 1927).

Figure 5.12. Stamp from the commemorative series for the International Trade Fair of Tripoli (*Fiera Campionaria di Tripoli*): Aphrodite Anadioumene from the great baths of Cyrene (IV, 1930).

Beginning in 1927 and with annual expiration, the commemorative series for the International Trade Fair of Tripoli (*Fiera Campionaria di Tripoli*) were released. Normally at least one among the subjects came from the archaeological world: the Marcus Aurelius arch in Tripoli with the restoration shelter (I edition, 1927); Aphrodite Anadioumene from the great baths of Cyrene (IV, 1930); Apollo-Antinoo from Hadrian's bath at Lepcis Magna (V, 1931); mausoleum C of the South necropolis of Ghirza (VI, 1932); again the Marcus Aurelius arch in Tripoli (VII, 1933); and Claudius enthroned from the old forum in Lepcis Magna (VIII, 1934) (figures 5.11–5.15).

In spite of the claimed Mediterranean origin and Romanization of the Garamantes, Saharan archaeology did not find expression on Italian stamps; for example, the mausoleum of Germa, "the irreplacable sign of Rome at the

Figure 5.13. Stamp from the commemorative series for the International Trade Fair of Tripoli (*Fiera Campionaria di Tripoli*): Apollo-Antinoo from Hadrian's bath at Lepcis Magna (V, 1931).

Figure 5.14. Stamp from the commemorative series for the International Trade Fair of Tripoli (*Fiera Campionaria di Tripoli*): mausoleum C of the South necropolis of Ghirza (VI, 1932).

Figure 5.15. Stamp from the commemorative series for the International Trade Fair of Tripoli (*Fiera Campionaria di Tripoli*): Claudius enthroned, from the old forum at Lepcis Magna (VIII, 1934).

Figure 5.16. Medal produced on the occasion of the first Trade Fair of Tripoli, with inscription "Rome returned through old routes" (*Roma redit per itinera vetera*). Diameter = 25 mm.

Figure 5.17. Medal of the 60th infantry division of Sabratha. Diameter = 36 mm.

southernmost point of Roman proconsular Africa," near which Graziani dreamt of the legions of Lucius Cornelius Balbus, appeared on stamps only in 1949 with the French administration of Fezzan. In medals, too, Roman topics appeared with great frequency. Of special interest is the medal produced on the occasion of the first Trade Fair of Tripoli, for which the medallist Aurelio Mistruzzi wrote "Rome returned through old routes" (*Roma redit per itinera vetera*) (figure 5.16).

The new empire's conquest and then World War II brought new subjects. For example, the medal of the 60th infantry division of Sabratha, which fought in the eastern desert, was depicted behind a Roman eagle and an Italian colonial soldier raising an Ionic column, on the capital of which is inscribed SPQR, and around it the motto "in Roman name and action" (figure 5.17).

11. "THE FOURTH PUNIC WAR": ANOTHER WAR IN THE FOOTPRINTS OF ROME

The myth of Rome played a role also during the new African war, which broke out in 1940, and which in 1942 Mussolini called the "fourth Punic war." The goal was to "free" those African regions that were once ruled by Rome, and this became the new topic of political propaganda, addressed to both Italians and to the African populations which Italy was preparing to free from (or submit to, depending on one's perspective) the colonial rule of plutocratic powers. To such a colonialism of exploitation, Italian colonialism could be opposed, characterized as different for its demographic, proletarian, pro-worker aspects and for the connections with ancient Rome. The places to which Italian war propaganda was directed were essentially three: Tunisia, Egypt and Libya.

The booklet *Africa romana e Tunisia italiana*, edited in the series *Mare Nostrum* of the *Istituto di Studi Romani*, dedicated "to the Italian soldiers making the Mediterranean sea Roman once again," affirmed that "the same natural necessities that pushed the Roman armies toward Tunisia, push today the Italian ones." The war in Northern Africa, in particular the occupation of Tunisia, was perceived as a new Punic war, with the British as Carthagininians, to whom, because they were Semitic, were rendered obviously negative judgements, such as being described as a "lower civilization" always opposed by the Aryan Rome (ISR III:3–4).

The booklet *Roma e l'antico Egitto. L'Italia e l'Egitto moderno* of the same series continuously emphasized the civilizing, respectful and altruistic attitude of Rome towards Egypt, which fascist Italy pretended to renew in contrast with the French and British, who were said to practice a colonial politics of starvation. The desire to blandish the anti-English tendencies of Egyptian nationalism is clearly detected in the background. The reference to Rome was not omitted in discussions about the Sudan and the Suez canal, two matters of burning interest because of the war and because communications between Italy, Libya and Italian Eastern Africa

were involved. The book argued for the inclusion of Sudan and Nubia within the sphere of regions influenced by Rome, recalling the famous bronze head of Augustus found in Meroe and affirming that Augustus' statue "will again be erected there" (ISR IV:5–6, 9–10, 19, 28).

But the war soon took a turn for the worse for the Axis forces and Cyrenaica was crossed several times in both directions by the opposing armies. The colonial government entrusted to the offices of the *Soprintendenza* the task of ensuring that precious works of art would not fall into the hands of the enemy or be damaged by the military operations. The Italo-German troops, which in the spring of 1941 regained Cyrenaica after a short English occupation, found town and countryside laid waste by the war. The Stefani Agency denounced the destruction by English and Australians troops of part of the archaeological collection in Cyrene. A little later, the Minister of Popular Culture, Alessandro Pavolini, edited the booklet *Che cosa hanno fatto gli Inglesi in Cirenaica* (*What the English have done in Cyrenaica*). A paragraph on Cyrenaica as a Roman province illustrated the benefits derived by the region from Roman rule. Some photographs denounced war damage suffered by the Archaeological Museum of Cyrene; the captions read: "Devastation of Roman masterpieces in the Cirene Museum," "Cyrene: the museum laid waste," "How the Museum of Cyrene has been reduced," and "Cyrene: graffiti by Australian soldiers on the walls of the Museum" (MCP, 1941). These propagandistic exaggerations by the Stefani Agency were contradicted by the reports of the archaeologists of the *Soprintendenza* (Goodchild, 1976:323–326; Pesce, 1949:184, 1953:97–105). However, at least five marble heads disappeared, two or three statues were damaged and a wide number of minor objects destroyed or dispersed in Cyrene, while greater destruction occurred in Tolemaide.

Made confident by the successes of the Italo-German march through Egypt in 1942, and galvanized by the victory of Tobruk in June, Italy permitted the resumption of work in the temple of Zeus in Cyrene and in the Palace of the Columns in Tolemaide. An anecdote told some months later by Pietro Romanelli exemplifies how the war affected archaeological monuments, in this case in the form of a competing but accurate pair of expressions regarding Rome (Romanelli, 1943:10):

> On some ruins of Roman walls, an Englishman, during the encampment of his troops at the place, wrote: 'hic Roma quondam'—which is really strange, to declare expired a rule using the language of the former ruler, considered as hunted forever—to which an Italian soldier answered, getting back: 'now and forever.'

12. THE ITALIAN HERITAGE IN THE POST-WAR DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES OF LIBYA

Beginning in November 1942, following Al-Alamein, the Eighth Army marched without rest, until the final occupation of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, but

still Italian archaeology remained in Libya. The *Soprintendenza* of Tripolitania was respected by the British Military Administration (BMA). The Italian *soprintendente* (Giacomo Caputo) was assigned to an English archaeologist, an officer from the office of antiquities (Antiquities Officer) within the BMA. He was charged with the supervision of archaeological matters in Tripolitania and had direct responsibility in Cyrenaica, a region evacuated by the Italian administration at the time of the last flight back (Libyan Studies, 1969–1970:6). These English archaeologists (major John Bryan Ward Perkins 1943–August 1944; major C.G.C. Hyslop August 1944–late 1945; major Denys Eyre Lankester Haynes late 1945-September 1946; Richard George Goodchild September 1946–1948; Morgan 1948–1950; C.N. Johns 1950–1951), based on their war experience, introduced aerial photos and Land-Rovers to the Tarhuna and Cussabat surveys (Goodchild, 1948, 1950a–b, 1951, 1954; Oates, 1953, 1954; Ward-Perkins and Goodchild, 1949).

With the creation on December 24th, 1951 of the United Kingdom of Libya (*al-Mamlaka al-Libiya al-Muttahida*), the Italian archaeologists remained in Libya as advisers (Ernesto Vergara Caffarelli 1951–1961; Antonino Di Vita 1962–1965). The task of reorganizing the Libyan Department of Antiquities from the ashes of the Italian *Soprintendenza* was up to Ernesto Vergara Caffarelli. According to the traditional strategy of Italian archaeology in Libya, scientific, utilitarian and tourist purposes were melded and confused.

A good example of this combination of strategies is represented by the rededication of the Castle of Tripoli as a great museum center and the headquarters of the Department of Antiquities (Libia, 1953, 1954; Vergara Caffarelli, 1955). The Department deposited in the new archaeological museum some of the reliefs from the Severan arch in Lepcis Magna, mausoleum G of Ghirza, along with other sculptures from the desert. The local Italian press could assert that "their definitive installation in a hall of the archaeological museum will constitute undoubtedly one of the most important historical and tourist attractions in the Tripolitania" (*Corriere di Tripoli*, 6th June 1955; Libia, 1955), but these de-contextualizing operations were openly criticized by many foreign archaeologists (Goodchild, 1965:142).

The archaeological activities in the three ancient towns of Tripolitania were returned in the '50s to pre-war standards, not only in terms of size and intensity but also *modus operandi* and, unfortunately, the slow speed of publication.

13. DECOLONIZING THE PAST: A NEW LIBYA SEARCHING FOR IDENTITY

A changed attitude towards antiquity is clear in the iconographical choices of independent Libya. Instead of Romanità, felt more and more to be a mark of colonialism, the first medal commemorating Libyan independence, created by the Italian artist Guido Angelini, demonstrated a peculiar version of Africanism

Figure 5.18. The new Libye, as depicted in a medal by Guido Angelini.

as a distinctive characteristic of the young post-colonial nation (figure 5.18). This intentional expression of Libyan ethnicity was well understood by Vergara Caffarelli of the new *Rivista della Tripolitania*, the monthly review of the Italian community in Tripolitania (Vergara Caffarelli, 1953). The archaeologist described the marked ethnicity of the female bust on the obverse of the medal; the style and details of her features and barbaric necklaces emphasized the exoticism of this symbol of African Libya, a modern synthesis of oriental and classical elements. The inspiration was evidently drawn from the frontal busts of the funerary reliefs of Ghirza, which in those years were being studied.

It is on the paper currency that the Libyan classical heritage was recovered. In the first instance, the series required by the law of October 24th, 1951 made oblique reference to the Greco-Roman glories of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica (e.g., the temple of Zeus at Cyrene; Trajan's arch in Lepcis Magna; figures 5.19–5.20). But, as in the colonial age, the stamps were the privileged tool of propaganda. In nine years of allied administration, Romanità disappeared: completely in Tripolitania, which was controlled by Great Britain; while in Fezzan, the French administration made a clear choice in favor of local monuments. In 1946, the fort in Sebha, and the mosque and the Turkish fort in Murzuk appeared; in 1949 the mausoleum in Germa, which had been the colonial symbol of the claimed romanization of the Garamantes, but also the tomb of Beni Khettab (figures 5.21–5.24); in 1951, finally, the oasis of Brak and again the fort in Sebha.

The subjects of the stamps of the United Kingdom of Libya were rarely devoted to antiquity, especially as compared to the number dedicated to Islamic monuments. In 1956, a series celebrated the centenary of the death of *imam* Issayed Mohamed Aly el-Senoussi, reproducing the mausoleum and mosque in Giarabub.

Figure 5.19. Libyan banknote, 1951: the Caesareum at Cyrene.

Figure 5.20. Libyan banknote, 1951: Trajan's arch in Lepcis Magna.

Figure 5.21. Stamp of the French administration of Fezzan and Ghadames, 1946: the fort in Sebha.

Figure 5.22. Stamp of the French administration of Fezzan and Ghadames, 1946: the mosque and the Turkish fort in Murzuk.

Figure 5.23. Stamp of the French administration of Fezzan, 1949: the mausoleum at Germa.

Figure 5.24. Stamp of the French administration of Fezzan, 1949: tombs of the Beni Khettab at Zuila.

Not until 1966 was a full series dedicated to Classical antiquities, composed of some of the most representative monuments of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica: the forum in Cyrene, the arch of Trajan in Lepcis Magna, the Antonine temple in Sabratha, the temple of Apollo in Cyrene, and the Roman theater in Sabratha (figures 5.25–5.29). In the same year, a second series reproduced the famous mausoleum of Germa and the Saracen castle of Zuela (figures 5.30–5.31). The following year another series dedicated the same amount of space to Greco-Roman and Islamic antiquities, showing the Palace of Columns in Tolemaide and the fort in Sebha (figures 5.32–5.33). In 1969, for the international year of African tourism, a mixture of column, arch and minaret symbolized the tourist appeal of Libya.

Figure 5.25. Stamp of the United Kingdom of Libya, 1966: the forum in Cyrene.

Figure 5.26. Stamp of the United Kingdom of Libya, 1966: the arch of Trajan in Lepcis Magna.

Figure 5.27. Stamp of the United Kingdom of Libya, 1966: the Antonine temple in Sabratha.

Figure 5.28. Stamp of the United Kingdom of Libya, 1966: the temple of Apollo in Cyrene.

Figure 5.29. Stamp of the United Kingdom of Libya, 1966: the Roman theatre in Sabratha.

Figure 5.30. Stamp of the United Kingdom of Libya, 1966: mausoleum of Germa.

Figure 5.31. Stamp of the United Kingdom of Libya, 1966: Saracen castle of Zuela.

Figure 5.32. Stamp of the United Kingdom of Libya, 1967: Palace of Columns in Tolemaide.

Figure 5.33. Stamp of the United Kingdom of Libya, 1967: the fort in Sebha.

The perceptions that Europeans and Libyans had of archaeology during the allied administration and the Senoussite monarchy contrast with one another. If both shared an ideological interpretation of the past, their political aims were opposite. For Western politicians and archaeologists, archaeology continued to serve as a tool of interference, or at least of presence, in a context that in many respects (the economic and political neo-imperialism evidenced by English and American military bases, for example) can be characterized as post-colonial. Therefore, the *Soprintendenza* and then the Department remained in Italian and English hands, while other European and American missions opened excavations at all the important sites of the Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan. The Libyans, on the contrary, understanding the weight of the inheritance of colonial archaeology, sought a renewal of the structure and objectives of archaeology: Romanità should cede space to Islamic antiquity, the ideological importance of which was amplified. In this way in modern Libya, as elsewhere in the post-colonial world, ideological hypervaluations of the past followed one another in lock-step and fought each other. In this post-colonial context (one in which domination faces resistance), archaeology has suffered, influenced on the one hand by the colonial heritage and on the other hand by the expectations of Arabic nationalists searching for a new and proper identity. Archaeology in modern Libya must find a way to mediate between its colonial past and independence, Rome and Islam, scientific and political needs and the possibilities of tourism—a challenge, given the unstable climate created by the mounting nationalistic ferment of the Arabic world.[1]

Note

1. This paper is a re-elaboration of Munzi (2001) with the addition of a paragraph concerning post-colonial archaeology; see Giardina and Vauchez (2000) with Terrenato (2001) on ancient Rome in modern Italy; Altekamp (2000, this volume) on Italian archaeology in Libya; Barbanera (1998) for general history of Italian archaeology; Del Boca (1986, 1988) on Italian colonialism in Libya.

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Chapter 6

Archaeological Resource Management Under Franco's Spain

The Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas

MARGARITA DÍAZ-ANDREU AND MANUEL RAMÍREZ SÁNCHEZ

In the context of a European continent increasingly dominated by right-wing totalitarian regimes, the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) led to the beginning of the long dictatorship of General Francisco Franco (1936/39–1975). The effects of this political change were apparent in all areas, including archaeology. As we have discussed elsewhere (Díaz-Andreu, 1993; Díaz-Andreu, 1997c; Ramírez Sánchez, 2000), one of the spheres in which the Francoist regime had an impact was that of heritage administration.[1] It is on this issue that this article will focus. We will explain some of the changes the administration of heritage went through and the consequences thereof. In particular, we will center our discussion on the service which administered archaeological fieldwork during the first period of the Francoist regime, the General Commissariat for Archaeological Excavations (CGEA, *Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas*).

Franco's dictatorship lasted for about 36 years, from 1936/39 until 1975. That was too long a period for a regime to remain homogenous. In order to survive during the years examined in this article, mainly the 1940s and 1950s, the regime had

MARGARITA DÍAZ-ANDREU • University of Durham
MANUEL RAMÍREZ SÁNCHEZ • Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria

to react and reshape in accordance with the events set in train by the Second World War and the Cold War. As a consequence, several phases of development can be distinguished. 1936/39–1943 has been labelled as the fascistic or semi-fascistic phase (Smith, 1996:169). Franco's admiration for the fascist regimes of Germany and Italy led him to adopt a very positive attitude towards the Axis. However, already in 1943–44, he understood the need to take a more neutral stance. The fascist elements within his regime were downplayed whereas the anti-communist and pro-Catholic components were highlighted. The result was a lessening importance of the Falangists counterbalanced by the increasing power of the Catholic groups, especially the Opus Dei.[2]

Power within the administration of archaeological heritage followed a similar pattern to that highlighted for Spanish politics, although with some time lag. In 1939 the organization of archaeological heritage was left in the hands of a Falangist, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (figure 6.1). He put in place a structure which would endure until the mid-fifties. In 1955, however, a sort of coup was planned by seven professors. They sent a letter to the new Minister of Education, Joaquín Ruiz Giménez, a minister no longer associated with the Falangists but with the backing of the Catholics within the regime (Smith, 1996:312). As a consequence, the CGEA was abolished and instead another administrative service, the National Service for Archaeological Excavations (SNEA—*Servicio Nacional de Excavaciones Arqueológicas*), was created. The formation of the SNEA, however, did not result in major organizational overhaul. Provincial and local commissars would remain in post, for a transitional period whose length was not specified. However, Ruiz Giménez's fall in 1956 resulted in the transitional period enduring well until the mid 1960s, when eventually the changes went fully ahead.

In this article we will explain the organization of archaeological heritage administration in Spain during the right-wing dictatorship of General Francisco Franco (1936/39–1975). In particular we will assess the functioning of the CGEA in the 1940s and 1950s as an example of the interaction between archaeology and politics within the context of a totalitarian regime. The work by Junker (1998) on archaeological institutions in Germany during the 1930s will be used to help assess what elements may have influenced the divergent developments observed in that country in comparison with Spain. One such development, we will argue, concerns the personalities of the main actors and their willingness to maintain scientific advancement and support innovation or, on the contrary, stifle advancement for fear of being surpassed by other colleagues. The result may be either an archaeology that endures such adversity relatively unharmed—as seems to have been the case of the German Archaeological Institute (Junker, 1998)—or, on the contrary, one that suffers a period of rapid decline, as happened in Spain. Yet, a comparison with the Spanish situation before Franco's dictatorship shows that circumstances were not that different in both periods. We will contend, however, that an improvement should have occurred in particular throughout the fascist

Figure 6.1. Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla in the 1940s.

period: There should have been a gradual replacement of non-professional by professional archaeologists, and archaeological institutions should have been led by the most prestigious academics, rather than by people who knew little about archaeology but whose political allegiance to the regime proved to be convenient to the government. Finally, the assessment of the CGEA may be used as an example of the heterogeneous nature of nationalist movements, an issue discussed in more detail elsewhere (Díaz-Andreu, 1997b).

1. AIMS AND BASIC STRUCTURE OF THE CGEA

The General Commissariat for Archaeological Excavations (CGEA—*Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas*) was created on 9 March 1939,

a few days before the end of the Civil War (1936–39). It was subordinate to the Service for the Defence of National Artistic Heritage (SDPAN—*Servicio de Defensa del Patrimonio Artístico Nacional*).[3] The aim of the SDPAN was "to reorganize the protection of the national artistic heritage and protect it from the events of war, the destructive fury and the acquisitive improvision of mobs, governments and other forms of pillage seen during the red resistance" (BOE [*Boletín Oficial del Estado*] 12.8.1938). In turn, the function of the CGEA was to administer, inspect and interpret archaeological excavations (decree 9.3.1939). In a different decree passed a year later, on 17 October 1940, and signed by General Franco himself, CGEA's role was more narrowly defined as to "elaborate the overall plans of excavations and oversee them." During the sixteen years it lasted (1939–1955), the Commissariat represented the highest administrative body for archaeological heritage.

The CGEA came to fulfil the role that from 1912 had been played by the Higher Council for Excavations and Antiquities (JSEA—*Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades*), called from 1933, the Council for the Artistic Treasure (JTA—*Junta del Tesoro Artístico*; Díaz-Andreu, 1997a). However, it differed from its pre-war predecessors in two of its main features. The first was the new emphasis on centralization and direction from Madrid. The previous decentralization of power to areas such as Catalonia was completely abolished. Traditional regions were only partially respected through the creation of provincial commissars. The second main difference regarding the previous period was the politicization of the main people in charge in order, as the decree explained, "to guarantee their support for the 'National Cause.'"

The CGEA broadly adopted the structure of the Service for the Defence of National Artistic Heritage (SDPAN). A General Commissar assisted by a Vice-General Commissar were in charge of the SDPAN. They had to be members of the FET y de las JONS (see note 2). Instead of provincial and local commissars, the SDPAN had nine zone commissars who were nominated by the General Director of Fine Arts (*Director General de Bellas Artes*) in agreement with the military powers in the area (the document had to be signed by a lieutenant or above), and finally approved by the Ministry of National Education. In contrast with the SDPAN, because the CGEA was—practically—a post-war institution, the power of the army was greatly reduced. Political allegiance, however, still had an important role in the selection of its members. Membership in the Falange was encouraged, and no individuals who had fought for the Republican government in the Civil War were theoretically allowed. However, the promotion of individuals like Emeterio Cuadrado Díaz, who had been on the Republican side and who was almost shot by firing squad after the Civil War (Cuadrado, pers. comm. to MDA, 8.1983), shows that the rules were sometimes relaxed (Cuadrado was made local commissar of Cartagena on 28.9.1944).

2. THE PERSONNEL OF THE CGEA IN THE MAIN OFFICE

As in the SDPAN a General Commissar was in charge of the CGEA and was assisted by a Vice-General Commissar. In contrast to the SDPAN, however, there were no zone commissars.[4] Instead, in April 1941, the creation of provincial and local commissars was approved.

At the CGEA's inception in March 1939, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla was General Commissar. He stayed in post until the CGEA was abolished in 1955, and then became the head of the National Service for Archaeological Excavations (SNEA) for another two years (Enciclopedia, 1908–:210). Martínez Santa-Olalla (1905–1972) had been an outstanding student. After graduation, from 1927 until 1931, he had been a Spanish language instructor in Bonn (Germany) (Enciclopedia, 1908-:210), and later, beginning in 1935, he had lectured at the University of Madrid (San Valero, 1978).[5] He gained the chair at the University of Santiago de Compostela in March 1936, a few months before the beginning of the Civil War (Escalafón, 1964). He did not spend much time in Santiago. When the War started in July 1936, he returned to Madrid, a town which remained loyal to the Republic during the entire Civil War. As a member of the Falange from its early days (he was an "old shirt"—*camisa vieja*—i.e. one of the early members of the Falange; MC, SJS, 75, 4, 1), Martínez Santa-Olalla had to seek refuge in the French embassy for a period of time before having to abandon Madrid (MC, SJS, 75, 4, 1).[6] He was not the only right-winger in his family. His father, General Martínez Herrera, was a high ranking military official in the close circle of Franco (Castelo Ruano et al., 1995:15). His family endured some retaliations in the Republican zone, and as a result a brother of his was killed (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1946a:1).

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla was a protégé of Juan Contreras, the Marquis of Lozoya, who was the head of the Service for the Defence of National Artistic Heritage to which the CGEA was subordinate during its first period. All this put him in an ideal position to apply for the key posts in the organization of Spanish archaeology. Not only did he obtain the principal position within the CGEA, but he also taught in the University of Madrid in the so-called Chair in Primitive History of Man left vacant by Hugo Obermaier.[7] He was also the director of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory (*Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria*), and as the head of all these institutions, he controlled a large number of publications.[8] In 1940 he was made the head of the Section of Iron Age and Roman Archaeology of the Higher Council for Scientific Research (CSIC—*Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas*). However, his ambition (see below) and most probably the CSIC's political allegiance to the Opus Dei and not to the Falange (see note 2), resulted in him not being welcome. His connection to the CSIC seems to have been short (Olmos, 1993:48). In 1955 he moved to a chair in Zaragoza (at least theoretically) and in 1957 he moved to

a chair in Valencia (M. Baldó, pers. comm.), where his disciple, Julián San Valero, had also moved in 1950. He would only return to Madrid in 1965 (Enciclopedia, 1908-:210). Although it may appear inconsistent, a close academic friendship between Martínez Santa-Olalla and Childe must be noted (Díaz-Andreu, 1998a).

Carlos Alonso del Real y Ramos (1914–1993) was given the post of Vice-General Commissar on 13 May 1939 (in fact, on 12 December 1940, when a mistake made regarding his surname was corrected). He had graduated in 1936, just before the Civil War started, and completed his doctorate in 1940. As a convinced Falangist (del Real y Ramos pers. comm. to MDA, 11.6.1992) he fought for Franco's Spain. Later, he formed part of the Blue Division.[9] Back in Spain already in July of 1942 (AGA, 219, 4), he returned to duty as Vice-General Commissar (the absence of any documentation of the AGA regarding any substitution seems to imply that his post was left vacant during the interim period).[10] His involvement with the CGEA may have come to an end in 1955, although we have been unable to find any information on this matter at the National Archive for the Administration. In 1955 he gained a chair at the University of Santiago de Compostela (Filip, 1966/69:(1) 22).

A bill sent in December 1940 and found in the documentation of the General Archive of the Administration (AGA 219, 12/25) informs us with respect to the CGEA's assistant personnel: two technicians (*ayudantes y colaboradores técnicos*), a secretary, a photographer and an *ordenanza* (a post which is half way between a porter and a secretary, at the time usually fulfilled by a man). Two of Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla's students, the women Clarisa Millán García and M. Luisa Herrera Escudero, were technicians. Both had finished their degrees before the Civil War (Díaz-Andreu, 1998b:130) and one of their fellow colleagues, María Luisa Oliveros Rives, interviewed by one of us (MDA) in November 1993, recalled that they had been helping Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla at the University. There was no mention of the CGEA. They would both eventually pass the examinations for the job of museum keeper at a national museum, María Luisa Herrera in 1942 and Clarisa Millán not much later. María Luisa Herrera was unofficially replaced in September 1942 by Julián San Valero Aparisi, and his position was made official in February 1946 (AGA, 219). In turn he left the post when he gained a chair at the University of Granada in 1948. He was replaced by Bernardo Sáez Martín, who served from April 1948 until 1962 (AGA 219, 12/25).

The appointment of women under a regime that theoretically discouraged them from working may not be as strange as it first seems. Both Clarisa Millán García and María Luisa Herrera Escudero were single. It was after marriage that women were totally dissuaded from working (Díaz-Andreu, 1998b:132). In addition, there may have been another factor that helped them. Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla was a homosexual within a regime with an explicit anti-homosexuality policy (a factor that would later be used by his enemies against him). He might have felt special sympathy for women—several women interviewed in 1993 gave

very positive accounts of him as against their comments about most of their other male colleagues. However, despite his positive attitude towards women as technicians, only eight were selected as provincial or local commissars in the entire history of the CGEA. In 1950, for example, among the 39 provincial commissars, only one was a woman, Joaquina Eguarás, the director of the Archaeological Museum of Granada (Actas..., 1951:85–90). This seems to indicate that fieldwork was still considered—even for Martínez Santa-Olalla—a man's business, a way of thinking that he may have learned in his youth from his professor at the University of Madrid, Hugo Obermaier (Díaz-Andreu, 1998b:132).[11] Both Clarisa Millán García and María Luisa Herrera Escudero—as well as Julián San Valero Aparisi[12]—may have benefited from being under Martínez Santa-Olalla's umbrella, given that the selection of candidates for permanent posts in museums and universities was—and still is—governed by a strong patronage system. Bernardo Sáez Martín, however, did not work as an archaeologist after his period of service to the CGEA ended in 1962. At that time Martínez Santa Olalla's popularity was low and this would have influenced his chances of getting a permanent job either at the university or in a museum. Nonetheless, this may not have been the reason why he never obtained a permanent job in archaeology. He had been more than a technician for Martínez Santa-Olalla, and their professional relationship probably ended at the same time that their personal relationship ended.

The members of the CGEA in the main office were the only ones who received a salary, as provincial and local commissars worked for free. However, matters do not seem to have gone smoothly in this respect. In July 1941 Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla wrote a letter to the General Direction of Fine Arts to remind him that Carlos Alonso del Real y Ramos had not been paid at all in two years at his post. As discussed elsewhere (Díaz-Andreu, 1997a), this lack of economic backing—both for people at the main office and for many others working throughout the country—probably reflected a certain disinterest in archaeology on the part of the Spanish dictatorship. One should not forget that Francoist Spain sought its national roots in the period after 1492, when, following the strategic marriage arrangements of the Catholic Monarchs—Isabella of Castille and Fernando of Aragon—and the expulsion of the Moors, the religious and territorial unity of Spain was established (Díaz-Andreu and Mora, 1995:34). All this meant that archaeology was not part of the main agenda in Francoist Spain. 1492 was also the year in which Columbus reached America for the first time, a "discovery" which would lead to the creation of the Spanish Empire. Yet, in the case of the CGEA the lack of economic backing for provincial and local commissars may also be explained by the particular way Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla expected the spirit of the heritage service to operate. He and his acolytes compared the commissars' work with that undertaken by religious missionaries (Sánchez Jiménez, 1946) and heroes (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1946b), i.e. by people whose nature was to sacrifice themselves for others without asking anything in return.

3. THE HUMAN BASE OF THE CGEA: THE PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL COMMISSARS

Seven individuals at an office in Madrid were clearly an insufficient number to control the archaeology of a country of almost six hundred thousand square kilometres. The lack of adequate personnel was resolved by the decree (*orden*) of 30 April 1941 by which the General Direction of Fine Arts—upon which the CGEA now depended—could start the recruitment of provincial and local commissars. Yet, in fact, as the documentation of the Museo Canario shows, in 1940 Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla was already building a network of unofficial collaborators in several provinces.

The system by which the candidates for such posts were selected does not appear to have been specified in any way. Documents from the National Archive for the Administration (AGA—*Archivo General de la Administración*), however, show that a confidential political report was requested of either the Civil Governorship, the provincial headquarters of the Falange, or others such as the Royal Academies. Most of these reports were routine, especially after 1950. Yet, sometimes the candidate's political past or—in the case of men—the fact of his having fought with the republicans during the Civil War were enough reason for him or her to be rejected. As an example, in 1941 Francisco Figueras Pacheco's candidature for provincial commissar of Alicante was discarded because the report from the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando defined him as "not esteemed by or supportive of the regime" and referred to some events that occurred before the Civil War, characterizing the candidate as a left-winger. In order to confirm these data another report was requested from a member of the Falange with the same results. However, not all individuals with a left-wing pre-war past were discarded. If the report was favorable despite their background, as it was in Samuel de los Santos Gener's case in 1947, when he applied to be commissar of Córdoba, the post was granted. In contrast to the two previous cases, all fourteen candidates with reports indicating either membership in the Falange (i.e. to the FET y de las JONS, see note 2) or strong Catholic views were automatically accepted. The reports, however, did not give much or any importance to the candidates' training in archaeology. Martínez Santa-Olalla does not appear to have been interested in their knowledge of archaeology and indeed some candidates seem not to have been properly trained by today's standards, given that they had no more than an elementary school education. Professionalism, therefore, was not encouraged.

Neither was the selection of professionals—or at least archaeology students—encouraged in a memorandum sent by Martínez Santa-Olalla in 1946 to all provincial and local commissars, authorizing them to seek help from unpaid, so-called support helpers (MC, SJS, 61, 1, 8). The helpers would assist with surveys, excavations and laboratory work. However, no information about them is to be found

in the National Archive for the Administration and therefore we are unable to say anything else about them.

The lack of professionalism on the part of provincial and local commissars is something that cannot simply be related to Martínez Santa-Olalla's wish to give archaeology back to the people. Neither can it exclusively be seen as a means by which he stopped other colleagues from invading his domain. However, we should note that the situation then was not so different from that of the first decades of the twentieth century. Both the JSEA and the JTA (see above) used to grant permissions for excavations to non-professionals, as shown by the number of unknown names—120 in contrast to 59 professional archaeologists—mentioned in the documentation of the JSEA (Díaz-Andreu, 1997a:410). As professor Alberto del Castillo (1899–1976) wrote in 1955 as regards the situation at that time:

> Excavations were undertaken by amateurs without any training whatsoever, though full of enthusiasm and good will. The time of the 'local wisemen[/women?] and of dilettantism was upon us. In all villages there was either a priest, a chemist or a doctor who enjoyed digging and studying, in their own particular way, the local past.' (Castillo, 1955:617)

Although in the 1940s and 1950s the number of professional archaeologists was still low, and many of them occupied posts in museums and universities,[13] the lack of economic remuneration for provincial and local commissars did in fact make the provincial and local posts attractive mainly to individuals who earned their living by other means. In effect, real professionals were discouraged from collaborating, for they could not afford to work without receiving a wage in the very difficult post-war situation. In addition, some academics complained that Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla purposely ignored them (Beltrán Martínez, 1988:76; Castillo, 1949).

Among the first officially awarded the post of provincial commissar in 1941, however, there were a few museum keepers, some of whom also had chairs at the university. They were Martín Almagro Basch (Barcelona); Ricardo del Arco y Garay (Huesca); Isidro Ballester Tormo (Valencia); Jesús Carballo (Santander); Francisco Collantes de Terán (Sevilla); Juan Cuadrado (Almería); Augusto Fernández de Avilés (Murcia). At least in one case, that of José María Luengo Martínez (La Coruña), the post of provincial commissar was used to demand—and obtain—the directorship of the provincial museum. The only provincial commissar who was a professor but not a museum keeper was Cayetano Mergelina Luna (Valladolid). Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, however, showed his disappointment with Mergelina's role as provincial commissar of Valladolid in a letter written in 1950. As Martínez Santa-Olalla pointed out, Mergelina had produced nothing as a provincial commissar. He was officially sacked in 1952, but, surprisingly, in the same year he was reappointed as provincial commissar of Murcia, where he had moved for personal reasons (AGA, FC, 218, 12/25). Other provincial

commissars of known professional background were the doctor Francisco Layna Serrano (Guadalajara), the painter Juan Porcar (Castellón), and religious officials: Santiago Gómez Santa-Cruz (Soria); Father Saturio González (Burgos); Serafín Tella (Salamanca) as well as Juan Serra Vilaró (local commissar of Tarragona).

As explained above, most of the provincial and local commissars were amateurs with other jobs and no professional training in archaeology. Despite some of them doing great good for archaeology, in the case of some others the system provided them with a way to legalize their often illegal dealings. Some letters of warning were needed and in extreme cases the CGEA had no other option but to dismiss the commissar. Such was the case of Luis R. Amorós Amorós (Mallorca), who was removed from office in 1951 for not adequately supervising an excavation (AGA, FC, 217, 12/25). Or that of Pedro Hernández Benítez (Telde, Las Palmas), who was dismissed because he had ignored the prohibition against owning private archaeological collections.[14] Despite this, a similar case, that of Bartolomé Enseñat Estrany (Balearic Islands), did not produce the same results.

The lack of archaeological training of most provincial and local commissars persuaded Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla of the need for some guidance, which he gave in the form of memoranda. A complete collection of them has been kept by the Museo Canario (Ramírez Sánchez, 2000). They reveal the efforts made by the General Commissar to give advice on good practice in archaeology, mainly on the need to undertake detailed, controlled excavations, and of writing up competent reports. However, the sheer number of memoranda dealing with this subject makes clear how unsuccessful he was in his attempt. In memo 48 on 23 December 1955, the last one before the CGEA was discontinued, he lamented O.G.S. Crawford's harsh criticisms of fieldwork methods in Spain published in his 1953 book *Archaeology in the Field*.[15] However, he could not help but partially acknowledge that the British archaeologist was right (MC, SJS, 61, 1, 8).

Not all commissars were happy with the system either. Criticisms were forthcoming from the early years. At the end of a report of the activities undertaken on the island of Gran Canaria in 1940,[16] the provincial commissar, Sebastián Jiménez Sánchez, wrote:

> If the Commissariat I am in charge of had infrastructure and money I would have undertaken surveys. Their results would then have been archived either in the National Ethnological Museum or in the Museo Canario located in this province. However, without money neither surveys nor photographs of caves, tumuli, or primitive settlements can be undertaken. (MC, SJS, 69, 1, 2)

Other criticisms were voiced at the Archaeological Conferences of the Spanish Southeast, the forerunners to the National Archaeological Conferences (Castillo, 1949; Sánchez Jiménez, 1946; Velasco Rodríguez, 1946). At the 1950 National Assembly of Commissars of Archaeological Excavations, criticisms were also voiced (Actas . . . , 1951) (figures 6.2 and 6.3).

Figure 6.2. Closing talk by Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla at the I National Assembly of Commissars of Archaeological Excavations (Madrid, 1950).

Figure 6.3. The Minister of Education receives the delegates to the I National Assembly of Commissars of Archaeological Excavations (Madrid, 1950). Note Franco's portrait in the background.

4. THE EXCAVATIONS MANAGED BY THE CGEA

Beginning on 21 April 1941, one of the roles of the CGEA was to grant permissions and decide on funding for archaeological excavations.[17] Yet, the documentation of the AGA shows that already in 1939 the CGEA had unofficially been fulfilling this role. The relationship between the director-commissars—as the directors of excavations were called—and the CGEA was terminated once the archaeological excavation had ended and the report been filed. A comparison with the sites excavated before the war is, again, indicative of the absence of major changes, at least in the first years.

The type of site excavated and the percentage of the subsidy received did not significantly differ from those before the war. From 1916 until 1934 the sites which received most funds had been the Islamic palace of Medina Azahara (Madinat al-Zahra) (403,750 pts, 22.4% of the total), and the Roman sites—most of them with Iron Age levels—of Mérida (319,000 pts, 17.6%), Itálica (235,000 pts, 12.6%), Numancia (108,750 pts, 6%), and Sagunto (89,250, 5.3%) (Díaz-Andreu, 2003:Table I). The documentation on subsidies to excavations by the CGEA after the war is fragmentary, but, during the 1940s, the sites which again received the highest funding were Medina Azahara (although only beginning in 1943), Italica, Mérida, Numancia, and Sagunto (AGA, FC, 217, 218 and 219) (Díaz-Andreu 2003:Table II). As distinct from the previous period, there were now a couple of Iron Age sites among those with greater funds: Azaila and Sanchorreja. There were also more excavations of medieval Visigothic sites (Díaz-Andreu, 1996:80–83). Given that both the Iron Age and the migration period were connected with peoples arriving from beyond the Pyrenees from somewhere in central Europe—i.e. Germany—this may well have had a political purpose. However, comparison with the earlier periods indicates that such politicization of archaeology was not that significant. It is true that more Visigothic sites were excavated, and that, at least in the case of an excavation undertaken by Martínez Santa-Olalla, he collaborated with German archaeologists, with the result that some of the finds were—illegally—sent to the headquarters of *Das Ahnenerbe*[18] in Berlin (Díaz-Andreu, 1996:79, 82–3; Werner, 1946:50). Yet, the funding of Visigothic sites obtained was not spectacular. In 1940, for example, in contrast with sites such as the Palaeolithic cave art site of La Pileta in Málaga (15,000 pts.), post-palaeolithic rock art sites in Ares del Maestre (7,000 pts), the Iron Age site of Azaila (20,000 pts.), the Roman sites of Ampurias (6,000 pts.), Itálica (20,000 pts.) and Mérida (30,000 pts.)—just to mention some examples—the Visigothic sites of Castiltierra, Herrera del Pisuerga and Yecla received just 8,000 pts., 3,000 pts. and 6,000 pts. respectively. The islamic site of Medina Azahara was generously funded between 1942 and 1947, receiving 148,500 pts. in total. However, from 1948 no more money was granted to the excavation of this site.

Medinat Azaraha was not the only site whose funds apparently came to an end. Most of the funds given during the early 1940s were granted to professionals

who had asked to excavate a particular site. Beginning in the mid-1940s, however, most funds were now generally given to the provincial commissars to excavate in their provinces, instead of being granted to specific sites. Therefore, we can assume that control of how the money was spent (whether it was on excavations, surveys, on photographic material or a meal) became extremely relaxed. In this way it is possible that Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla had found a way to overcome criticisms by the provincial and local commissars regarding the lack of economic support we have highlighted above.

5. THE 1950S: BEGINNING OF THE END

The new international order after World War II led to important internal transformations in Franco's Spain. One of the most significant was the change in the balance of power between the different factions that supported Franco, with the result that the Falange was displaced by the Opus Dei. The political allegiance of the main representatives of the CGEA—as explained above, both the General Commissar and the Vice-General Commissar were members of the Falange—left them in a weak position. To begin with, the power accumulated by Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla during the first decade of the regime had brought him many enemies. On the one hand he was suspected of being behind the failure of Hugo Obermaier (1877–1946)—whose chair was occupied by Martínez Santa-Olalla (who, in this way, managed to be the head of the Department [Seminario] of Primitive History of Man, i.e. prehistory, at the University of Madrid [Beltrán Martínez, 1988:76])—to return from exile. On the other hand, he had attempted to control all international projects—mainly of the Tabula Imperii Romani and the Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum—in which the archaeology section of the Higher Council for Scientific Research (CSIC) was involved. Although he was unsuccessful in his attempts to control the TIR, his ambition and the criticisms he had made of the others earned him hostility from his colleagues in that institution (Olmos, 1993:48; Plácido et al., 1993:62–3). The first sign that Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla's power was on the wane came from the university. In 1954, the chair he had occupied on a temporary basis at the University of Madrid was awarded to a new rising star, Martín Almagro Basch.

Yet, for the CGEA the coup de grâce came after a letter was sent to the minister of National Education, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, on 31 January 1955. It was signed by seven professors. Following an order mainly based on seniority within their posts as professors, they were Luis Pericot García (Barcelona), Antonio García Bellido (Madrid), Alberto del Castillo (Barcelona), Antonio Beltrán (Zaragoza), Cayetano de Mergelina (Murcia), Juan Maluquer de Motes (Salamanca) and Martín Almagro (Madrid). In the letter, the main problems of (prehistoric) archaeology in Spain—essentially the existence of the General Commissariat for

Archaeological Excavations (CGEA)—were highlighted. The letter argued the need for urgent reform. They conceded that the creation of the Commissariat for Archaeological Excavations had been appropriate to regulate amateurs' endeavours, but indicated that even from the start, problems had emerged. In their opinion, the CGEA was no longer efficient within a context of post-war national normality. Both the development of several research institutes under the umbrella of the Higher Council for Scientific Research (CSIC) and, in universities, the creation of more chairs and an increase in student numbers, had made the CGEA obsolete. The situation had become unsustainable and they dared to suggest the creation of a new Council in which all members of the professional archaeological community would participate. The new Council would provide permissions to excavate and deal with other matters regarding archaeology. It would be funded with the money now provided to the CGEA. No law was needed to undertake this change. The CGEA had been created by a decree and could be abolished by another one (AGA, 348, 12/25).

The letter had an immediate effect. On 2 December 1955 a decree abolished the CGEA and created a National Service for Archaeological Excavations (SNEA, *Servicio Nacional de Excavaciones Arqueológicas*). The SNEA was formed by a general inspector who had power over zone, provincial and local delegations (*delegaciones de zona, provinciales y locales*). The number of zone delegations would coincide with that of university districts in Spain and only professors of archaeology or a related field were entitled to be zone delegates. The decisions made by the General Inspector, including permissions to excavate, had to be ratified by an Advisory Council for Archaeological Excavations (*Junta Consultiva de Excavaciones Arqueológicas*) which had to meet at least twice a year. The Advisory Council was chaired by the General Director of Fine Arts (i.e. the person who was the direct superior of the General Inspector of the SNEA), with the general inspector acting as secretary. The rest of the council was mainly made up of the twelve zone delegates. At a later stage other members were added: the directors of the National Archaeological Museum and of the Maritime Museum, the General Commissariat of the Service for the Defence of National Artistic Heritage, the chair of Prehistory at the University of Madrid and the Secretary of the General Inspectorate of Excavations.

As distinct from the CGEA, the new organization made sure that the academic background of an individual in post was adequate. We have already explained that only professors of archaeology or of a related field were entitled to be zone delegates. Similar rules applied for the General Inspector. Heads of the provincial delegations would preferably be the directors of the archaeological museums, history teachers or the local representatives (*académicos correspondientes*) of the Academies of History and of Fine Arts. Regarding the heads of the local delegations, the post could be given to someone with sufficient archaeological training. Art graduates (i.e. graduates of *Filosofía y Letras*, therefore including those studying prehistory

and ancient history), architects and academicians of the Royal Academies referred to above, were favored. The latter measure meant that, theoretically, many of those recruited by Martínez Santa-Olalla were not going to be able to continue in post.

The decree, however, contemplated a transitory period during which all those in post would remain. Thus, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla was given the post of General Inspector. Yet, his power was now curtailed by the Advisory Council for Archaeological Excavations. He left his post in 1957 (Enciclopedia, 1908–:210). However, the transition dragged on until 1968, when the "transitory period" finally ended.[19] Provincial and local delegates were notified and their responsibilities passed on to the provincial delegates of fine arts (*delegados provinciales de Bellas Artes*).

6. DISCUSSION

This chapter has examined a case of archaeological heritage administration under a right-wing dictatorship. We have particularly centered our discussion on the service which from 1939 until 1955 organized archaeological fieldwork in Spain under General Francisco Franco's dictatorship (1936/39–1975), the General Commissariat for Archaeological Excavations (CGEA, *Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas*). The analysis of the functioning of the CGEA can be used as an example of the interaction between archaeology and politics, but also of how other factors may nuance such an interaction. During the sixteen years that the CGEA lasted, the dictatorship had to adapt to the changing international scene. Following a fascistic or semi-fascistic phase that lasted until 1943, the regime adopted a more low key stance in which anti-communism and Catholicism were emphasized as its main components. However, changes in the administration of archaeology moved at a much slower pace. The service continued untouched until 1955, and then it entered a transitional period which eventually finished in 1968.

Several issues can be emphasized based on the development of the CGEA during the 1940s and 1950s. First, we would like to argue that it is important to take into account the main actors' personalities when analyzing how archaeological institutions are run. The influence of personality is clear when we compare the evolution under similar circumstances of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI—*Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut*) in Germany (Junker, 1998) to the CGEA in Spain. The comparison of the strategies followed by both institutions shows striking differences. The direction of the DAI by Theodor Wiegand from 1932 till 1936, despite his "ambition and thirst for power," proved to be extremely valuable because of "his talent for developing clever strategies" (Junker, 1998:284). The result of this was that the Institute strengthened its overall position. Nothing

similar happened in Spain. The CGEA's General Commissar, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, was also a man with obvious ambition and a thirst for power but probably not with the same talent. The documentation discussed in this article points to the speed with which the CGEA isolated itself from the professional world and increasingly relied on non-professionals for the management of archaeology. Meanwhile, archaeologists working in universities and museums were marginalized and prevented from conducting fieldwork. On reading some of what he wrote (Díaz-Andreu, 1993:77) and reviewing his opinions of colleagues—made explicit in virulent letters (Plácido et al., 1993:62–63)—Martínez Santa-Olalla's motives become apparent. He just did not want anybody to interfere with his power. The differences between the DAI and the CGEA are further stressed when we contrast the attitude towards the directives received from the government. Whereas in the DAI, little attention was paid to the decree abolishing its internal democratic functioning (Junker, 1998:284), the autocratic *modus operandi* instituted in the CGEA by Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla shows the way in which the General Commissar benefited from the system to his own advantage. Yet, one must not forget that the starting point of the periods we are comparing for both institutions were very different and this may explain some of these contrasts. Whereas the politization of the DAI emerged from a democratic election, the CGEA was an institution created after a fratricidal war.

Secondly, one might wonder how different the situation during Franco's dictatorship was compared to that earlier in the century. To start with, if we examine the issue of the promotion of non-professionals, the fact is that, as we have already pointed out, the majority of the excavations sanctioned by the pre-war archaeological heritage service—the JSEA and, after 1933, the JTS—were undertaken by non-professionals. Moreover, although a more detailed analysis is needed, poor results by non-professionals appear to have been a common denominator in both periods. The excavation reports which were published both before and after the war were not written by the non-professionals, but mainly by those trained and working either in museums or in universities. Despite this, the documents stored at the National Archive for the Administration show no major sign of institutions demanding a publication in return for funds being made available. Memoranda to provincial and local commissars sent by Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla after the war seem to be the closest to a recrimination for the lack of results, and as we argued earlier in the article, their sheer number indicate that they did not have much of an impact. In addition, perhaps Martínez Santa-Olalla was not so keen to encourage his subordinates to publish, given that he did not write much himself. However, the absence of major differences between the first three decades of the century and the period in which the CGEA was active—mainly the 1940s and 1950s—does not mean that it was reasonable to expect such a state of affairs. Under normal circumstances, a gradual replacement of non-professionals by professionals would be expected. Nothing of the kind occurred until the 1960s, and in fact we could even argue that at times, and particularly during the 1950s,

the opposite was the case. This period of decadence may explain why Spanish archaeology declined from a relatively high standard before the war to a very poor one after it.

The discussion in the previous paragraph leads to the third issue we want to highlight, the way dictatorships may be detrimental to the development of science. This will not come as a surprise to many. However, we want to argue that, as the example of the CGEA shows, one of the reasons for the harm produced by totalitarian regimes may be that the government is not usually interested in the scientific quality of those in charge of institutions but in their political allegiance. In the case looked at in this article, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla was certainly not one of the most qualified academics when he obtained the position he did. He attained it through political means, by flagging his membership in the fascist interest group—the Falange—then the dominant power in Franco's dictatorship. The poor outcome is not, therefore, that surprising. Yet, again, it could be pointed out that the system on which this decision was based—the patronage system—was a survival from the previous period. As already pointed out with respect to candidates for permanent posts in museums and universities, both before and after the Civil War selection procedures were governed by a strong patronage system. The most sought after feature in candidates was their fidelity to their patrons, their proficiency for the job being secondary. This system worked at all levels, even at that of the heads of institutions. Before the war, for example, neither the former head of the Commission for Palaeontological and Prehistoric Research (CIPP—*Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas*) (Rasilla Vives, 1997), nor that of the JSEA/JTA had been an archaeologist. Political reasons lay behind their appointments. Thus, when after the death of the former leader of the CIPP in 1922 a professional—an excellent professional of the calibre of Eduardo Hernández-Pacheco—was chosen as director, the power of the institution rapidly declined (Díaz-Andreu, 2000:375–6). However, as in the case discussed in the previous paragraph, similarity between both periods is not what one would have expected. The growth in the number of professionals should have put the situation right by the time of the CGEA, and this means that the best qualified should have been selected to head the institution. This, as argued above, was not the case.

A final issue we want to emphasize from the analysis of the CGEA refers to nationalism. As one of us has discussed elsewhere (Díaz-Andreu, 1997b), in contrast with what is usually assumed, nationalist movements are not homogeneous. Spanish nationalists under the Francoist dictatorship did not hold a single idea of Spain. Thus, whereas archaeologists tried to vindicate the importance of the remote past in the historical formation of the Spanish nation, very little interest in this was shown by the regime. The paramount stress regarding the historical roots of the nation was put on the early modern period, when Spain attained its religious and territorial unity and became an imperial power. Yet, despite being ignored, archaeologists persisted and, to a degree, their opinions had some impact. However, archaeologists did not all have the same opinion. They did not have a

uniform stance. Few of them agreed about what particular period should be seen as the primeval Golden Age. For García y Bellido the roots of the nation could be found with the Iberians, with the sculpture of the Dama de Elche representing the first Spanish lady (García y Bellido, 1943). Alberto del Castillo, however, looked back at the Beaker period (Castillo in Menéndez Pidal, 1947), whereas Martínez Santa-Olalla thought that the Atlantic Bronze Age (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1941) as well as the Celts (Ruiz Zapatero, 1996) represented the historical origin of Spain. Opportunism is an issue we need to consider here, as in all three cases the primeval origin of the Spanish nation was that period with which these archaeologists were most familiar.

Archaeology lost its political innocence more than a decade ago, when post-modernism hit our discipline (Shanks and Tilley, 1987a; Shanks and Tilley, 1987b). It shed a different light on most provinces of archaeological enquiry, including historiography, and as a result new questions were asked of the same old problems. In the field of historiography, with the exception of some works on the context within which archaeology had developed (for example Clark, 1934; Himmelman, 1976), archaeologists had mainly concentrated on an internalist description of the development of ideas. In contrast, it is now increasingly accepted by most people that archaeological practice has political implications. Yet, recent research on the political contextualization of archaeology have proved how naïve archaeologists themselves can be when writing the history of the political context of archaeology. We are learning to be more cautious in the way we expect both people to behave and institutions and ideologies to develop. We can no longer contemplate them as homogeneous and fixed, but instead should think of them as full of complexities, contradictions, subtleties, and interactions with each other which makes their examination an increasingly intricate task. Identities—professional, religious, political, national, of gender, age, class and status—are now seen as influential in the way events develop. We have included most of these issues in the assessment of our case study. Questions such as changing ideologies, gender, sexual orientation, influence of personal biographies, opportunism, and nationalism have all formed part of the analysis developed above. Rather than simply reinforcing a post-modern position, however, for us the aim of this study has been the attempt to better understand what went on at a particular time in the history of our discipline. This is what we hope we have achieved: a greater understanding of Spanish archaeology under Franco's dictatorship.

Notes

1. We disagree, therefore, with those who are of the opinion that the dictatorship had no impact on archaeology (Gilman, 1995).
2. The Spanish falangist party was called the Falange. It was created by José Antonio Primo de Rivera in 1933. In 1934 it joined a more openly fascist organisation, the Juntas of the

National Syndicalist Offensive (JONS—*Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalistas*). The new party was now called the *Falange Española y de las JONS*, although it was still popularly known as the Falange. In 1937 Franco fused the Falange and the Carlist party, calling the new group the Traditionalist Spanish Falange and the Juntas of the National Syndicalist Offensive (FET de las JONS—*Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista*). During all these changes the Falange remained the dominant partner (Smith, 1996:146–150).

3. The *Servicio de Defensa del Patrimonio Artístico Nacional* was created in 1938 (BOE 23.4.1938). In the same year, however, it was renamed *Servicio de Defensa y Recuperación del Patrimonio Histórico Nacional* (BOE 12.8.1938). From 1955, when the CGEA was abolished, the newly created National Service for Archaeological Excavations depended on the General Direction of Fine Arts (*Dirección General de Bellas Artes*).
4. The absence of any documentation on them in the files of the General Archive for the Administration, where all the blue prints of the CGEA are archived, appears to point to the CGEA not having had zone commissars. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that Martínez Santa-Olalla did not mention them in his 1946 article on the CGEA (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1946b: 54).
5. Another source, however, seems to imply that he stayed in Bonn until 1935 (San Valero, 1978).
6. The short hand (MC, SJS, 75, 4, 1) means Museo Canario, Archive Sebastián Jiménez Sánchez., Box 75, Folder 4, Document 1.
7. As explained in Díaz-Andreu (1993:77) the previous professor had been Hugo Obermaier, a German priest who in 1924 was given Spanish citizenship. Obermaier was not in Spain when the Civil War started and never came back because "he was not an example of German bravery" (Caro Baroja, 1978:318). Like another young archaeologist of the time, Julio Caro Baroja, has explained, Obermaier's non-involvement in the Spanish Civil War was the main factor that stopped him from taking up his chair again (Caro Baroja, 1978:318 and pers. comm. to MDA). Other contemporaries, however, have implied that Martínez Santa-Olalla may have had something to do with Obermaier's downfall (pers. comm. to MDA; the source requested anonymity). We have been unable to confirm either of both hypotheses.
8. *Informes y Memorias de la Comisaría General de Excavaciones*, the main publisher in Spain of site reports between 1942 and 1956, *Acta Arqueológica Hispánica*, *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva* (published since 1946), and *Atlantis. Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria* (second series after the Civil War from 1940).
9. The Blue Division was a Spanish infantry regiment which fought in the German army on the Russian front between 1941 and 1943 (Smith, 1996:57).
10. The reference (AGA, 219, 4) refers to documentation archived at the General Archive of the Administration (Archivo General de la Administración) located in Alcalá de Henares, box 219, document 4.
11. Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla graduated and later taught at the university of Madrid. There, before the Civil War, women students were not even considered for summer excavations and were thereby excluded from the camaraderie which these created between students and lecturers, in particular between Hugo Obermaier, Professor of the History of Primitive Man at the University of Madrid, and his students. Women were thought to be, as one of the female students at the time told one of us, "a disruptive and undesirable element" on excavations (Oliveros Rives, pers. comm. to MDA) (Díaz-Andreu, 1998b:132).
12. Regarding Julián San Valero, in a prologue for a book written by Martínez Santa-Olalla he explained that they had met at a camp organized by the University of Murcia in Sierra Espuña in 1932. They met again at the University of Madrid, where San Valero was a

student in a course taught by Martínez Santa-Olalla (San Valero, 1978). San Valero seems to have been subject to harsh reprisals after the civil war because of his political activities during his period as a student at the University of Valencia, a situation that Martínez Santa-Olalla helped to end (Martí, pers. comm. 14.4.2000). After the war, in 1943, when as San Valero said, he could return to his university projects, he helped Martínez Santa-Olalla teaching practicals, wrote a Ph.D. under Martínez Santa-Olalla's supervision (approved in 1946), and collaborated with him in some of his various cultural ventures (San Valero, 1978) until he attained a professorship at the University of Granada in 1948 and moved to Valencia two years later.

13. Although, by no means did all students obtain jobs in archaeology. During the academic year 1939–40, Martínez Santa-Olalla had nine students. As far as we know, of the nine only one, a woman, obtained a job in archaeology (Concepción Fernández Chicarro de Dios). We do not have any information regarding what the others did after their degrees (Julian Gimeno; Trinidad Ledesma Ramos; Leopoldo Marcos Calleja; María Josefa Marín Bonachera; Pilar Pérez Enciso: María Jesús Picornell y de Soto; Juan de los Reyes García; and Manuel Segura y Suárez-Inclán) (information obtained by MDA from a box kept at the National Archaeological Museum with photographs which had belonged to Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla).
14. Information obtained in letters found at the Archive of the Museo Canario.
15. Crawford was the main organiser of the Tabula Imperii Romani (Plácido et al., 1993) and probably had heard about Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla's attempt to control Spanish participation in the TIR project. This may be at the root of his 1953 criticism.
16. As stated earlier in this article, official posts for provincial and local commissars were only made official by the decree of 30 April 1941. However, the documentation available at the Museo Canario makes clear that Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla already had collaborators in various provinces. This seems to have been the case with Sebastián Jiménez Sánchez (Ramírez Sánchez, 2000:422), who was only officially made provincial commissar on 29 May 1941 (AGA 217).
17. It must be noted, however, that superior to the decrees of 1941, the legislation in force was the law of the National Artistic Treasure of 13 May 1933 with its regulations (*reglamento*) of 16 April 1936.
18. See Arnold (1990:469).
19. It was ended by the decree 2538/1968 of 25 September 1968 (BOE 27 November 1968), later developed by the Ministerial decree of 24 February 1969 (BOE 55, 5 March 1969).

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Chapter 7

Whose Hittites, and Why?
Language, Archaeology and the Quest for the Original Turks

WENDY M.K. SHAW

In 1949, the "Trust Press" had the seeming audacity to publish an anonymous book entitled, "Is Ataturk a Dictator?" The answer, of course, was no. By that time, enough time had passed since the 1938 death of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, one of the leading generals of the Turkish War for Independence and the country's first president, for the question to float in popular discourse, and yet not to consider its full ramifications. The book begins with the tale of an old man who asked Ataturk himself, "Sir, are you a dictator?" The narrator explains, "He looked at the man with a pained expression and asked in return, "If I were, could you ask me that question?" (Anonymous, 1949:13).

What, indeed, is a dictator? The 1920s and 1930s were an era of centralized leadership, often under the auspices of power vested in a single person. The ideals of Franklin Delano Roosevelt marked the identity of the United States no less than those of Mussolini marked that of Italy. The very length of his presidency was later found so potentially detrimental that presidents were soon thereafter barred from holding office for more than two terms lest the act of democracy become a parody of election through the predictability of its results. What, after all, is a dictator? While the word conjures images of an overgrown brat strutting and saying, "what I say goes," nobody has been annointed dictator since the Roman empire; leaders have tended to choose nicer words like emperor, king, or president. A dictator seems to always be designated as such from outside, tying the term as much to the ideologies outside of a dictatorial realm than to those within it. Moreover, the type

WENDY M.K. SHAW • Bilgi University

of state bears no relationship to the designation dictatorship. Stalin, for example, is remembered as one of the great dictators of modern history, and yet there was no change in state structure as Kruschev, Brezhnev, or even Gorbachev—none of whom have been labeled dictators—came to power. A monarch has absolute power, but may be content to maintain the country's borders, collect taxes, and play chess in his spare time. As de Tocqueville pointed out early in the American experiment, even democracy runs the risk of becoming a tyrrany of the masses. Indeed, Hitler, one of the most infamous dictators in history, was popularly elected. Moreover, the seal of dictatorship is often tied to one-man rule, yet is that always, by all measures, bad? Although he has been in power for nearly half a century, Castro's Cuba has one of the best educational systems in Latin America. In the US, segregationism and McArthyism were popular, but neither had a close affiliation with America's purported ideals of freedom or democracy.

All this to say, dictatorship has less to do with state structure or one-man rule or even timespan than with the tyranny of ideas. Dictatorship can emerge in any state, with any form of government, when the mythography of the state becomes so absolute that any form of difference or dissent constitutes treason. An absolute leader may dictate such an ideology, earning the designation of dictator, but just as dangerously, any state may dictate such an ideology, often with the power not of a solo voice but of a monophonic choir. If the former form of dictatorship has a single target, that of the dictator, the latter does not; it insidiously permeates societies, into the realms of that which can be said and that which cannot, and does not die until the mad rush to absolute truth unveils its own falsity and fractures. It is ideology, as much as an individual, that produces dictatorship.

This said, to what extent does the practice of archaeology in early republican Turkey suggest that the era of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's presidency, from 1923 to 1938, was one of dictatorship?[1] Three factors seem particularly salient to the exploration of this question. First, to what extent was the practice of archaeology limited to support prevalent ideologies of state being developed by the young republic? Secondly, to what extent were the findings of archaeology co-opted to produce state ideology? And finally, if this dictatorship was based on the rule of one man, to what extent did it continue past his death and to the present day?

While European forays into archaeology in the Ottoman Empire began at the turn of the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1880s that the empire began to control its own archaeological programs. Through the establishment of an archaeological collection in 1846, the increasing stringency of a series of antiquities laws in 1874, 1881, and 1906, and an increasing number of site expeditions, the empire began to formulate the Hellenistic era in particular as a legacy of the modern Ottoman state which would incorporate its emerging national identity into a pan-European one.[2] While the Imperial Museum attempted to control the often secret archaeological activities undertaken by the invading allies until the declaration

of Turkish independence, after the war archaeology was, for many years, at a standstill. Neither scholars nor resources could be spared for new archaeological activity during the first decade of the young republic.

The first republican-era excavation took place under the guidance of the Director of Museums, Hamit Zübeyr Kosay, at a Hittite site near the town of Ahlatlibel, 16 kilometers from Ankara, in 1933. Excavations of other prehistoric sites in central Anatolia—at Karalar (1933), Göllüdag (1934), Alacahöyük (1934–37), Etiyokusu (1937), and Pazarli (1937), soon followed (figure 7.1). All of the sites dated to either the Stone Age, Iron Age, or Hittite and Phrygian civilizations (Inan, 1937). In the meantime, a division of Classical Archaeology was not even founded at Istanbul University until 1946, and it was not until the 1950s that Turks began to excavate Hellenic, Hellenistic, Roman, and later sites with any regularity (Uçankus, 2000:15).

Many things had changed in the interim to shift the focal point of republican archaeology from the Hellenistic to the Hittite era. In scholarship, Hrozny had decyphered the cryptic Hittite language and for the first time made the emerging material remains of their culture understandable in a proto-historical frame. In international politics, Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points had clearly welded the notion of absolute autochthenaity to the right of national autonomy. And locally, after winning its war for independence, Turkey had undergone a sweeping array of reforms which replaced monarchy with republican government, Westernized the clothing, secularized the law, Latinized the alphabet, and was undergoing multiple modernization projects of social engineering, including an extensive language reform. Together, these changes made possible the writing of a new history for the nation.

Ataturk was keenly interested in the supervision of this ideological core, which was pursued primarily through the foundation of two scholarly societies, the Turkish Historical Society and the Turkish Language Society, both of which had their first congresses in mid-1932. In addition, the Ankara Faculty of Linguistics, History, and Geography, founded in 1935, was designed to provide a local educational institution at which to train young Turkish scholars. While at the time of its institution, many believed that it would be more expeditious to send students to Europe for their education, Atatürk emphasized that Turks needed to look for the true sources of their own history; look for new information through archaeology; and determine the historical and contemporary racial characteristics of Turks through anthropological methods.[3]

Working in an era in which racial science, with its mixture of evidence from physical anthropology, geology, archaeology, and linguistics, permeated the definition of ethnic identity throughout the West, these societies were charged with the complicated task of discursively making Turks, whose language was not among those of the Indo-European family, affiliated with (if not actually) Aryan. They also needed to make Turks—who, in the historical era, had populated Anatolia during

Figure 7.1. Map of Excavation Sites in Turkey as of 1937 (Inan, 1937).

the settlement of Turkoman tribes after the defeat of the Byzantines at the Battle of Malazgirt in 1071—into the racially, and thus ethnicly, autochthenous people of Anatolia. Finally, they needed to derive a national culture which would be divorced from the close religious and linguistic traces to Persian, Arab, and Muslim culture which had defined the Ottoman era. The new history and revised language was thus designed for several conjoined purposes: to fight against the all-too-fresh European imperialist aspirations of Turkish territories as they had been distributed by the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres; to argue specifically against competing arguments of prior indegenaity, claims of Christians such as Armenians and, more pervasively, Greeks; to make the history of the country one of the Turkish people rather than of dynasties; and to create roots for a modernized and secularized national identity. Just as history would be rewritten to construct a unitary past for the complex mix of peoples who made up the new country, language would be purged of foreign words, particularly those from Persian and Arabic, which incorporated the complex heritage of Turkey into daily life and communication.[4]

The Turkish Historical Thesis, initiated in the 1930 work, *An Outline of Turkish History*, and developed in the first three congresses of both the historical and linguistic societies, was designed to replace both Ottoman history, which focused on the dynasty rather than the history of Turkish people, and Eurocentric histories of the world, which read the trajectory of progress as linked to a series of migrations—Indo-European, Biblical, and civilizational—with a common Euro-American apogee and terminus. In contrast, the thesis interpreted the migration of Turkomans from Central Asia as the latest of a series of migrations which had begun in prehistoric times.

According to the Turkish Historical Thesis, the original Turks of Central Asia migrated first to nearby China, and soon after to India where they established the civilizations of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. In both locations, the "true natives had no civilization" (Inan et al., 1930:59). Thereafter, Turkish migrations had always been westward: moving along a northern route from between the Ural Mountains and the Caspian along the north coast of the Black Sea to the Danube River valley and Thrace; and along a southern route which was more convenient after the glaciers had retreated and left swamps in their wake. The southern route took Turkish tribes not only to Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and from there both to the Italian Peninsula (as the Etruscans), to the Aegean islands (particularly Crete) and eventually mainland Greece, but across Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia (as the Sumerians and Elamites) to Egypt (as the conquerors from the north). Of these civilizations, the Turkish Historical Thesis laid particular claim to those whose languages had not yet been categorized—Sumerian and Etruscan, which are still unclassified, and Hittite, which was at the time under investigation as a potential proto-Indo-European tongue. The thesis designated all these languages as Turkish. Such associations affiliated Turks with the very foundations of Western Civilization—Sumeria and Egypt no less than Greece and Rome.

A pastiche of archeological and linguistic sources, culled exclusively from Western scholarship, provided the cornerstones of this history based on multiple migrations to provide a counter-narrative to European historiography.[5] Among its most important sources was the archaeological work of the American geologist Raphael Pumpelly, who in 1903–4 had excavated the site of a ruined Muslim city, Anau, near modern Ashkabad at the foot of the Korpet Dag. Inspired by texts informing him of a "people with red hair and blue eyes" who had once lived there, which he had seen during his 1863–4 work in China and Mongolia, Pumpelly had set out to discover the homeland of the Aryans (Champlin, 1994:165). Using geological stratigraphy, he dated the earliest settlement to the ninth, and subsequent civilizations to the seventh, sixth-third, and first millenia BC. Thus he suggested that an agricultural Stone Age had occurred in Central Asia long before that found to date in other areas, including Mesopotamia, China, and India. While he found his conclusions concerning Aryan origins too inconclusive to publish, his studies suggested that increasing aridity had eventually forced the inhabitants of the region to migrate south of the Caspian and through the Caucasus, through the Armenian highlands to the Black Sea or through Asia Minor to the Aegean.

While by 1936, many archaeologists and anthropologists had abandoned migration theories in favor of theories of independent evolution of cultures, Pumpelly's theory provided a perfect basis for Turkish historiography (Champlin, 1994:199). It eliminated the stigma of Turkic nomadism by tying migration to climate rather than to culture. Indeed, Arnold Toynbee had used Pumpelly's results to show that the nomads of Central Asia developed their lifestyle in response to an arid environment, just like the agriculturalists of antiquity (Champlin, 1994:193).[6] Pumpelly's hypothesis provided a path through which the people of Central Asia would end up in Anatolia. Moreover, along with several other hypotheses of an Aryan homeland in Central Asia, it provided a geographic link between the Aryans and the Turanians which might serve to bridge the linguistic divide. Several problems, however, remained. The people of the ninth millenium had to be linked to the Central Asian Turks for whom historical sources extend no further back than the sixth century AD, when the Chinese first used the term to designate nomadic tribes who had established an empire to the north. They also had to be linked to the prehistoric peoples of Anatolia. It was not long before linguistics and archaeology would join forces to bridge these gaps.

At the first two linguistic congresses of 1932 and 1934, scholars presented numerous articles with a two-fold objective. The primary concern of many articles was to use language to prove racial affiliation between Turks, Sumerians, and Aryans. Several articles attempted not only to link Turkish with ancient languages, such as Sumerian, Hittite, and Etruscan, which had yet to be affiliated with any modern language families, but also with Indo-European and Semitic languages (Türk Dili, 1933:81–94, 110–124). While Ahmet Cevat (Emre) used linguistic evidence to prove that Sumerians were Turks, Mehmet Saffet used similar evidence to

prove that Hittites were also Turks. Their work went hand in hand with the comparisons made by many Western archaeologists in Anatolia, who often compared modern Turks with ancient Hittites. As the American archaeologist F. Schmidt mused, "There is an idyllic picture, the proud Turkish father with his youngster sucking contentedly at his thumb. The only Anatolian feature of the man's dress is his rawhide shoes with upturned toes; they are like those on figurines of about four thousand years ago." Similarly, "the fundamental features of Anatolian houses have not changed very much since these early, long-forgotten people built their houses at the Alishar site. The present Anatolian houses, with their brick walls on stone foundations and their flat-topped roofs composed of beams, layers of branches, and mud, may still illustrate the buildings of their predecessors some five thousand years ago" (Schmidt, 1931:19, 55).

Back at the linguistics conferences, the scholar Saim Ali, proposed that Turkish was an Indo-European language. His comments show his objectives: "Today," he explained, "there are numerous nations which use a language with which they share no racial relationship. The reason that the most ancient language in Central Asia was used in the homeland of the Turkish language is because the political upheavals taking place in their own land always occurred between racially and linguistically equivalent Turks" (Türk Dili, 1933:73). Others, such as Agop Martayan (Dilacar), were interested in utilizing the contemporary Russian "Linguistic Paleontology," also known as "Japhetology," developed by N. A. Marr to postulate a Central Asian origin for the language, and thus to use Sumerian as the missing link between Turkish and Indo-European languages (Türk Dili, 1933:94–104). Another member of the congress, Artin Cebeli, proposed that Indo-European languages and races would better be termed Turco-European, given their shared geographic and thus racial origins (Türk Dili, 1933:126).

The subtext of much of this linguistic acrobatics was to simplify the process of the nationalization of language, a central objective of the "Pure Turkish" movement instituted by Ataturk. Soon after his above comments, for example, Artin Cebeli explained that the words which people assumed had come from Arabic and Persian, and thus needed to be purged from a pure Turkish, had actually entered those languages from Sumerian Turkish. Thus if linguists could prove a "Turkish" etymology for a seemingly foreign word, it could remain in popular usage. The concern for expelling foreign elements clearly parallels the expulsion of invaders from Turkey during the war for independence, only a decade earlier. As Seref Bey exhorted, "On the day that, growling from the borders of our land, the voice great Turkish child—who forced those who attacked Turks and Turkishness in the hope suppressing and dislodging them to bow before history—yelled at the attackers, 'It is forbidden to enter the Turkish land!' Turkish lands were saved. (Applause) And today that voice, that voice that Turkish children and all of humanity have come to know so well, declared to the words which have entered the Turkish language and have for thousands of years struggled to imprison it, 'The Turkish

language is a mother tongue. A foreigner cannot enter it. It is forbidden!'" (Türk Dili, 1933:249–50).

How much was this the doing of Ataturk? Seref Bey went on to say, "So now, the Turkish language has been saved. As this red-headed Turkish child, whom the Turkish god has painted with sunlight on top of the gold mountain, here among us listens to us today, who knows what novelties are welling to the surface of that great head and that warm heart to raise Turkish existence to bring Turks many clear days?" (Türk Dili, 1933:249–50). Ataturk was, of course (by Turkish standards) a redhead. But to what extent could one attribute this ideological madness to him, and to what extent was it part of the general intellectual milieu? Discussions of how Turkish could modernize had been underway since rising concerns in the nineteenth century with both popular use of language and with national identity. Ideas to change the alphabet—either to a Latin script or other alternatives, such as one based on Orhun inscriptions—had been underway for decades. Similarly, discussions of revising the Turkish dictionary using folk and historical Turkic sources had begun before the fall of the empire. But it was Ataturk who made these into a concerted effort sponsored by the state. Language became the cornerstone of a modern Turkish identity which could supplant the more common identifiers of religion and regionalism. His role in the development of Turkish linguistic theories becomes most clear as they developed into the Sun-Language Theory.

In his memoirs, Ahmet Cevat Emre expulcates himself in explaining how what he calls this "freak" theory came into being:

> I received a 47-page typed dossier writen in poor French entitled, "Psychologie des Langues Turques" and signed by a Dr. des lettres orientales, H. F. Kvergic (Vienna). The author had sent it to me thinking I was the head of the language association . . . After having understood its unfoundedness and valuelessness through a quick perusal of the beginning and middle of this strange study, I threw the dossier which looked like a school notebook into a drawer and saw no need to even mention it to my colleagues. However, when he received no reply from me, Dr. Kvergic found a way to send it to Ataturk thorugh some other means. After having read it with great curiosity, he gave it to the general secretary of the association Ibrahim Necmi Dilmen, saying, "it looks important, it should be carefully considered." (Korkmaz, 1992:321–324)

Memoirs of the author Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu suggest how this came about.

> A linguist from Vienna . . . sent this thesis to Vedat Nedim Tör, who at that time was the General Publications Director. Vedat Nedim is my friend. He brought the thesis to me. When I saw that it was on the subject of language, I took it to Ataturk. When Ataturk read the thesis, he said, "OK, I have found what I wanted!" (Laut, 2000:100)

Thus it seems that the search for Turkish linguistics was on, at the behest of the president, before it had any content as would soon be tailor-made by scholars.

What was it in Kvergic's theory that Ataturk found so appealing? Emre continues his description of the theory as follows:

> . . . In it, by tying psychological spaces to the birth of language and demonstrative signals to these psychic spaces, Dr. Kvergic attempted to supposedly conduct a psychological analysis as follows: psychic spaces and the expression of objects through signs has been the same ever since the beginning of humanity! Very long ago, at the beginning, these psychic spaces would be expressed through gestures; grunts would accompany these gestures; phonemes and the sounds of language emerged from these grunts. Sound signals were used with these gestures; even today, gesture strengthens the spoken word and enlivens it . . . According to Dr. Kvergic, the closest psychic space is the "ben men" (ego) space; from "ben-men" came "m" . . . (Korkmaz, 1992:321–324)

For non-Turkish speakers, it is important to note here that "ben" means I or me in Turkish, while "m" added as a suffix to a noun is the singular possessive and added to a verb is the first person singular. Thus for psychic reasons, Kvergic's theory makes Turkish into the root language, the Ursprache, for which so many linguists of the early twentieth century had been searching. After explaining Kvergic's theory, Emre goes on to explain how it became central to the development of the Sun-Language Theory.

> Having read my hesitation as professional competativeness, Ataturk said, "the psychological analyses look important to me," and insisted on his old idea. He explained that people could well have exclaimed things like Aa! Oo! Ag! Og! from fear or amazement or respect towards things like lightning, the east, the west, clouds, and rain and that language could have emerged from these exclamations. Listening to this opinion of Ataturk, Ibrahim Necmi joined with his friends Hasan Resit and Naim Hazim, as well as Abdülkadir, to place this business under discussion. Applying to theories of the birth of language (glottogonie), particularly the monogenist theories of linguistic scholars such as Trombetti and N. Marr, they eventually managed to discover important essentials in Dr. Kvergic's work! . . . When Dr. Kvergic came by invitation from Vienna, he also was surprised by the inventiveness of the new theory, but did not dare to contradict it . . . (Korkmaz, 1992:321–324)

What was this new theory?

While exposition of the theory began with its publication in the Ankara daily newspaper *Ulus* in November of 1935 and was soon followed with extensive articles in the national daily *Cumhuriyet*, its full expression was born at the Third Linguistic Congress of 1936. There, Ibrahim Necmi Dilmen, General Secretary of the Turkish Language Association, introduced the Sun-Language Theory as the key to the primary puzzle that had troubled linguists since the establishment of linguistics, a great Turkish find, summarized as, "the search and discovery of their mother tongue by primitive man's mind as he emerged from efforts to express

emotions and thoughts coming alive as animal instincts made way for the rise of consciousness and comprehension" (Üçüncü Türk Dil Kurultayı 1937:56). At this point, primitive man naturally focused his attention to the all-powerful sun, the earliest of the sky totems associated by modern science with ancestral man. He then said "a," the simplest phoneme of the human vocal system since it is the sound produced without any labial manipulation. Slightly elongated, it would produce the sound "ağ," where the ğ—a sign unique to Turkish—represents the elongation of the preceding vowel. What Necmen never mentions is that "ağ" in modern Turkish means net, not sun; what was supposed to be clear from this explanation, presumably, was that it was not modern Turkish that was the mother tongue, but the original language of the Turks. This could be proven because of the brachicephalous racial superiority of Central Asians, who were Turks, who had spread language and culture—historical evidence—and the continuation of root words in Turkic dialects—linguistic evidence.

From this starting point, primitive phonemes could be organized according to the concepts associated with the sun, such as heat, light, westerly movement, color seen in the light, and sound from lightning—a series of phoneme structures remarkably similar to the so-called "tribal" elements of Japhetic linguistics. Dilmen proceeded to explain how all sounds were, in the Sun-Language Theory, categorized by level of difficulty in pronunciation, and could be manipulated through the addition of ağ-like phonemes in an agglutinative process akin to modern Turkish. For example,

> man who said ≪ağ≫ to designate the sun, said ≪ağ + ağ = ağağ≫ and with the mixture of these sounds said ≪aağ = ağ≫. Thus the phoneme was created.
>
> The combination of phonemes created the "syllable." For example, the forms ≪ok + uğ = okuğ = oku = ku≫ and ≪ak + ap = akap = kap≫ emerged in this way. (Üçüncü Türk Dil Kurultayı, 1937:63)

Some elements clearly came from Ataturk's interpretation of Kvergic's theory, which was based on the original grunts of man. But somewhere along the way, something had changed. His assertions of grunts had come to use a ğ, a silent letter (indicating extention of the previous vowel, derived from the 'ghayn of Arabic script) in the Latinized Turkish alphabet not found in any other language. The analysis had come to rely on a complex series of derivational equations. Central Asia had become the locus of the theory. And the sun had become the sole object of early man's amazement. Why?

As Emre suggests, many of these elements come from linguistic theories of the 1920s. Among these, the theories of N. Marr, the premier linguist of the Soviet Union until the refutation of his theories by Stalin in the 1950s, bear the closest resemblance. Indeed, Marr had visited Turkey in 1932, where he had delivered a

speech concerning the origin of language. Developed at the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad between 1923 and 1930 out of his initial studies of Armenian and Georgian linguistics published in 1908, the first part of Marr's work concerned the languages labeled as Japhetic—those of the Caucasus, particularly the various Turkic languages, Armenian, and Georgian, Basque, Etruscan, Berber, Hottentot, Pamirian dialects, and Elamite among others. Marr chose the name Japhetology as a specifically anti-Indo-Europeanist act: in the late nineteenth century, Biblical renditions of Indo-European languages generally associated Aryan languages with those of the descendants of Noah's son Japheth (Ballantyne, 2002:26). The second part comprised a general linguistic theory which favored the dynamic comparison of languages over their developmental categorization. Thus instead of written documents, reflecting an already overly developed stage of the language, Japhetology proposed the research of surviving elements of living and dead languages alike from material culture in order to place them on a single, diachronic plane of study. Steeped in Marxist thought, Marr argued that the morphological study of languages reflected a proprietary social structure rather than favoring the collectivity which, in its labor and worship, would develop language. In an effort to construct a method of linguistic paleontology, Japhetic linguistics compared words through function rather than derivation, declaring war on the "formalism" of traditional comparative linguistics. Whereas neogrammarian philology posits a developmental scheme for language in the form of an inverted triangle emerging from a proto-language of indeterminate origin, Marr posited that early man had spoken through common gestures and mimicry which at first had magical signification which words eventually lost (Murra et al., 1951:2).[7] Japhetology denied the existence of linguistic families in favor of viewing differences as various phases of linguistic evolution, akin to Marxist historicism. "For Japhetology, the culminating point resides in this question: will one succeed in seizing the continued creative march of culture, will one know to read its imprints on the perimeters of forms as they change, or will one instead rest all efforts in the definition of races, appraising each as the depository of a new culture in this promised land where the forms of culture surge like a deus ex machina? For the Japhetic practitioner, the ancient forms were not additive, but transformatively adapted as part of an eternal crossing of the ancient with the new" (Nikitine, 1933:669–71). Methodologically, Japhetology proposed that words were "glotogenetically" related, and emerged from four elements corresponding to the "tribal" elements—SAL, BER, YON, and ROSH—which changed through various functional changes, such as vowel shifts, in the articulation structure of primitive man (Murra et al., 1951:11).[8] A typical analysis would go as follows:

> The Georgian word "mukha" ("oak") is recognized to be made up of two elements: "mu" (the BER element) and "kha" (the SAL element). Academician N. Ya. Marr "links" the first element "mu" to the Chinese mu ("tree"), the

> Mordvinian pu ("tree"), and the Georgian pur-i ("grain" [or "bread"]), the Greek bal-an-os ("acorn"), the Megrelian ko-bal-i ("grain" [or "bread"]). But he links the second element "kha" to the Georgian words khe ("tree"), tke ("forest"), etc. Thus, one and the same element "mu" and its variants (pu, pur, bal, etc.) signify: tree—acorn—grain [or bread]. Conclusion: at one time mankind lived on acorns. (Chikobava in Murra et al., 1951:17)

Utilizing this method, Marr asserted that, "Not only the so-called Indo-European and Semitic languages, but also Turkic, Mongolian, Ugro Finnic, Chinese, African, Oceanian as well as Australian, native American languages, all turned out to be incontrovertibly related to one degree or another."[9]

Perhaps as attractive as its staunch denial of linguistic families and ensuing universalism was Japhetology's avowedly anti-imperialist content. Spirkin, discussing Marr, accuses traditional linguistics of being "permeated with the spirit of racism and serves as justification of the imperialists' colonial policy . . . Marr's teaching in all its purpose is anti-imperialistic. He protests against the completely unfounded division of peoples and languages into 'superior' and 'inferior,' into 'capable' and 'incapable' of development, seeing rightly the introduction into linguistics of racism and the national colonial policy of bourgeois imperialist states" (Spirkin in Murra et al., 1951:4). Ironically, it was this very universalism that must have made this theory an effective tool in uniting many ethnic and linguistically divided republics under the banner of the Soviet Union, even as the theory ardently professed its opposition to the imperialist aims of "bourgeois," "Anglo-American" linguistics. "Hitler's fascism tried a broader use, in its own interests, of the antiquated concept of Indo-Germanic racial superiority, but failed in the attempt. Today, with these aims, Anglo-American imperialism uses the contemporary Saussure and other neo-idealist schools for their propaganda of the notorious cosmopolitan theory of the superiority of analytical over inflected languages. This pseudo-science is used as a theoretical foundation for Anglo-American racism and contrasts the Western European peoples, as allegedly 'chosen' to the remainder of the world and in particular to the people's democracies of the Soviet Union" (Spirkin in Murra et al., 1951:17). Apparently, imperialism without racism in the name of universalism posed no problem for Soviet Marrists. Likewise, construction of a unified Turkish nation grounded in a common linguistic and racial heritage allowed for an integration of ethnic minorities not possible or even conceivable in contemporary Europe, its colonial extensions, or the contemporary United States. However, it did so at the cost of suppressing ethnic difference and losing the richness which that had provided in earlier eras. Whereas many in Europe and the United States had turned to utilizing philology and archaeological diffusionism as evidence for racial superiority and as promotion for Eugenics, the Turkish answer to the problem of difference in an era of nations went to the opposite extreme, denying racial differences by making everybody, monomaniacally, Turkish.

Abdulkadir Inan, one of the authors of the Sun-Language Theory, commented extensively on Marr's 1932 lecture in Turkey, entitled "The Separation of Languages and Nations and the Issue of Turkish Dialects."[10] While Inan admits that, as in his other works, Marr's lecture is disorganized, confusing, and full of contradictions, he expresses an admiration for his theories both for their express fight against the canonical Indo-Europeanism pervading Western theology, which he compares to the rule of medieval popes, and their desire to give Turks an appropriate place at the center of world linguistic history. Furthermore, while Inan doubted that Marrism would succed in fighting against the wave of racism filling countries like Germany, he expressed the hope that it would aid in that fight among the various nations of Russia—an objective quite similar to the pattern of making everybody Turkish, shared by both the Turkish historical and linguistic theses.

Under Ataturk's order to produce a comprehensive theory, the linguists made extensive use of Marr's theory to modify that of Herman Kvergic, an otherwise completely unknown scholar of Slovakian descent working in Vienna, who cited the work of Wilhelm Czermak as the source for his investigations (Laut, 2000:95). Unlike Kvergic's system of grunts, Marr's work suggested a sacred use of language, which had developed from pointing at objects—a system which eventually made its way into the Sun-Language Theory. The emphasis on the sacred most likely appealed to a newly developing sense of the pre-Islamic identity of Turks as nature-worshipping shamanists. Indeed, Abdulkadir supported his faith in such aspects of Marr's theories with derivations from various dialects of Turkish. Perhaps most importantly, Marr's vision of a pre-historic language of the Central Asian Japhetic tribes from which all languages had developed rescued the emerging theory from comparisons with modern Turkish which had made up such an awkward part of Kvergic's theory.

Unlike the other European scientific theories which had been pieced together in the formulation of the Turkish Historical Thesis, those used for the Sun-Language Theory were never cited, and have disappeared into near-oblivion. Wheras one of the objectives of the historical thesis was to deconstruct European historiography through reusing its parts (supposedly) exposing its failures, the Sun-Language Theory was to show the height of the Turkish genius in full bloom. Indeed, Lewis points out that the "authorship of the theory is archly hinted at by the anonymous writer of 'A Short Look at the Essentials of the Sun-Language Theory,' which speaks of it as a product of 'Türk jenisi' (the Turkish genius)" (Lewis, 1999:58). As Lewis interprets the phrase, it refers to Atatürk; it could just as well refer to a broad Turkish genius floating in the national psyche.

But how and why did the sun become the sole focal point of all this pointing and grunting? The association between the sun and language was not a new discovery. In his "Essay on Comparative Mythology," Max Müller explained the primacy of the sun for primitive man, describing it as the key element linking Aryan mythologies (Cox, 1963:22). Moreover, with an inconsistent flourish connecting

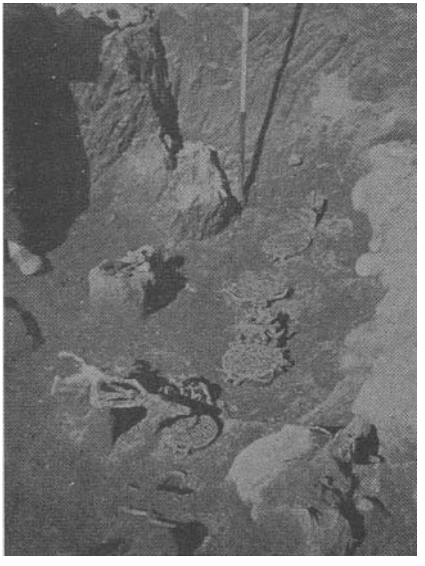

Figure 7.2. The "sun disks" lying in the site, supposedly as they were found. (Arık, 1937:56).

all languages with Indo-European languages, Müller declared, "Never in the history of man has there been a new language. What does this mean? Neither more nor less than that in speaking as we do, we are using the same materials, however broken-up, crushed, and put together anew, which were handled by the first speaker, i.e. the first real ancestor of our race" (quoted in Cox, 1963:16).

Yet the Turkish association between the sun and language was not founded in distant mythological theories, but in the very soil of the young country. In 1935, Remzi Oguz Arık supervised the excavation of Alacahöyük, a Hittite site between the modern cities of Çorum and Ankara; the findings were published in a handsome volume in French in 1937. In several tombs there, they found a series of small objects with no apparent use value which varied between abstract forms and representations of deer (figures 7.2–7.5). Innocently, Arık explains that "Having arrived at a depth of 6.20–6.25 meters, we found works in bronze, iron, and even silver which we called 'solar disks'" (Arık, 1937:61). But why, and why did this initial attribution become conclusive? Arık does not say. But by the end of the book, the name had stuck.

> Among the votive monuments of the three tombs, the different "solar disks" remain the most truly unique documents. In all these "solar disks" the horn of the ox, the stag, the idea of the sun remain in common and dominant. The images of the stag, so obstinately repeated on each occasion, either separately

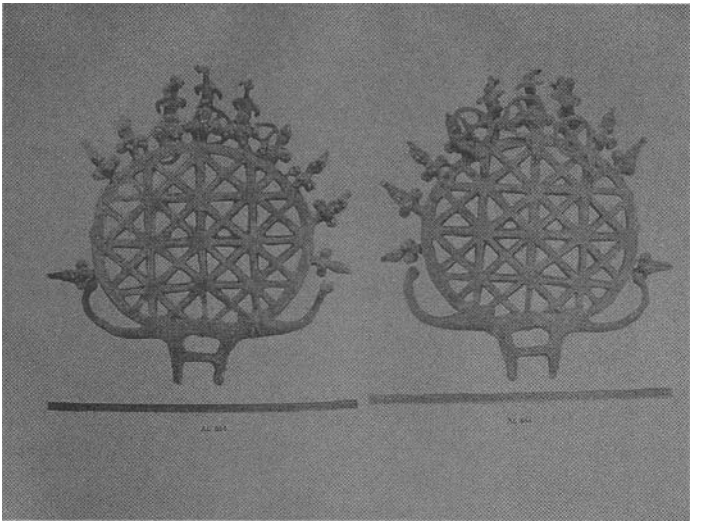

Figure 7.3. "Sun disk," Bronze, .237 × .340 m; collection of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara (Arık, 1937:CXCII).

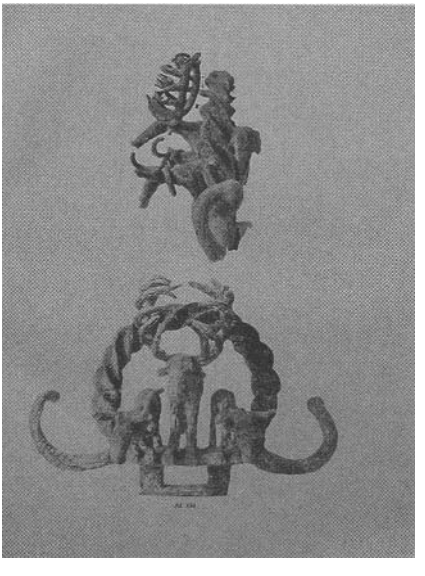

Figure 7.4. "Sun disk" with deer, Bronze, .220 × .170 m, collection of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara (Arık, 1937:CXCVI).

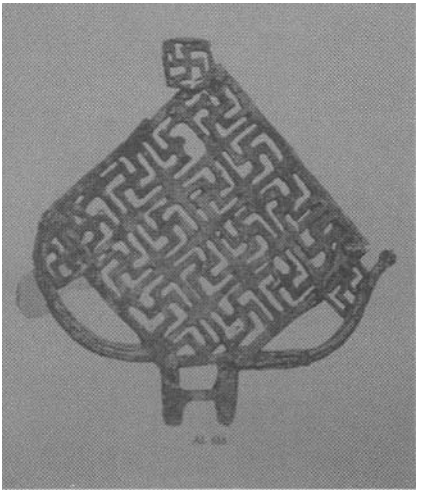

Figure 7.5. "Sun disk" with swastikas, Bronze, .350 × .325 m, collection of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara (Arık, 1937:CXCV).

> or such that they furnish the principle theme on these ex-voto take us above all to Central and Northern Asia. Does not the "swastica" symbolize the sun and heavenly continuation? In all the cases, one encounters the same constitutive elements of the discs in the monuments of Mesopotamia. (Arık, 1937:119)

Thus Arık's interpretation of the findings were well in line with those of the first Turkish Historical Thesis, attempting to link the Sumerians with Anatolia. And yet there was more. For the first time, local archaeological finds utilized images like the swastica. It was not the first time that somebody had used archaeological finds to suggest that the swastica had actually been a Turkish icon. For example, as an article in the June 5, 1935 issue of *Cumhuriyet* explained, during a visit to the "Museum for Getting to Know Nations" in Berlin, their reporters had been shown an example of a ninth-century Uygur mosaic floor inscribed with a swastica, which had been found in Turfan by Professor Bang. The article proceeds to explain that the sacred symbol had entered Buddhism from Central Asian roots.

While the discovery of an object decorated with a swastica design brought this claim home to Anatolia, two other discs were chosen to become iconic as sun disks. While the new objects fit with Aryan symbolism, they were also used to subtly distinguish between Turkish race theories related to Aryanism and the use of the swastica by the Nazis.

By the time of the Second Turkish Historical Congress in 1937, it had all come together. With an enlarged image of the sun disk behind the podium, Afet Inan (figure 7.6) explained the role of the sun as she introduced the congress:

Figure 7.6. Afet Inan at the Second Turkish Historical Congress, 1937 [La Turquie Kemaliste, 21–22 (12/1937):2].

> The Turkish revolution, which has squeezed the work of centuries into years, has discovered its own mihrab, that of the sun. In the voyage of history, it is us the Turks who most frequently encounter the traces of the sun's inspiration. The Turkish race discovered its culture in such a place that there the sun was the most productive. The Turks who had to leave their first home chose their primary routes of migration by following the guidance of the sun.
>
> They spread to the East and to the West; in those wide countries, they left the documents of their exalted existence. And our ancestors the Hittites, the first to establish the culture of our own home Anatolia, made a symbol of the sun. They made it the subject of the intricacy of their arts. Several sun disks found during the Turkish Historical Foundation's excavations at Alacahöyük provide incontestable proof of this . . . These sun disks, decorated with various geometrical designs, will take an important position in our history as the symbol of Turkish thought and art. (Üçüncü Türk Dil Kurultayı, 1937:7)

The same year, a line-drawing of the sun-disk adorned the cover of the first issue of the Turkish Historical Association's journal *Belleten*. Already at the third Linguistic Congress in 1936, Ibrahim Necmi Dilmen had explained that "The word Ari is contended to be the first name of the Indo-European race. . . it is thought that the primitive location of this race was the southwest of the Central Asian plains. . . [and] analysis by the Sun-Language Theory shows that the word

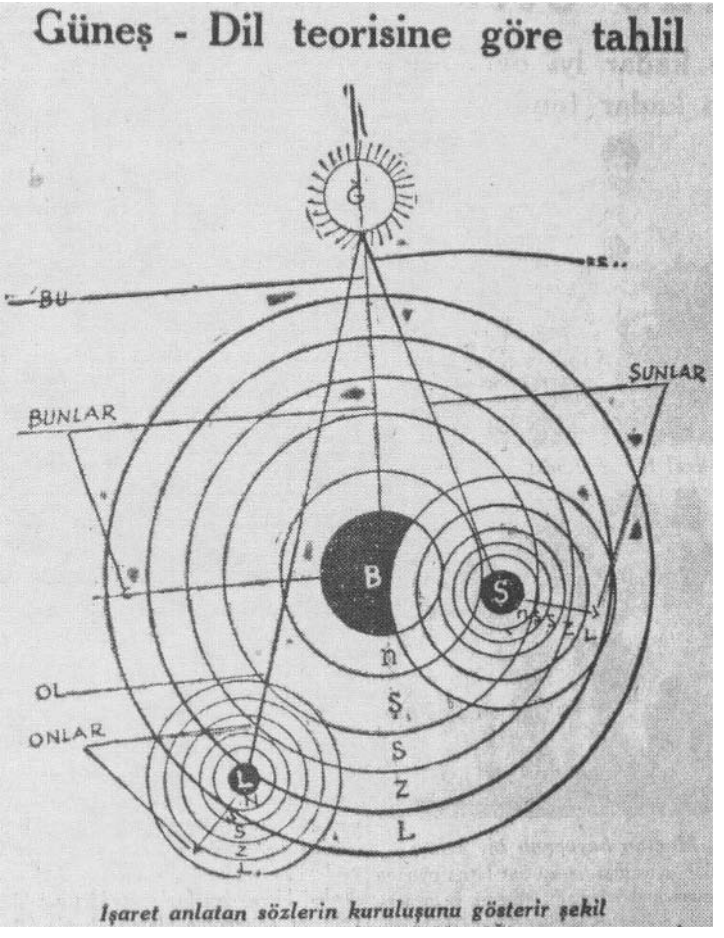

Figure 7.7. Diagram of the etymology of indicative pronouns (*Cumhuriyet*, February 24, 1936).

is Turkish" (Üçüncü Türk Dil Kurultayı, 1937:90). Along similar lines, in the first issue of *Belleten*, Professor H. Reşit Tankut, one of the authors of the Sun-Language Theory, explained the word "Alp and the Homeland of the Alpine Race" through a Sun-Language Theory bolstered by the image of a sun-symbol native to Anatolia.

The Sun-Language Theory and the sun disk did not remain cloistered in scholarly conferences. Explanations of the theory in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* used diagrams comparing the role of language to the solar system (figure 7.7). The solar disk became the symbol of the state-controlled Eti (Hittite) Bank, founded in 1935 to finance mining, as articles in *Cumhuriyet* explained that the Hittites had brought metallurgy and mining to the world.[12]

All this, it seems, from a strange 47-page package that came in the mail; from a gullible (as Ahmet Cevat Emre tells it) leader whose authority extended beyond his knowledge; and from an academic structure which favored an ideologically useful opinion over a correct one. Or, if we dispute Ahmet Cevat Emre's narrative, from an ideology based on a megalomaniac vision of universal racial and ethnic uniformity in which just about everybody was, at the root of their tongue, a Turk.

Ahmet Cevat Emre continues the above reminiscences about the birth of the Sun-Language Theory as follows:

> Ataturk was not considering the possibility that so many respectable people whom he trusted would be able to ally themselves in fooling the nation and him. He became angry at my criticisms, attributing them to my high self-opinion, saying, "professors are doing it, why don't you understand?" I came to have no answer other than, "I am trying to understand, sir."
>
> . . . When the theory encountered the criticism of Western Turkologists at the congress, Ataturk's confidence in our professors was shaken, and he came to understand that he had been fooled. From that point on, analyses of the Sun-Language Theory took the form of a fun puzzle-game. Ataturk from then on allowed anybody who wanted to to go ahead and publish an analysis; he even ordered that one analysis be published under the name of the boy Nuri, who had been hired to dust the shelves and bring books! Thus the sharlitanism of the professors was slapped into their faces.

Thus Ahmet Cevat Emre removes the stigma—even the embarassment—that such a bizarre theory had been supported by Ataturk himself, and places it squarely on the backs of the colleagues from whom he was all to eager to disassociate himself—even though he too had, at the 1932 congress, made a bid for the Turkish identity of the Sumerians. Clearly, numerous motivations lie behind Ahmet Cevat's recollections, including an effort to maintain a clean slate for the country's great leader. The increasing use of the Sun-Language Theory after its publication for racial investigations, particularly during the early years of World War II, suggest that while its uses were nowhere as innocent as Emre would have us believe, they also suggest that the most insidious uses of the theory appeared during the era when Ataturk's health was in severe decline and after his death.

The dictates had outlived the man. Do the rise and fall of the Sun-Language Theory and the archaeology which supported it suggest that Ataturk was a dictator?

The elevation of the sun-disk artifact to an icon during the very era of the Sun-Language Theory suggests that it functioned not only as a sign for the prehistoric Hittite past of Turkey, but also for the theory which linked the pre-historic Hittite Turks with their brethren in Central Asia, and thence the world. Yet it was the ideology constructed by historiography and linguistics, more than direct control, which made the archaeological activity of the first decades of the Turkish Republic focus on Hittitology, to the exclusion of all other interests. At the same time,

it must be remembered that while Turks did not excavate classical sites, many foreigners did do so throughout the republican period (Uçankus, 2000:16).[13] Thus the historiography of the state clearly dictated not the archaeology which was conducted as much as its utilization for the production of a centralized nationalist history. Much like the events leading to the formulation of the Sun-Language Theory, this history was written by scholars who earned their high standing through satisfying the aspirations of the nation's leader, and those who displeased him ran the risk of losing their status. In other words, it was to the benefit of historians and archaeologists alike to make their findings fit with the historical outline at hand, and archaeology was clearly used and supported for the purpose of bolstering state ideology. Was this hand that of a dictator, or was it that of the era which many people participated in producing and maintaining? Is there a difference?

Decades after Ataturk's death, the Sun-Language Theory has been long-since abandoned into the wastepile of bad, embarrassing, and all-too-telling ideologies, where it finds good company with phrenology, eugenicism, and segregationism among others. But the Hittite Sun, with its Aryanist implications long-since forgotten, became the emblem of Ankara in 1974, and remained in place until it was replacaced by an Islamicist emblem in 1995 (figure 7.8). The sun remains the symbol of the Ministry of Tourism, and is a popular design for jewelry. In his work *The Black Book*, the renowned Turkish author Orhan Pamuk, for example, uses it as a typical gift that a secularist, upper-middle class husband might give his wife. Looking at some snapshots, he sees "Rüya, five months ago at most . . . wearing the Hittite Sun medallion Galip had given her on her last birthday" (Pamuk, 1994:353). A monumental statue of another of the sun-disks has adorned a major artery of Ankara since 1977 (figure 7.9).

Not only do the sun disks persist as an emblem of identification with the prehistoric, but links between contemporary Turks and the Hittites continue to draw

Figure 7.8. Former emblem of the city of Ankara, compared to the new one, on the front page of the newspaper *Yeniyüzyıl* (7/5/2000).

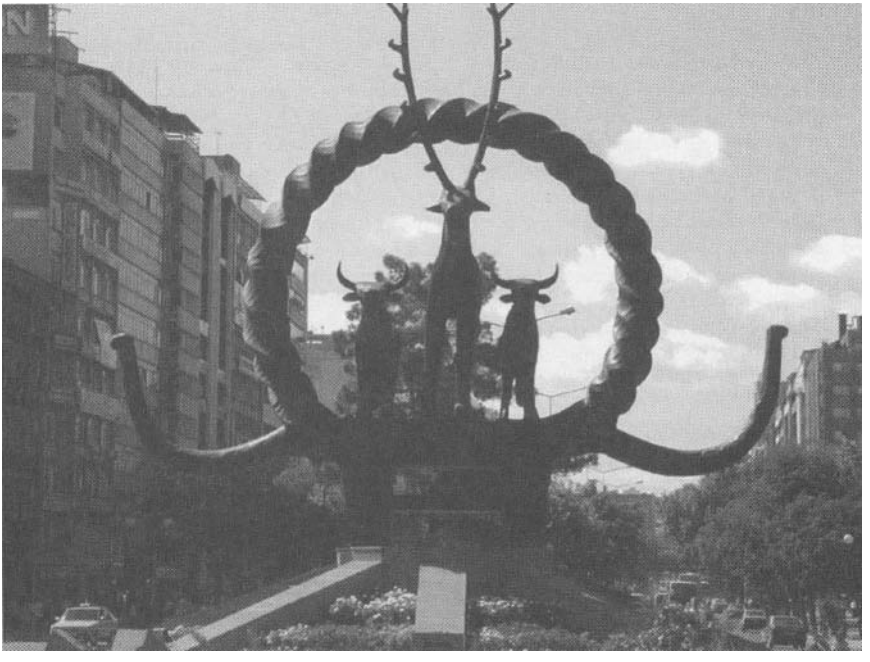

Figure 7.9. Monument on Ataturk Bulvari, Ankara.

public attention. For example, on December 10, 2002, the Turkish news service NTV reported that a Hittitologist, Assistant Professor Sedat Erkut of the Ankara Faculty of Language and Geography had used cuneiform tablets in the Norbert Schimmel collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art to link elements of the Santa Claus myth (Saint Nicholas is already associated with Demre in the municipal district of Antalya, in southern Turkey) with the Hittite Myth of Telapinu. According to the tablet, "They go to the mountain of Shiduva to cut an Eya tree. They bring him and put a statue of the god behind it. They bring a deer to place under it . . . Then they say to the mountain, we are going to take this tree in order to decorate it."[14] Such a link may be real or not; what is of interest is the persistant attempt to prove a share in European heritage through archaeological evidence, which has been part of the Turkish formulation of identity since the late Ottoman era.

The actual ideology which Ataturk supported may have been discarded, but its spawn is ubiquitous as an element of Turkey's national mythology of Anatolian autochthenaity and European commonality. Is an individual responsible for the dictatorship of an ideology which remains in place so many years after his death? Or is its continuation simply a sign of the mythology which such power put in place?

Notes

1. Any consideration of Ataturk's role as a political dictator—discussion of the "Freedom Courts" soon after the revolution or his party's control of the opposition party during his presidency—is well outside the scope of this paper.
2. For a complete discussion of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, see Shaw (2003).
3. See Korkmaz (1992), citing memoirs of Afet Inan, an anthropologist whom Ataturk had personally selected to accelerate her studies in order to help lead the crusade of the new history while also serving as a role model for women in modern Turkish society.
4. For more information on Turkish language reform, see Lewis (1999).
5. For an examination of contexts and the anti-imperialist implications of this historiography, see Shaw (N. D.).
6. Champlin (1994:193), quoting Toynbee (1947:167).
7. A. G. Spirkin, "Scientific Session Devoted to Marr Anniversary," Voprosy filosifi, No. 3, 1949 [published April, 1950, pp. 326–327], translated in Murra, Hankin, and Holling (1951).
8. A. Chikobava, "On Certain Problems of Soviet Linguistics," Pravda, May 9, 1950; translated in Murra, Hankin, and Holling (1951).
9. Quoted from N. Ya. Marr, "Language," Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 135 in Chikobava, 16 [see note 8].
10. Unpublished typed manuscript, Turk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Linguistics Foundation) Library.
11. Cox (1963:16), quoting Müller (Chips from a German Workshop II, London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1880: 255).
12. "Türklerde Madencilik: Demir sanaiini dünyaya tanıtan bir millet," (Turkish Metallurgy: A Nation That Introduced Metallurgy to the World), *Cumhuriyet* (April 6, 1937).
13. Among these, Th. Wiegand worked in Didima (1924–25) and J. Keil worked in Ephesus (1926–1935) during the early years of the republic (Uçankus, 2000:16).
14. http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/191843.asp?0m=-16b

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Chapter 8

On the Stage and Behind the Scenes

Greek Archaeology in Times of Dictatorship

DIMITRA KOKKINIDOU AND MARIANNA NIKOLAIDOU

> I suppose it is some sort of tribute to its reputation that Greek sculpture could so readily serve the noble, the sinister, and the absurd. Its service to the modern advertiser seems limitless.
>
> (Boardman, 1995:228)

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we examine the interplay between archaeology and dictatorship in the context of the Greek experience. First, we provide a general overview of the historical developments that have determined the nature of the discipline as an ideological tool of the triumphant nation. Second, we discuss two case studies: Metaxas' "New State" (1936–1941) and the Colonels' "National Revolution" (1967–1974). We argue that authoritarian regimes were not alone in abusing history to elaborate their propaganda apparatus (cf. Galaty and Watkinson, this volume); parliamentary governments—and indeed representatives of all sides of the political spectrum—have been equally active in promoting the nation's "imagined community" before, during and after dictatorship (cf. Anderson, 1991). Finally, we touch upon the legacy of authoritarianism-cum-antiquarianism, trying to understand where archaeology stands in Greek life of today. Heritage holds a pervasive

DIMITRA KOKKINIDOU • Departamento de Filología Clásica, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
MARIANNA NIKOLAIDOU • Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA

but also variously manifested significance in Greek society, making archaeology's "loss of political innocence" long overdue (cf. Kristiansen, 1993:3). We believe that archaeologists ought to take a critical stance on their profession's history and its present socio-political implications, if they are to play a positive role in the shaping of public attitudes and policies about the past.

As we set out to explore the traumatic episodes of dictatorship, we should first abandon any pretence of distant, objectified research, divorced from social experience (cf. Hamilakis, 2002:308). In our attempt to understand the identity of Greek archaeology in particularly troubled moments, we are balancing on the edge between historical fact and memory, pulling together strings of stories mostly untold (cf. Nikolaidou and Kokkinidou, 1998). Our sources have been fragmentary, heterogeneous and ambiguous, more often suggestive than explicit—as indeed every archaeological record is: historical studies (inevitably political), biographies and memoirs (by no means neutral or all-inclusive), legislative documents, archaeological publications, newspaper articles, and private and official letters, and finally, personal memories of childhood and early teen years spent in an oppressed country.

This endeavor has brought to focus several questions and provided partial answers to some. To begin with, what was the status of Greek archaeologists at the time? Did the body of knowledge produced differ from the scholarly output in periods of parliamentary freedom and, if so, in what ways? Can we trace counter-discourses behind the official façade of nationalism put up for internal consumption and international negotiation? In addition, did these phenomena materialize differently between various localities of center and periphery, according to the archaeological hierarchy and across different segments of the wider public?

We have found neither simple nor unique solutions to the above queries. It goes without saying that our account is far from exhaustive. It would take another paper, if not a monograph, to survey the social and intellectual history of Greek archaeology, its organization and institutional development, the role of foreign scholarship, or the effect of archaeological work on local people. Instead, the following sections highlight diverse perceptions of the past and complex, often conflicting, interactions between archaeology, political authority and the public. As the title of the paper suggests, theater (born in ancient Greece, after all) is an appropriate metaphor for the dramas staged by social actors in twentieth century Greece around an onerous heritage (cf. Tilley, 1989).

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. An Outline of Modern Greek History

After four centuries of Ottoman rule, the Greek nation-state came into being under the protection of the Great Powers of the day (Great Britain, France

Chronological Periods of Modern Greek History

1800–1833	The struggle for emancipation from Ottoman rule
1833–1913	Independence, nation building, irredentism and Balkan Wars
1913–1935	National schism, Asia Minor catastrophe, republic and restoration of monarchy
1936–1949	Metaxas dictatorship, Greek-Italian war, Axis occupation, resistance and civil war
1949–1974	"Uncertain democracy" and Colonels' junta
1974–to date	Consolidation of democracy; Greece member of the European Union

(after Clogg, 1986, 1992)

and Russia). Since then, the history of the country has been marked by long war adventures, perpetual political turmoil, conflicts between monarchy and republicanism, the persistence of clientalistic parties, the incapability of leaders to rise above personal animosities and historical quarrels to serve the country, institutional failure and thus frequent departures from the parliamentary system. In the twentieth century alone, the successes in the struggle with Turkey in the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) were counterbalanced by the Asia Minor catastrophe in 1922. Constant foreign intervention contributed to a disastrous polarization of political life. Political aversions were briefly put aside during World War II in front of the Axis threat; the victories against Mussolini's Italy in 1940–1941 were won in a climate of unanimous and almost religious exultation. Between 1941 and 1944 fascist occupation met with a widespread resistance movement organised mostly by the National Liberation Front (EAM) and its military wing, the National People's Liberation Army (ELAS), founded by the Communist Party and other left wing forces. Strife culminated soon after liberation over the issue of demobilization of the resistance forces. The Varkiza agreement (1945) brought no reconciliation; instead, it was used against the Left in a barrage of terror. The subsequent civil war (1946–1949) between the government army with British and American support and the Democratic Army, fought with mutual savagery, left the country demographically maimed, economically exhausted and socially divided. Thousands of leftists were imprisoned, executed or went into exile in the Eastern Bloc. Thereafter, parliamentary government of a kind was re-established, but the monopolization of power by revengeful right wing elements meant not only that collaborators escaped justice but also that citizens were divided between "nationally-minded" and "Slavo-communists" or "bandits" and their "sympathizers." The latter, tainted by association with the Left in the civil war or even with participation in the anti-Axis resistance, were discriminated against. This regime of "uncertain democracy" was, once again, overthrown, by a military coup d'état in 1967. The period after 1974 has finally seen the coming of age of Greek parliamentary institutions, including the definite settling of the question of monarchy versus republic in favor of the latter.

Authoritarianism in Greece has consistently drawn its power from the military, who were acting as agents of the bourgeois class and/or the monarchy or in their

own interests as an elite group.[1] The Metaxas dictatorship or "Monarch-Fascism," as the Greek leftist intelligentsia has labelled it, was prepared by the crown, supported by the armed forces and the British and facilitated by the politicians' inefficiency. Unlike, however, the Italian or German totalitarian models, parliamentary institutions in Greece did not collapse under the pressure of a widespread fascist movement. They were destroyed, instead, by the above-mentioned alliance, which dominated Greek politics also in the post-war era until 1947 when patronage was transferred from Britain to USA. The legacy left by the Metaxas regime was continued by the Colonels' junta.

2.2. Archaeology and the Greek State

Following the War of Independence in the 1820s, nation building was based upon a powerful double tradition: ancient Greece and the Byzantium. Whereas the classical legacy was prevalent in cultural and educational policies, foreign policy was inspired by the Byzantine past. The "Great Idea" was visualized as a program of national expansion that would bring the Byzantine Empire to life. Broadly defined, the lands to be joined in the future state included Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, the eastern Aegean Islands, Crete, Cyprus, western Asia Minor and eastern Rumelia. The emphasis was on the cultural rather than the strict ethnic preponderance of Greek populations in those lands. This national project was centered on the diachronic integrity of Hellenism, with the aim of promoting a twofold strategy: first, the consolidation of national identity within Greece and its diaspora; and second, the substantiation of irredentist visions about incorporating Greek-inhabited territories that were still under Ottoman rule.

The patronage of material remains has been an official prerogative from the very early years of independence (Kokkou, 1977:39–46; Petrakos, 1982:16–21, 111–113, 123–141). The first museum was founded in 1829, and a few years later the Archaeological Service was established (1833) to assume responsibility for research, protection and management of monuments. Excavations were also sponsored by the Athens Archaeological Society, founded in 1837, which still is the most important non-government antiquarian institution with a dynamic presence in fieldwork and publication (Petrakos, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c).

What sets politics of the past in Greece apart from European parallels is the global importance ascribed to its classical heritage (Lowenthal, 1988). According to Trigger's (1984) classification of Western archaeologies, Greek archaeology can be termed nationalist as an indigenous enterprise, whereas its international perspective carries the aura of imperialism. As Fotiadis (2001:117) has rightly remarked, nationalism has not served Greek archaeology merely as a socio-historic context in which scholarship was shaped and operated; most importantly, it was, and still is embedded in the very heart of the discipline as a primary "*epistemic*

system" (emphasis in original). Such nationalist phenomena have all too often been considered from a neo-colonialist perspective as exclusive to traditionally disputed regions on the margins of the Western world (e.g., the Balkans, the Middle East); in fact, however, they are innate to Western thought (Hamilakis, 1999a:103). It is within the framework of nationalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism that developments in Greek archaeology can acquire their full significance.

The appropriation of classical tradition by the West lent the powerless Greek state ideological support. Nonetheless, Greece has been for the Europeans neither genuinely occidental nor oriental, but rather a contradictory formation of ancient grandeur (expropriated physically and symbolically by powerful "protectors"—Bracken, 1975; Etienne and Etienne, 1992; Simopoulos, 1993) and present backwardness. Under the onus of this uncomfortable dichotomy, Greek nationalism resorted to the "symbolic capital" of the past (Hamilakis and Yalouri, 1996), by acclaiming modern Greece as the only authentic heir of classical ancestors to whom humanity owes an enormous intellectual debt. For the Greeks themselves, irrespective of political convictions, classical antiquity has acquired connotations of sacredness (Hamilakis and Yalouri, 1999), indeed elevated to a supreme "moral authority" (Hamilakis, 2002:322, 327) against which the conducts of citizens and the nation are judged.

This authority has traditionally been linked to the Right Wing, whereas systematic research on its role in the culture of the Greek Left is still lacking. Classical antiquity has operated not only as a field of domination but also of resistance, the prime example being the Athenian Acropolis, one of the most significant landmarks in the imagined territory of Hellenism and of the West alike. On 30 May 1941 two young men, Manolis Glezos and Lakis Santas, removed the German flag with the swastika (figure 8.1); the act is still celebrated today as the beginning of the anti-Nazi struggle, and the protagonists, who had been persecuted as communists in the post-war years, have been repeatedly honored for their patriotism since the official recognition of wartime resistance in the early 1980s (Yalouri, 2001:60–61). A similar, less publicized episode is reported from Olympia where a courageous, anonymous individual took the flag down from its post in the ancient stadium after the Glezos-Santas example.[2] At the concentration camp of Makronisos set up by the Greek government during the civil war, officially advertised as the "New Parthenon," both "remedial" indoctrination and counter-narratives of the inmates subscribed to the discourse of "ancestral glory" (Hamilakis, 2002). Prisoners were forced to construct models of various buildings at the Acropolis, ancient Greek warriors and open theaters, which were meant to be replicas of ancient theaters; on the other hand, they initiated performances of ancient plays, with covert messages of resistance. Finally, the Parthenon figured most prominently in political posters against the Colonels' dictatorship (Yalouri, 2001:46, figs. 2.10–2.11).

Figure 8.1. Taking down the German flag from the Acropolis. Drawing by Alekos Kontopoulos, painter at the National Archaeological Museum, 1941 (reproduced from Petrakos, 1994:116, courtesy Athens Archaeological Society).

Obsession with what was perceived as a period par excellence in human history inevitably resulted in underestimation of other periods, and in their treatment either as a prelude to or continuation of the classical peak. Again, this is best exemplified by the Acropolis, where all later monuments were demolished—subjected to "scientific purification" (cf. Hamilakis, 2002:324)—so that the classical ruins could be better excavated and displayed to advantage (Hamilakis, 2000a; McNeal, 1991; Yalouri, 2001:36). Examples of vernacular architecture have similarly been treated as "disgracing," in a "hegemonic way of hierarchizing and allocating time and space by 'national scholars' . . . " (Caftanzoglou, 2001:22–23). In this milieu of intellectual authoritarianism alternative views of the past have unavoidably been seen as unnecessary complications and discomforting deviations from the sanctioned norm of Greekness (cf. Kotsakis, 1991).

Unsurprisingly, this nationalist archaeology has attracted an aura of excitement and enigma among ordinary people, which is further fostered by mass media images of archaeologists as "treasure hunters." Professionals are admired for dealing with "high art" and for discovering the "nation's masterpieces." Archaeological

fieldwork may be a demanding undertaking, but the rewards are precious findings, preferably gold or fine sculptures. Idealization is, however, only one aspect of popular attitudes. A number of factors have contributed to an ambiguous public perception of archaeologists' work not least among which is the distinction between administrative and academic archaeology. Apart from some dozens of positions in universities, the government-controlled Archaeological Service is the only workplace available for practising archaeologists and thus the main contact zone with the public. As Greek law prohibits destruction of any archaeological remains prior to professional assessment, the Service's work is seen by many as an obstacle to land "development" and thus received negatively. Research opportunities are constrained by permanent lack of adequate staff and a non-stimulating bureaucratic overload. Much of the fieldwork takes the form of salvage excavations conducted in short time and with insufficient funds. An enormous bulk of material is amassed, rapidly removed and inadequately stored, never to be studied systematically because the staff must move on to the next rescue dig. Although conscientious archaeologists do their (often heroic) utmost to produce quality work under these unfavorable conditions, there are unfortunate cases of bureaucratic absurdity and micro-politics. As a result, non-employee scholars, who could assist the Service with its scientific work, find it hard to gain access to the study of material.

Petrakos (1995:14–16) has aptly described the Greek Archaeological Service as a "Service of personalities": without ignoring varying government policies, he emphasizes the role of influential individuals in reconstructing the history of the discipline. This approach, which can include academic archaeology as well, is necessitated by the broader personalistic character of Greek public life.

There has been a long-standing, regrettable tension between Service and non-Service archaeologists. Since its foundation to the fall of the junta, directorship of the Service had largely been in the hands of professors from (the conservative) Athens University, whose arrogant policies hampered innovation and scholarly progress. Interference by the foreign archaeological schools active in the country has further contributed to this unpleasant (as much as artificial) division: Service archaeologists have been reduced to the role of bureaucratic caretakers of monuments, whereas a privileged class of scholars have enjoyed opportunities for "pure" research and recognition of their work.

Academic teaching of archaeology carries the load of authoritarian patterns that are so deeply rooted in the field of cultural production as to be taken for granted (cf. Hamilakis, 2000b). These are not always overtly formulated nor are they confined to the discourse of Hellenic supremacy; gender, technology and political authority, among other things, are subject to essentialist treatments resonant with contemporary agendas, both "conservative" and "progressive" (Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou, 2000; Nikolaidou and Kokkinidou, 1998). Under these circumstances, it seems inevitable that official archaeology should project an image of the

past that is entirely consistent with the archaeologists' and their audience's biased present.

3. METAXAS' "NEW STATE"

3.1. Background Events

The picture of Greece in the inter-war years was one of military movements, successive general elections, economic strains and social anxiety, which eventually led to the downfall of constitutional government. The elections of 9 January 1936 produced a hung parliament with the communists, who had received only a minimal portion of the national vote, holding the crucial balance between the royalists and the republicans. The political deadlock that ensued was finally resolved on 13 April by King Georgios II, who, without consulting party leaders, designated as prime minister Ioannis Metaxas, a marginal far right figure in the parliament. The General had already had a long military and political career, always a devoted royalist. Soon after his appointment as premier, he proceeded to abolish democracy, under the pretext of constraining trade union demonstrations that were taking place in several cities against the rising cost of living and the threat of incoming dictatorship. When a general strike was called for 5 August, Metaxas took the ultimate step by persuading the king to declare martial law. The king accepted the installation of a dictatorship, with Metaxas at its head, to forestall a "communist uprising" and a "repetition of events in Spain" (cited in Andricopoulos, 1980:577, 583, n. 46). A number of key articles regarding civil rights in the constitution were suspended and parliament was formally dissolved. Unsurprisingly, Metaxas claimed that these were merely temporary measures until the communist menace was driven off. In reality, however, parliament was not to reconvene until 1946, after ten of the most tragic years in Greece's modern history. Since the dictator had seized power on the pretence that the country was threatened by the communists, the latter were by far the greatest victims among his political opponents. Imprisonment, torture and concentration camps on remote islands were the most popular "corrective" methods employed by the regime.

Backed by the army and police and tolerated by the king, Metaxas met with little opposition but equally with little support; the reaction of the majority of Greek people was one of resignation occasioned by the inability of the politicians to reconcile their differences. In ironic contrast to his Germanophile pronouncements, Metaxas' foreign policy remained friendly to Britain, in harmony with the king's wishes. Indeed, he caught the popular mood, the politicians' and even the Communist Party's approval when he gave his famous, one-word negative answer ("Ohi!", i.e. "No!") to a humiliating ultimatum posed by the Italian government on 28 October 1940, thus leading Greece to war against the Axis forces as the only then-active ally of the British.

3.2. Ideological Contours

Metaxas' doctrine, an amalgam of anti-communism, racism, nationalism (albeit of the non-expansionist variety) and populism, was developed along with the personal history of the man. Born on the Ionian island of Ithaca (never occupied by the Turks) to an old aristocratic family, which traced its roots back to late Byzantine times, he considered the Byzantium as his ultimate homeland. Devotion to the king (the alleged successor of the Byzantine emperors) was for him an unquestionable duty of his nobility, and he looked down upon the nouveau riche bourgeoisie of politicians. These ideas took root during his study at the prestigious military academy of Berlin early in the twentieth century, under the patronage of the Crown Prince of Greece Konstantinos. Indeed, Metaxas perceived it as his prophetic mission to reconstitute the "old glory" for his now "humble" country. His paternalistic style was signalled by the adoption of titles such as "Great Hellene," "National Father," "First Peasant," and "First Worker," and he shared the loathing of parliamentary democracy and communism, characteristic of German Nazism and Italian fascism, although his regime altogether lacked their dynamism. He envisaged a "New State" as a means of deactivating communist conspiracies, intervening "in all branches of social and economic life, in order to reconcile capital and labour and to meet the growing grievances of the industrial proletariat" (cited in Kofas, 1983:66, 219 n. 61). His admiration for the "serious German spirit" was in contrast with what he saw as his compatriots' lack of sense of corporate loyalty. In pursuit of his objective to recast the Greek character in a more disciplined mode, he adopted many of the practices of fascism. He placed great emphasis on the youth's national indoctrination, which would accomplish his vision of regenerating Hellenism and secure the continuation of his "ideals" after his death. To this effect, he founded the National Organization of Youth (EON), modelled after the German and Italian youth bodies, to serve as his Praetorian Guard.

In Metaxas' ideological construct, the immediate past—the period from independence to the institution of his dictatorship—is denounced as a period of degradation, which justifies disciplinary measures. It is always contrasted with the present, the quintessence of "national greatness." Greek history is seen as having experienced three landmarks of "glory," all three under authoritarian regimes. The "First Hellenic Civilization" was the "Golden Age" of Athens, when Pericles ruled as a virtual dictator behind a democratic façade. The "Second Hellenic Civilization" was the Byzantium, when Christianity spread among millions and the Greek spirit flourished for a millennium under an imperial autocracy. In conscious imitation of Hitler's Third Reich, the "Third Hellenic Civilization" was to be Metaxas' own regime.

The era of the "Third Hellenic Civilization" saw repeated book burnings in well-publicised gatherings. Among the classic works that were destroyed were those of Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Bernard Shaw, Johann

Goethe, Johann Fichte, Heinrich Heine, Anatole France, Fiodor Dostojevski, Maxim Gorki, Leo Tolstoy, Stefan Zweig, the Greek novelist Alexandros Papadiamantis, and others whose ideas were believed to be "anti-national." Even the staging of Sophocles' *Antigone* and the teaching of Pericles' funeral oration in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* were banned. Thus, we read the following provincial order, which was made general for all of the country on orders from Athens:

> . . . In the teaching of ancient Greek in the 6th High School Grade, omit the funeral oration of Pericles, substituting some Platonic dialogue, because the funeral oration, extolling democratic ideas, may be misunderstood by the students as indirect criticism of the vigorous government policy and, in general, of the trend of the present State. We say misunderstood because the National Government in reality is furthering democratic ideas and properly conceived liberty by striking at demagogic tendencies and sources of decay. Because, however, adolescence does not have the ability for induction and for the tiresome search for truth, and is prone to the formation of beliefs based only upon emotions, it is advisable that the brilliant pages of Thucydides be left for those years when the Greek youth, sufficiently mature, may hear from university professors an analysis of the beauty of the ancient texts. Otherwise, there exists the probability that these pages will produce the same ruinous disintegrating results that they did during the period of the Peloponnesian War, when they were recited to the unstable populace of Athens by the great Pericles, who presented so brilliantly the victories of democracy to the intellectually unprepared Athenian rabble, that it overestimated its strength and destroyed with anarchist arrogance the wonderful works which democratic ideas had created in a more suitable period . . . (cited in Stavrianos, 2000:673)

The above excerpt illustrates eloquently the selective use of the distant past in the service of Metaxas' propaganda. On the one hand, ancient Athens is celebrated as a cultural archetype and, on the other, Athenian democracy, which produced the very intellectual achievements so admired by the regime, is criticized as a mob rule responsible for the Peloponnesian War. It should come as no surprise that Metaxas felt more comfortable with Sparta, because its citizens were blindly devoted to the state. The Spartan model of self-discipline, prowess and obedience became the principal model for the "New State;" and the promise "we shall surpass you," which young Spartans gave their fathers before the latter went to war, was used to reinforce the youth's belief in the country's progress.

In ironic contrast to the status of ancient Spartan women, the morals of the regime demanded that their contemporary counterparts remain low-key and domestic. Only the motherly role was highlighted with powerful images of the motherland and women-as-mothers-of-heroes—again validated through glorious examples of the past, such as the Spartans. Motherhood has traditionally been a sacred notion in Greek society, politically manipulated within a heroic and thus

male-centered context. On the contrary, motherhood as an essentially female quality, divorced from the heroic spirit, tends to acquire ambiguous, if not negative, connotations. Loukia Metaxa, the dictator's daughter and a leader in EON, remarks:

> Greeks have always known to show a virile ethos, low in numbers, frugal, poor, victorious over the flaccid matriarchal materialism and its infidel and barbarous hordes. (Metaxa and Govostis, 1977:269)

Prehistoric matriarchy had been a hotly debated issue for several decades. Bronze Age Crete, in particular, had been considered as a prime example of matrifocal goddess-centered societies. During these very years the father of Minoan archaeology, the celebrated Sir Arthur Evans, sought (late in his life) the roots of Christianity in the matriarchal (as he believed) cults of Crete, thus creating an image of a "Minoan Madonna":

> [Minoan] Religion itself belonged fundamentally to Western Asia. It is not strange, therefore, that the form of Christian belief that we still see to-day throughout the Mediterranean area should find some interesting anticipations in that of Minoan Crete. The root idea was matriarchal and the Mother Goddess presides. The adoration of Mother and Child on a Minoan signet-ring, with the Magi in the shape of warriors bringing gifts, is almost a replica of a Christian ring-stone of the Sixth Century of our era. The mother here with the Child on her lap is a true Madonna. (cited in MacGillivray, 2000:302)

Evans was a principal honoree at the 50th anniversary of the British School at Athens. During the celebrations held in London in the fall of 1936, the Greek government representative aptly captured the public's (partially informed) perception of archaeological achievement by stating that:

> . . . Sir Arthur Evans had the unique distinction of turning into authentic history what had previously been considered as mythology. (cited in MacGillivray, 2000:301)

3.3. Olympic Festivals

Nazi abuse of the past manifested itself in international exaggeration of Germanic influences and idealization of classical antiquity (Arnold, 1990; Fleischer, 2000; Ioannidis, 1988). Sparta was admired for its "pioneering eugenic" policies and Athens for its artistic and intellectual perfection. Hitler contributed his own views on the subject referring to the Greeks as Germans who had survived a northern catastrophe and evolved a highly developed culture in southern contexts. By contrast, Byzantium and contemporary Greece were seen as having been "contaminated" by "inferior human material."

Among the loci of ancient Greek civilization, the sanctuary at Olympia had always held particular significance for the Germans, who had been conducting

excavations there since 1897. Hitler himself saw to the renewal of the Olympic games on the occasion of the Berlin Olympics in 1936, and the torch relay was then introduced after a German proposal to promote an upgraded (as much as distorted) image of ancient Greece (Mackenzie, 2003).

In the same year Athens celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the revival of the Olympic Games, and splendid ceremonies were organized by the International and Greek Olympic Committees (Yalouri, 2001:39–40). It was during the Berlin Olympics that Metaxas overthrew democracy. The Nazis naturally welcomed his regime, although they did not acknowledge it as purely fascist since the king, the second member of the dictatorial duo, was attached to the British (Fleisher, 2000:36–37).

3.4. The Archaeological Protagonists

> Despite an inevitable difference owing to time, modern Greek civilization is in many aspects connected to the historical core of integral Greece and represents its moral, spiritual and psychical continuation. (Oikonomos, cited in Petrakos, 1987b:168)

Thus spoke Georgios Oikonomos, Secretary of the Athens Archaeological Society, in his ceremonial address on the Society's centenary. The celebration took place at the Parthenon on 23 October 1938 and was attended by the royal family (Petrakos, 1987b:168–170, 1987c: 207–208, figs. 2–3). Oikonomos, professor at Athens University, director of the Archaeological Service and a declared friend of the palace, was indifferent, if not hostile, to any effort for improvement of the archaeological situation (Petrakos, 1995:35).

At the same time some young archaeologists were promoting within the Service the new ideas that had had a profound impact upon Greek society in the first thirty years of the 20th century: liberalism, Marxism, educational transformation and the acceptance of spoken Greek (*demotic*) instead of an artificial archaist Greek (*katharevousa*), theretofore used by the establishment.[3] The principal advocates of innovation in archaeology were Christos Karouzos, his wife Semni Papaspyridi-Karouzou, and Yannis Miliadis. Humanists of erudition and uncompromising integrity, they had been militant defenders of the archaeological profession and mission. Their commitment, courageously expressed under adverse circumstances, cost them repeated conflicts with the establishment throughout their careers.

In 1935 Karouzos was transferred unfavorably from Thebes to Volos; his archaeological guide to the Museum of Thebes, written in lively and pioneering demotic was ignored by the government publishing services. In a letter to Oikonomos (15 June 1935), he protests unfair dealings and conservative prejudices, also referring to rumors that the prime minister's wife Lina Tsaldari had spoken of him as "the worst archaeologist in the Service" (cited in Petrakos, 1995:36–38).

Interestingly, however, Oikonomos voted for Karouzos' doctoral dissertation, which was successfully defended in 1939 against other conservative examiners. In a letter to Oikonomos (3 May 1939), Karouzos properly acknowledged this support (cited in Petrakos, 1995:51). He had first submitted his dissertation in 1929, but it was then rejected by the principal examiner Apostolos Arvanitopoulos, another conservative academic with a controversial role (Petrakos, 1995:39–42). The main defender of Karouzos in the first examination was Antonios Keramopoulos, under whom he had served as a young curator at the Acropolis (Petrakos, 1995:23, 51–52, 81).[4]

This innovative spirit was met with a strong reaction from Spyridon Marinatos and his court, which prevailed in archaeological affairs up to 1974. The rivalry between Marinatos and Karouzos dates back to their undergraduate years at Athens University as competitors for a scholarship (1916), which was eventually awarded to Karouzos (Petrakos, 1995:21). A recognized specialist in Aegean prehistory, Marinatos was also known for his view of Greek archaeologists of his generation as "Bolsheviks or social reformers of no international recognition" (letter to Professor Georgios Sotiriou, 8 June 1928; cited in Trimis et al., 1995:42). Soon after his appointment as professor at Athens University by Metaxas, Marinatos succeeded Oikonomos in the directorship of the Archaeological Service when the latter chose to move to the more prestigious position of the Director General of Antiquities, Letters and Arts in 1937 (Petrakos, 1995:46).

Following his crushing of the Cretan Revolt in July 1938, Metaxas proclaimed himself dictator for life; then, he tightened his repressive policies, which transformed his regime into an extreme authoritarian (quasi-fascist) state. While purges in the academy affected most of the School of Philosophy of the newly-founded University of Thessaloniki (1925), owing to its innovative character (Hasiotis, 2000:22; Tiverios, 2000a:115), the Athens academic establishment enjoyed the regime's support. On 13 March 1940 Metaxas attended a public lecture by Marinatos. The latter, in return, paid tribute to the "Deceased" (the dictator) and the "Absent" (King Georgios II), in his ceremonial speech at Athens University on the first national celebration of 28 October 1940. This speech, delivered and broadcast on radio on the eve of the civil war (27 October 1945), inevitably caused reactions (Petrakos, 1995:201, n. 52).

Although the majority of Service staff hoped that Marinatos could play a positive role, Miliadis sketches the real character of the man as follows:

> Marinatos has certainly better intentions than the other one [G. Oikonomos], but it is the other one who governs behind the scenes. Besides, Marinatos has good intentions up to the point that they are confronted with his personal interests . . . It seems, however, that he is beginning to feel—as all of those who made it and established themselves—that he belongs to the cast of the establishment rather than to the ranks of fighters. (letter to Karouzos, 4 December 1937, cited in Petrakos, 1995:47)

Marinatos was soon to show his old hostility against Karouzos, sabotaging applications of the latter for study leaves and reprimanding him for his refusal to publish in Greek archaeological journals.[5] Semni Karouzou, one of two female, married archaeologists out of four total at that time, was not spared either; she became the principal target of Marinatos' legislation of 1939 (Petrakos, 1995:50) as part of wider gender discriminations introduced into the public sector (Avdela, 1990:149), to ensure that women were confined to their "natural" roles as wives and mothers. The new act established that:

> Only male graduates of Philology are appointed as curators on the grade and salary of first class Secretary . . .
>
> The female component already on staff shall continue in service but shall not under any circumstances be permitted to undertake the directions of museums or regional offices, in accordance with the provision of article 17, paragraph 7 of the present Law. Should female members of the academic staff happen to be married, they must take obligatory retirement after completing 25 years of public service.[6] (cited in Petrakos, 1982: 52)

The law in question was abolished in 1942 (Petrakos, 1995:50, 202 n. 57).

4. ARCHAEOLOGY IN WAR AND POST-WAR TIMES

Although a detailed discussion of this period lies beyond the scope of this paper, we think that a brief excursus provides a necessary link between the two dictatorships under study.[7]

When the Greek-Italian war broke out ancient Greeks and their monuments were summoned to help in the battle against the Axis. Greeks of 1940 appeared as direct descendants of the Marathon heroes (figure 8.2) and Italians were loaded with all of the negative attributes of Romans. The Greek and Italian press fought a war of words around the past, and the British employed similar metaphors to strengthen the spirit of their (then indispensable) Greek allies; even the long-disputed issue of the Parthenon marbles was artfully brought up, with empty promises for their return from the British Museum to Athens.

The Metaxas regime had chosen to avoid any emergency action for protection of monuments that could be taken as war preparation. Only after the Italian attack, in October 1940, were urgent measures taken. Most major museums and collections were evacuated and the objects were safely placed in crypts within museum basements or ancient monuments. Special committees of archaeologists, academics, government officials and civilians in charge were set up all over Greece to supervise the proper packaging and hiding of exhibits, as well as the cataloguing of collections. This tremendous task was carried out successfully thanks to the extraordinary efforts of twenty-four archaeologists serving at that time, assisted

Figure 8.2. Ancient Greek warrior. Wood-carving by Tasos on the cover of the literary review *Nea Estia*, Christmas 1940 (reproduced from Petrakos, 1994:70, courtesy Athens Archaeological Society)

by some young non-employee Greek archaeologists, foreign colleagues (including Germans) and support staff.

When the Nazis invaded Athens, Christos and Semni Karouzou resigned their membership in the German Archaeological Institute; a risky act and all the more noteworthy because the Karouzos couple were the most outstanding representatives of the German scholarly tradition in Greece. Although their example did not find followers, most Greek archaeologists stood up with dignity, refusing the German request to reopen museums. The pressure was particularly strong at Olympia. As the occupiers fussed about antiquities being destroyed in hiding, Greek authorities had to eventually reopen cases to verify the security of objects but mainly in order to give the German excavator, Emil Kunze the opportunity to continue his study (1940–1942). As Petrakos bitterly remarks (1994:98–99):

> In those times, Greek inhabitants, especially in Athens and Piraeus, were plagued by hunger. Greek archaeologists in Athens were wandering about, shopping net in the hand with only a feeding pot in it. Their colleagues at Olympia could still offer to scholarship their knowledge and expertise and make use of dead time during Occupation.

Despite the patriotism of most Greek archaeologists, irrespective of political affiliation, antiquities suffered grave damage done by the occupying troops; the

subsequent civil war further added to this. Disgraceful cases existed on the Greek side, too. The evacuated National Archaeological Museum was used to house various public services, including a health center for prostitutes. During the civil war the government was planning to convert the museum into a jail for political prisoners—a hideous project which was eventually averted under strong protest by the Archaeological Society. At Olympia, even before the war, there was heavy looting, tolerated scandalously by the local curator Panagiotis Nerantzoulis, who was dismissed for unacceptable behavior in 1937. His successor Ioannis Kontis, later one of the most successful directors of the Archaeological Service, tried to control illegal activities and to maintain a dignified collaboration with the German researchers. However, he was blamed for xenophilia by looters and persecuted by his senior Foivos Stavropoulos, who became one of the prime opportunistic courtiers of Marinatos and Keramopoulos. Stavropoulos' "national achievement," as he boasted about it, was to obstruct the work of foreign scholars whenever this put him at any personal inconvenience. Kontis was officially accused, arrested and imprisoned in Athens for fifteen days in February 1941. He was finally cleared of the charge through the interference of his former professor, Oikonomos.

At the end of the war archaeologists were persecuted for participation in the resistance, the best known case being Yannis Miliadis (figure 8.3), director of the Acropolis during occupation and a dynamic opponent of German interference. He left the Service early in 1944 to assume his duties as a delegate of the PEEA National Council but returned in October.[8] During the clashes between ELAS and

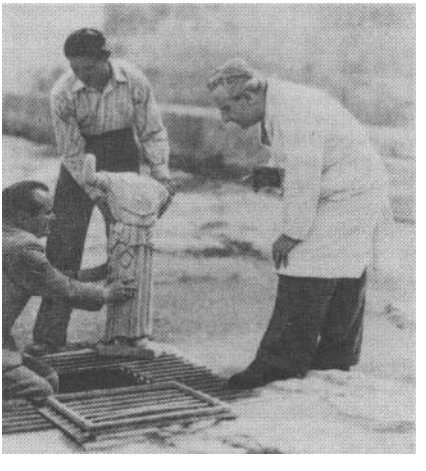

Figure 8.3. Yannis Miliadis (right) examines the statue of Athena No. 140 of the Acropolis Museum, after it was taken out of its crypt, 1947 (reproduced from Petrakos, 1994:102, courtesy Athens Archaeological Society).

British troops in December 1944 in Athens, he was arrested and exiled to El Daba in Egypt, and was eventually forced to resign, between 1947 and 1951.[9]

The bleak years of war and civil strife, nevertheless, saw significant scholarly and social contributions. In Crete Nikolaos Platon, director of the Herakleion Museum since 1938, turned the evacuated museum into a seminar center for the sake of Cretan students who could not return to Athens. During the civil war he resumed excavation, research and monument management all over Crete, overlooking no period or field of study in the island's history (Parlamas, 1987). In Athens, Karouzos, director of the National Museum since 1942, remained active with research as well as treatises on philosophy and politics—a theoretical but significant contribution parallel to the militant course of Miliadis. Between 1947 and 1957 he offered a series of courses on archaic and classical art, organized by the cultural society "Athinaion;" instructors in this program of open education also included the byzantinist Manolis Hatzidakis, ancient historian Mihalis Sakellariou, and other scholars, scientists and artists.

In the fall of 1944 Karouzos was offered the directorship of the Archaeological Service by Georgios Papandreou, prime minister in the interval between the end of German occupation and the outbreak of the civil war. Karouzos declined, considering himself ill equipped for the administrative demands of the position; he recommended instead Miliadis as the only legitimate and qualified archaeologist for the task. The social and cultural missions of the discipline, as Karouzos envisaged them, largely remain to be fulfilled:

> Duties of contribution to modern Greek culture: these are the most important. Archaeologists ought to do serious intellectual work, so that ancient Greece becomes for us a source of life, as it has been for other European peoples. The human values that exist inexhaustible within ancient Greek art must fertilize the soul of our people. There are today in our country and people all the preconditions for this ideal to be fulfilled by Greek archaeology while, on the other hand, the decadence of the archaeological discipline in Greece will influence very negatively a great part of our scientific and, in general, intellectual life. (letter to Papandreou, November 1944, cited in Petrakos, 1995:78)

In 1948 Karouzos was forced to resign from his position under accusations of "communist" and "subversive" behavior. His knowledge and service being indispensable, he was reappointed in 1949 to undertake with his wife the reorganization of the National Archaeological Museum, for which they were widely acknowledged.

Post-war reconstruction involved a renewed abuse of the past to "rehabilitate" "sinful" Greeks. The perceived incompatibility between the destiny of Greece's citizens (as descendants of ancient Greeks) and left-wing ideologies was reinforced through propaganda and persecution. While the "glory that was Greece"

was revived through the suffering of the defeated, material remains were treated less "gloriously" by the state, which lacked both the infrastructure and perspective necessary to accomplish the immense task of archaeological restoration and future management. As one of the oldest government agencies, the Archaeological Service has inevitably shared the dysfunction of Greek administration as a whole. Originally established as a minor (and rather unconnected) directorate within the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, it remained so until it came under the auspices of the Ministry of the Presidency in 1960 (Petrakos, 1982:204, 1995:130–139). The promotion of archaeology to a hierarchically higher ministry resulted from a new economic policy that saw ancient monuments as a primary source of capital but failed to control the disastrous impact on heritage of the socio-political changes in post-war Greece (tourism, urbanization, uncontrolled building). As for the political leadership, it remained more concerned about the left wing or liberal affiliations of archaeologists, rather than with facing real problems. Only in the early 1960s were considerable improvements achieved, under the competent directorship of the Service by Ioannis Papadimitriou (1959–1963) and Ioannis Kontis (1963–1967). Once more, however, the pace of progress was cut short by dictatorship.

5. THE COLONELS' "NATIONAL REVOLUTION"

5.1. Background Events

On 15 July 1965 King Konstantinos II maneuverd the prime minister Georgios Papandreou into resigning, thus generating a grave political crisis. His objective was to split Papandreou's party by attempting to form a minority government from within its ranks. In December 1966 the leaders of the two major parties, Papandreou of the Center Union and Panayiotis Kanellopoulos of the National Radical Union, reached an agreement to hold elections on 28 May 1967. These were to be overseen by a non-political caretaker government but they were never held. Meanwhile, a group of senior army officers had been making conspiracy plans if disorder were to follow the widely predicted victory of the Center Union. At the same time, to no knowledge of their seniors, a group of middle rank officers had been making their own plans. On 21 April 1967 they executed their putsch, taking the king, the politicians and the military leadership alike by surprise. A shadowy Revolutionary Council backed up the new powerful men, Colonels Georgios Papadopoulos and Nikolaos Makarezos, both former intelligence officers, and Brigadier Stylianos Pattakos.[10] A decree, signed by the king, was issued imposing martial law. Political liberties were abolished and special military courts were set up. Citizens with a leftist or liberal record were arrested, imprisoned, tortured or sent into exile to the islands. The "Colonels," as the junta

came to be known, justified their "National Revolution" by the need to deter a looming communist peril, a claim that even conservative citizens found hard to accept because the Communist Party had been outlawed since 1947. The usurpers' real motive was fear that a Center Union victory at the polls scheduled for May would have been followed by a purge of officers of known ultra right wing views.

At its start the "Revolution of 21 April 1967," as the coup was now officially known, seemed stable; the prosperity enjoyed by certain social groups, combined with disappointment at the endless intrigues of the politicians, discouraged the development of any widespread resistance. Yet, a little later the first signs of degeneration began to appear. The initial indifference of the Greek people was replaced by anger at the cruelty and incompetence of the regime. It was "anonymous" opponents, and in particular students, who suffered most. The known ones such as Andreas Papandreou, Melina Merkouri, Mikis Theodorakis and Lady Amalia Fleming were treated more clemently and simply banished from the country. There they joined other expatriates in organizing a propaganda campaign against the junta. Student protests broke out in Athens in February 1973 with the occupation of the School of Law and reached their peak in November with a revolt at the Technical University, both suppressed brutally. Finally, corruption and the dictators' disastrous involvement in the Cyprus crisis, resulting in the Turkish invasion, led to their fall on 23 July 1974.

5.2. Ideological Contours

The "value" system of the junta is crystallized in the phrase "torture is necessary for the protection of our civilization," with which one of the dictators responded to Amnesty International complaints regarding human rights violations in Greece (cited in Ploritis, 1997). In the time-honored fashion of Greek usurpers, the Colonels' rhetoric was replete with populism, nationalism and anticommunism to justify oppression. Stressing their own low social background, they claimed to share the interests of the working classes. According to their "surgical" discourse, the "ill nation had to be bandaged to recover." "Recovery" involved, among other things, absolute control of press and broadcasting, so that the Greek people were brainwashed in favor of the "Revolution." All publishing and artistic activity was subject to government approval. According to its degree of "dangerousness," censored material was categorized as "immoral," "antinational" and "persuading to die" (Petropoulos, 1996), and "inappropriate" books already in circulation were blacklisted. Left wing bookshops and literary reviews were closed down. An atmosphere of mediocrity and servility was promoted in education together with systematic attacks against the image of academic teachers (Anonymous, 1972; Roufos, 1972). The reform of 1964 was abolished and *katharevousa* returned to classrooms. Academic libraries had to dispose of "communist" admissions and teaching staffs were instructed not to recommend foreign bibliography. Instead, students were

now given a single textbook only to memorize. Distrust of non-Greek scholarship (which the dictators could not read in the first place, let alone understand) was justified on nationalist grounds. In a speech at the University of Ioannina on 6 December 1969, Colonel Georgios Ladas, a "wise man" of the junta and, presumably, a student of philosophy, stated, "... no other people have any philosophers. The Greeks have exhausted the subject... Foreigners can only imitate them" (cited in Roufos, 1972:151). The whole attitude of the regime towards scholarship was expressed in bucolic tones in a speech by primer minister Papadopoulos at the University of Thessaloniki on 5 January 1968; he declared that "students should henceforth dread, as punishment far worse than any other, the sending of a letter of reprimand by the Rector to their village, which would be read aloud by the local priest in front of the entire congregation." (cited in Roufos, 1972: 151–152)

Inevitably, obscurantism produced tragi-comic situations (Anastasiadis, 2001). For example, the black list included a Russian language learning method, a Greek-Bulgarian dictionary, a biography of Peter the Great, *Crown and Hammer and Sickle*, a book about the Rumanian monarchy, published by the Greek Royal Foundation (all recalling the "Iron Curtain"), as well as John Galbraith's *Triumph* because of its criticism of the American political system. Even *Hellenic Nomarchy* (a later Greek word for prefecture) by an anonymous author, perhaps the most original manifestation of Greek self-determination, first printed in 1806 (Clogg, 1986:41), was not spared by the ignorant. When the publishing house "Kalvos" enquired about the decision of the censorship committee regarding re-edition, they were informed that the copies submitted had been forwarded to the Interior Ministry which was in charge of local government affairs.

At the core of authoritarian discourse was the "Hellene-Christian ideal," which had long been the slogan of the extreme Right in its attempt to reconcile the essentially conflicting values of ancient Greek and Byzantine civilization. National anniversaries, now including the 21st of April, were celebrated with performances full of verbal and visual pomp. The Phoenix emerging alive from the flames became the emblem of the new "aesthetic;" an ancient mythological symbol of regeneration, the "bird" (as it was called popularly) was used to signify the nation's "rebirth" under the regime (figure 8.4). A series of pageants were orchestrated at the Panathenaic Stadium of Athens: young people in ancient and Byzantine attire, war veterans and folklore figures participated in parades, chariot races and representations of battles. Furthermore, the regime undertook an ambitious project known as the "Votive" (To Tama), which was never completed, to build a church imitating St. Sophia of Constantinople. The location chosen was Tourkovounia, a hill in northern Athens with a view of the Acropolis, so that the new building would match, or even compete with, the classical monuments in glory (Yalouri, 2001: 44–45).

Figure 8.4. A soldier is standing in front of the Phoenix emerging from its flames. The legend around the "bird" reads: "Greece, 21 April;" the legend in the foreground reads (with misspelling): "Greece is the Cradle of Civilization" (personal archive of Dimitra Kokkinidou).

5.3. Breaking the Silence

From the very beginning of the dictatorship, nearly all intellectuals chose to remain silent, refusing to publish any work under censorship (Roufos, 1972). This was both an act of protest and a way of preserving their dignity. Most conspicuous of all, Nobel laureate Giorgos Seferis actually withdrew a book from the printer. Seferis was the first to break the silence; in March 1969 he handed out a memorable statement of protest, which was heard over foreign broadcasts and circulated in typewritten copies. Greek newspapers were prohibited from publishing it but were forced to publish a vicious attack on the poet.

Under the concern of losing international face, the junta lifted press censorship (1969) and abolished the book index (1970). At the same time, though, a press law was passed, threatening with stiff sentences any writer or publisher who might dare offend the dictators in any foreseeable way. Thus, while keeping up a liberal façade, the regime was also preventing any public resistance. Under these ambiguous circumstances, intellectuals were faced with a dilemma: speak out or not? A group of writers finally decided to take the challenge and see how wide, in effect, was the margin of freedom granted. Thus, in July 1970, eighteen authors

published a collection of poems, shorts stories and essays, all texts with disguised political messages, so that it would be difficult for the authorities to prosecute. Success exceeded every expectation, with high sales and international recognition. *Eighteen Texts* was followed, in February 1971, by *New Texts*, a collection of straight political essays. Although enraged, the junta limited itself to a verbal critique and to persecuting only a few authors. The impact of both books was so strong internationally that disciplinary measures would have been damaging to the regime's image.

5.4. Political and Scholarly Profiles

Civil servants, whose allegiance was in doubt, were among the first to experience harassment or persecution; many were dismissed or forced to demonstrate their loyalty to the "Revolution." The Union of Greek Archaeologists, founded in 1959 as a joint initiative of Service employees of diverse political affiliations, was banned (Petrakos, 1995:142). The "uncooperative" director of the Archaeological Service, Ioannis Kontis, a successful administrator and erudite scholar, was removed in July 1967 (Petrakos, 1982:47–48, 1995:164–167). He was immediately replaced by Marinatos, utterly devoted to the regime, so that he retained his post throughout its entire duration.

After his first office under Metaxas (see above section 3.4), Marinatos came back as head of the Service in 1955, until his forced resignation in 1958. He, then, not only resumed his attacks against his old colleagues, whom he now called "people of the mountains" (Konstantinopoulos, 1989a:51),[11] but also extended them to all young "disrespectful," "inexperienced" and "non-courageous" recruits, many of them belonging to the "so-called weak sex" (cited in Petrakos, 1995:124–128, 211 n. 167). Thanks to the Colonels, he finally had a free hand to "save" the discipline from the disasters of "New Archaeology," as he collectively labelled any progressive initiative in the profession (Petrakos, 1995:161).[12] A few months before the coup, he had openly appealed to the "testimony of those wishing to speak and not daring," meaning the various informers who would, then, assist "the Service's military commissar" (cited in Petrakos, 1995:162).

Greek archaeologists received welcome support from their foreign colleagues (Karouzou, 1984:45–48). Karl Schefold and Paul Anderson of the Swiss Archaeological Institute in Athens and Peter Franke of Saarbrücken University took the lead in raising funds for those who had lost their jobs. Others tried to assist through invitations to their institutions abroad. Among those invited was Semni Karouzou, invited by her colleagues Emil Kunze, Dieter Ohly and Homman Wedeking to Munich.[13] She left secretly by boat to Italy; upon her return to Greece, she was accused of being a communist and refused free movement. It was then that her British colleagues denounced this prohibition on the front page of the Times, stressing her and her husband's scholarly and patriotic work. In the presence of

international outcry, the military authorities were forced to suspend the ban, so that she could travel again as a visiting scholar at the Universities of Tübingen and Geneva invited by Urlich Hausmann and José Döring.

Given that oppression was more severe in the public sector, resistance to the regime was fought covertly. This may be seen in the case of Manolis Andronikos, a professor of classical archaeology at Thessaloniki University. Long before he became renowned for his discoveries at Vergina (see below section 6), Andronikos was already a cultural figure who had intervened in the public life of Greece in many different ways. When Greek intellectuals decided to break their silent protest, he wrote a series of newspaper articles (collected in Adronikos, 1975), commenting upon a variety of key issues in Greek society of the time.

Titles and subjects include:

- "Education or Hypno-Education?": a defence of humanist as opposed to technocratic education (*Oikonomikos Tahydromos*, 29 October 1970)
- "The Contribution of Greeks": with special emphasis on ancient democracy (*To Vima*, 11 March 1971)
- "The Optimism of Art," which discusses the indispensable need of human beings for art and concludes: "If, therefore, a work of art can offer optimism, then we need it even more than daily food; and we need it not only during easy times for the completion of a comfortable life but even more so in hours of ordeal and despair" (*To Vima*, 6 May 1971)
- "Language Education": on the absurdity of imposing *katharevousa* and the value of *demotic*, with particular reference to the poetry of Seferis, written entirely in *demotic* (*To Vima*, 24 September 1971)
- "Art and Its Audiences": discusses the spiritual content of modern art as opposed to materialism; mentions persecutions of artists by Nazis and Soviets (*To Vima*, 13 January 1972)
- "Knowledge of Antiquity": calls for new ways to teach ancient literature away from dry archaism (*To Vima*, 22 June 1972)
- "Anniversary": on Greece's entrance to World War II and the popular resistance against the Axis occupation (*To Vima*, 9 November 1972)
- "Oedipus Rex": discussion of Sophocles' play with emphasis on the "responsibility of the tragic hero and his freedom to act regardless of fate" (*To Vima*, 29 March 1973)
- "Today He is Suspended on the Cross": the title is taken from a Byzantine hymn of the Crucifixion service; talks about suffering, an experience deeply felt in Greek history, and the anticipation of resurrection already at the peak of pain (*To Vima*, 26 April 1973)

Of the above articles (and others of more specialized scholarly content), the ones on art are important in two ways: first, they echo the rich art historical tradition

of Greek classical archaeology, the best representatives of which were broadly informed in the arts of different cultures and periods.[14] A second point, specific to the times, is that an emphasis on art (ancient and modern) is in pointed contrast to the regime's cheap aesthetics. For Colonel Ladas, for example, "Good art is that which is good for the Motherland. Bad art is that which is bad for the Motherland" (cited in Roufos, 1972:153). The junta tried to project an artistically active profile by promoting "nationally-minded" mediocre works and tolerating "neutral" art, even seeking cooperation of true artists without much success.

Explicit or indirect, the repercussions of the regime on archaeological policies were severely felt and can be documented (see below section 6). On the contrary, no significant disruption may be detected in the course of scholarly endeavor and the knowledge produced. In fact, some significant works appeared at exactly that time, such as the *History of the Hellenic Nation* and *Neolithic Greece* (the latter notably funded by the National Bank of Greece).[15] As Roufos (1972:156) remarks, specialized topics did not really interest the regime; first, because they themselves were too ignorant to deal with them; and second, because they thought that their impact was limited to the few educated to the purpose. It is perhaps for this reason that seemingly "neutral" research continued with relatively little interference.

The *History of the Hellenic Nation* is a survey of Greek civilization from Palaeolithic to modern times. *Neolithic Greece* represents the first systematic attempt to synthesize a period very distant form the "glorious" past. Both works are inspired by a long established Greek ethnogenetic tradition and represent its crucial impact on the West:

> Greek history, it can be reasonably asserted, represents a rich and venerable capital on which western civilization has drawn generously; furthermore, it embodies many of the generative principles of contemporary culture. Greek antiquity has entered the blood-stream of western civilization and set its seal upon it. It is precisely for these reason that the western world, steeped in classical tradition and conscious of its origins, has arduously pursued the study of Greek history, producing works monumental in this scope. (preface to Christopoulos, 1974:6)

> Greece is the country with the oldest cultural tradition in the world . . . One is not here, of course, speaking of racial continuity, for race is an idea foreign to the field of cultural activity. I merely emphasize the fact that an ancient and unbreakable bond existed between the people, the bearers and creators of the tradition, and the land, the age-old and unchanging background of that tradition, and the roots of this bond are much deeper that we suspect. (Theocharis in Theocharis, 1973:20)

Neolithic Greece is, however, the first echo of the New Archaeology paradigm in Greece. It is perhaps even more interesting that its editor, Dimitris Theocharis, was not an academic at the time but Director of Antiquities in Volos. A few years

later he became professor at Thessaloniki University where he initiated an active tradition of Neolithic research, the first in a Greek university curriculum, after the pioneering example of Christos Tsountas early in the 20th century.

6. THE LEGACY

> The disintegrating upheaval, inflicted upon the whole essence of the Greek state during the tyrannical seven years, could hardly leave unaffected the State Archaeological Service which indeed represented a characteristic miniature of the dictatorship itself...
>
> [The limitless authority of Marinatos] created an unbridgeable gap between the Archaeological Service, almost in its totality, and its General Director. Constant persecution of the Service staff (dismissals, suspensions, transferrals to the detriment of the Service, professional stagnation, even the banning of archaeologists from their excavations if the findings were considered impressive, etc.), all tolerated and approved by the Director General of Antiquities, constituted an unprecedented attempt to curtail the scholarly activity of Greek Archaeologists. The noise about Marinatos' impressive discoveries [at the famous Bronze Age site of Akrotiri at Thera]—undoubtedly of importance—created the impression of a unique, thriving Greek archaeology, whereas the parallel fact was ignored; that is, that the exercised oppression dismembered a whole Service which had deserved a better fate. Confusion was tragic and even led to the claim that "in Greece (of the April situation) everything is going bad except Archaeology" ... the fatal blow came with the abolishment of the strictly scholarly examination procedure which has always been employed for the appointment of new staff members... The aim was to reduce the scholar employees of the Service to excavation foremen and administrative servants in the museums. (Kontoleon, cited in Petrakos, 1995:180–181)

The above bleak remarks do not belong to any "subversive" individual but to Professor Nikolaos Kontoleon, eminent classical archaeologist and colleague of Marinatos at the University of Athens where they had often made joint decisions on key issues of archaeological administration (Petrakos, 1995:131–139). Marinatos' policies had a disastrous impact on future developments. His obsession with the promotion of his own work legitimized an "impressive find" mentality, which was adopted by many in democratic times. Equally, his handling of archaeological matters as though they were personal has since found enthusiastic followers in cultivating clientalistic relations (Konstantinopoulos, 1989a, 1989b). All post-dictatorship governments have favored the side-stepping of entrance examinations which, although highly demanding, had always been considered as a safety valve for the staff's scholarly proficiency. The irregular appointments of 1973–1974 by Marinatos were later recognized for reasons of "appeasement" (Petrakos, 1982:52–54, 1995:181). More recently, although no examination has taken place since

1992, a number of contract archaeologists have been granted tenure under special legislation usually passed in pre-election periods.

The junta had tried to make up for the long absence of organized cultural policy with the creation of the Ministry of Culture and Sciences in 1971 (Konstantinopoulos, 1989a:51; Petrakos, 1982:207). In the post-dictatorship years it was decided that "Culture" could not possibly co-exist with "Sciences," or that the two areas were incompatible, so that the second title was dropped. Otherwise, the administrative status introduced by the Colonels has little changed until today, involving subjects as diverse as heritage, visual arts, theater, cinema, dance, music, letters, books and sports.

Proposals to export Greek antiquities have always been met with strong reaction by both archaeologists and the public (Petrakos, 1982:30–35, 79–92, 1995:97–98; cf. Hamilakis and Yalouri, 1996:119–120, 126). Semni Karouzou reports that the Metaxas dictatorship was the first to send antiquities to the International Exhibition of New York in 1939–1940. The exhibits were "trapped" there because of World War II; it was not until 1948 that they were returned at the financial expense of Greece, partly damaged (cited in Petrakos, 1982:81). The junta saw touring exhibitions of antiquities as a means to restore its disgraced image abroad. Thomas J. Deegan, Jr. of the Metropolitan Museum wrote to the Greek Press Office in New York on 20 May 1968:

> ... Greek government might receive tremendous favorable world reaction, especially if the present leadership of Greece could take the initiative in doing this with the Metropolitan Museum. [on its centenary celebration in 1970] (cited in Petrakos, 1982:84)

Greek antiquities did not in the end travel to USA but to Japan. *Kore* 680 from the Acropolis was displayed at the commercial exhibition EXPO 1970 in Osaka, accompanied by an army major on its export and return (Konstantinopoulos, 1989b:48; Petrakos, 1982:85). Since then, all post-dictatorship governments have enthusiastically promoted touring museum exhibitions for international negotiation of the Greek "symbolic capital" (Mouliou, 1996).

The dominant archaeological discourse in twenty-first century Greece appears hardly to have been emancipated from its genealogical myths. Sites par excellence, the ever-lasting Acropolis and its northern counterpart Vergina, since the late 1970s, have epitomized "the topographic project of the Hellenic national heterotopic dream" (Hamilakis, 1999b:303). As official policies are monopolized by the Greek "Golden Age," the Acropolis reconstruction project and the building of a new museum feature at the top of the agenda, advancing what is considered to be a major "National Issue" (Hamilakis, 1999b:310); that is, the restitution of the Parthenon marbles housed since 1816 in the British Museum. Thus, we read at the Internet site of the Greek Ministry of Culture:

> Melina Merkouri was the woman who left her seal on the Hellenic Ministry of Culture during the 80's. Melina Merkouri was a world-famous actress, brave fighter of the resistance movement against the military regime (1967–1974), politician of an enormous radiance in Greece and abroad, Minister of Culture for eight and a half years (1981–1989 and October 1993—March 6, 1994). Still, above all she was a great Greek, a woman that was cherished and passionately loved by the Greek people. By using *her own splendour and glamour*, Melina Merkouri managed to make Culture part of the everyday lives of the Greek people, a front page story in the newspapers and big news in radio and television. During her years of office at the Ministry she raised the issue for the return of the Parthenon Marbles kept in the British Museum in London, to their rightful place, the Acropolis Museum. The Parthenon Marbles are the masterpieces that were stolen back in the beginning of 19th century by Lord Elgin, then the British ambassador to Constantinople (Istanbul), who mutilated the *most resplendent monument of antiquity*. Aware of the fact that the existing Acropolis Museum had not enough space to exhibit the marbles, Melina Mercouri started procedures for the construction of a new Museum that would operate keeping its *most beautiful, most splendid room empty, awaiting for the marbles' return to Greece*, the land that gave birth to them . . . Melina Merkouri was the one who had said, "Culture is Greece's heavy industry," and managed to make everyone amply aware of this. ("Melina Mercouri," Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2003; our emphasis)

Far from endorsing British neo-colonialism, or any form of colonialism, we may speak of Greece's new "Great Idea;" this overshadows other more important issues of heritage policy, such as the severe problems of the Archaeological Service, the lack of care for "second class" monuments and museums, or the unemployment of archaeology graduates, to name but a few. One is tempted to connect the original crusader's "splendour and glamour" with that of the object of the crusade. It is not perhaps an accident that the campaign was launched by a populist government, although it has since been almost unanimously sacralized, along with another "Great Idea": that is, the 2004 Athens Olympics and their disastrous impact on the landscape and people. Merkouri, interestingly the only long-term Culture minister in Greece, became another handy national idol and therefore her patronage of "ancestral civilization" was uncontested. For the rest of the post-junta democratic period, Culture ministers have been changing so frequently ("Historical Review," Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2003), in a show of nervous clumsiness, invariably disguised in pompous rhetoric regarding the official management of "our heritage," that no time and opportunity are left for efficient planning, since every minister comes and departs together with his/her clientele.

"Splendour and glamour" also mark the case of the late Professor Andronikos, a charismatic man who became another convenient myth and alibi for Greek archaeology's personalistic character and lack of self-criticism. Andronikos acquired the authority of the national intellectual through his discoveries at the Royal Tombs

at Vergina, among which he recognised the tomb of Philip II (Andronikos, 1984). The archaeological significance of these finds is indisputable, although Andronikos' identification of the tomb owners has not been unanimously accepted by experts. In Greece, however, the discovery was widely publicized as the ultimate and uncontested proof for the Hellenic identity of Macedonia; as such it became an object of national veneration and played a key role in the country's foreign policy during the war in Yugoslavia (Hamilakis, 1999c; Kotsakis, 1998; Tiverios, 1998a). The most splendid archaeological artifacts were exhibited all over Greece, travelled widely on loan exhibitions abroad, were adopted as symbols by right wing organizations and featured prominently in mass rallies staged over the "Macedonian Issue." With such national sensitivities at stake, the "impressive find" syndrome dominated the discourse, far beyond the excavator's intentions and despite the high scholarly standards of the project.

As these lines are being written, desecration of "non-impressive" monuments is taking place in the interest of building a new museum, the "Nation's New Votive" (Kostopoulos et al., 2002a, 2002b). In the Greek government's haste to complete its ambitious plan—that Britain will finally bow to its demand to return the Parthenon sculptures in time for the Athens Olympics—authorities are destroying a unique archaeological site at the foot of the Acropolis. The findings, dating from late Neolithic to Byzantine times, are believed to throw valuable light on the city's historical development. Another famous site threatened by the Olympic projects is Marathon. Even more unsettling is the fact that this form of cultural vandalism is tolerated, if not encouraged, by the specialists themselves. The Organization for the Construction of the New Acropolis Museum is presided over by a prestigious professor of classical archaeology. Equally, the professional bodies of archaeologists and architects and academia have hardly protested in any active way. It was only local people, immediately affected by the projects (Citizens' Movement to Prevent Building a New Acropolis Museum), cultural and environmental organizations (International Council on Monuments and Sites, World Wildlife Fund, International Federation of Landscape Architects) and otherwise "conservative" institutions (Athens Archaeological Society, Athens Academy) that have dared challenge the "national consensus."[16]

While the nation's community is once more constructed around the ever-powerful symbols of classical antiquity, new threads of identity are being sought in 20th-century experiences: loci of exile have been recognized as "historical sites" worthy of preservation and protection, such as Makronisos and Gyaros (Ministerial decrees of 1989 and 2001 respectively). Until now, nevertheless, government interest has amounted to little more than inauguration ceremonies and publications. Public attitudes, on the other hand, range from recognition and respect to indifference, concerns for potential profit, or outright opposition to the idea of elevating the recent past to the status of national history.

What has not been considered thus far is the archaeological interest of places such as concentration camps, prisons, loci of execution (figure 8.5), mass graves,

Figure 8.5. The skeletal remains of an Arab captive executed during the German Occupation and buried in the ancient temple of Poseidon at Sounion. The temple proper had been used by the Germans as barracks (reproduced from Petrakos, 1994:167, courtesy Athens Archaeological Society)

and battlefields. Besides monument management, we believe that an "archaeology of oppression and resistance" may be fruitfully initiated through the proper study of such sites. Not only would archaeological investigation throw valuable light onto recent historical dramas that took place in these arenas of power and ordeal; it would also bear important implications for the understanding of similar phenomena in the distant past (cf. Morris, 1998; Tiverios, 1998b). Research into 20th century war and occupation sites is already taking shape as a promising field of archaeological endeavour in other European countries (Golden, 2003; Saunders, 2002).

7. EPILOGUE

The vicissitudes of Greek history in the course of the last two centuries have affected archaeology as much as they have affected society. They have left the discipline ill at ease with its own self-knowledge and social responsibility, despite its primary role in the study and protection of the country's monuments and its significant scholarly contribution on an international level.

Archaeological knowledge is constructed through the interplay of official discourse presented "on stage" and counter-discourses woven "behind the scenes." In this study, we have tried to highlight those aspects of the dialectic that we consider particularly relevant to the phenomena of dictatorship, namely, the tradition of nationalism-cum-authoritarianism. Pervasive as this paradigm is, it does not exhaust the epistemological profile of Greek archaeology. The years after 1974 have seen important advances in method and theory, especially in the field of prehistoric research (see, for example, Kotsakis, 1991), which, however, lie beyond the scope of the present paper.

A final point to stress is that political progressiveness does not necessarily coincide with epistemological innovation. To take a prominent example, the Marxist interests of Christos Karouzos did not bring an archaeological breakthrough; the Marxist paradigm was first felt in Greek archaeology in the mid-70s, with the work of prehistorian Giorgos Hourmouziadis. Instead of "politically committed" re-orientations in response to political oppression, we see an uninterrupted course, largely independent of the surrounding turmoil. Even if paradigms such as art history or ethnogenesis are considered "traditional" or "conservative" by our standards of today, they do represent the healthy self-sufficiency of the intellectual endeavor. Perhaps the most powerful resistance, after all, was the very continuation of scholarship, the triumph of the educated mind over an absurd and cruel reality:

> ... I survived two brutal dictatorships and a war (together with hunger)... If one adds to these my shameless exclusion from the places of study of unpublished ancient works during the years of the [Colonels'] dictatorship, then the picture is complete...
>
> ... I cannot but consider it a good fortune, and be grateful to the benevolent fate that guided me to the study of ancient heritage. The result of this was that I got to know and even made long-standing friends with either some excellent people or teachers, Greek and foreign, refined by humanist studies...
>
> If some good instinct shows the way to the study of the ancient world, then reward is the strength that this study offers to people even at the hardest moments of life.
>
> *Miserable are those colleagues who, not having anything else to do at the end of their lives, become thirsty for honors and get lost in the pursuit of temporary, doubtful, superficial fame.*
>
> *There is one more thing that I learned from studying antiquity, that is, to value humanism*... (Karouzou, 1984:50–51; our emphasis)

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Notes

1. Military intervention and dictatorship in Greece have produced an enormous number of studies; some recent works include: Athanasatou et al., 1999; Carabott, 2002; Highman and Veremis, 1993; Iliopoulos, 2001; Meletopoulos, 1996; Vatikiotis, 1998; Veremis, 1997.
2. We are informed of this event through a protest letter of the German ambassador to Greece, Günther Altenburg, to the quisling prime minister (3 August 1941) (cited in Petrakos, 1994:113, 116).
3. Since Independence the purist Greek (*katharevousa*) was used as the official written language in Greece but failed to become a living language of the people. By the start of the 20th century the spoken language in its standard form (*demotic*) had been confirmed in literature. The ruinous effects of *diglossia* progressively heightened awareness of the need for linguistic reform, especially in education, as a first symbolic step towards the regeneration of Greek society. Standard Greek was finally adopted as an official language in 1976.
4. Their relationship cooled down to the point of open conflict when Keramopoulos became director of the Archaeological Service during the occupation and civil war (Karouzou, 1984:37–38; Petrakos, 1995:81–91).
5. Karouzos, perhaps arrogantly but not unjustifiably, had criticized the way in which excavation reports were published in Greek journals, and the undertaking of routine excavations as lacking "initial meaning" (Petrakos, 1995:46, 202 n. 53).
6. Parallels to Nazi policies are evident. In 1938 it was decided that women were no longer eligible for German Archaeological Institute travel scholarships. This decision was based on the definition of a travel grant as a means of promoting leadership—a quality which women were hardly likely to possess or need (Junker, 1998:285).
7. This section draws mainly from Petrakos, 1994 and 1995, which are the best accounts available for this period. Brief descriptions can be found in Konstantopoulou, 1996; Tiverios, 2001a.
8. The Political Committee of National Liberation (PEEA) was created by EAM in March 1944 to oversee the administration of those large areas of rural Greece now under EAM control. The National Council comprised of 250 delegates elected by the Greek people in May 1944.
9. Other members of the Service who were forced to resign are Georgios Bakalakis and Linos Politis. Dimitrios Pallas, a member of the PEEA National Council, and Fotios Petsas were dismissed during a campaign to purge the Greek civil service following occupation (Petrakos, 1995:91).
10. Soon after the student revolt of November 1973 had been crushed, the troika was deposed by Brigadier Dimitrios Ioannidis, commander of the military police.
11. The word "mountain" is used here to denote the EAM-controlled areas of rural Greece during occupation.
12. Obviously, Marinatos does not imply the New Archaeology theoretical paradigm which appeared at that time.

13. Christos Karouzos had died on 30 March 1967 at the age of 67. Semni passed away on 8 December 1994 at the age of 97.
14. Andronikos himself had been a student of Konstantinos Romaios, one of the outstanding demoticists and educational reformers at the University of Thessaloniki, who already in the 1930s had brought pioneering perspectives from modern art history and ethnography to the study of antiquity (Andronikos, 1975:233–234).
15. Both works appeared in Greek and English. The *History of the Hellenic Nation* (title of the Greek version) or *History of the Hellenic World* (title of the English version) is a multi-volume series completed after the dictatorship.
16. The new Acropolis Museum has received extensive Greek and international press coverage: e.g. Adamopoulou, 2002; Anast and Alleyne, 2002; Grimsley Downey, 2002; Hainis, 2000; Kinisi Politon, 2001; Kiosse, 2000; Kostopoulos et al., 2002a, 2002b, 2003; Mavroeidis, 2001; Smith, 2002a, 2002b; Tiverios, 2000b; Tranganidas 2002; on pro-government views, see Enosi Filon Akropolis 2002. On Marathon see, e.g., Iakovidis, 2001; Ploritis, 2001; Tiverios, 2001b; on the government argument, see Steinhouer, 2001. As this volume goes to press the building of the Acropolis Museum is still under legal contest.

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Chapter 9

Dealing with the Devil
The Faustian Bargain of Archaeology Under Dictatorship

BETTINA ARNOLD

It is to be hoped that most members of the intended audience of this book have not experienced, and will not experience directly, the trauma of negotiating between principle and survival that characterizes the daily lives of people living in the shadow of totalitarian regimes. While compromise is an inescapable aspect of life, it can constrain activity to the point where the basic tenets of a discipline are undermined, requiring the practitioner to choose between prescribed practice and professional survival. This occurs on a kind of sliding ethical scale in all modern nation-states engaged in archaeological research, but it is particularly marked in dictatorships, in which the operating principle is that the state determines the scope and focus of the production and dissemination of knowledge about the archaeological past.

1. WHAT IS IT GOOD FOR?

The most reliable hallmark of all totalitarian regimes is the emphasis on a "usable" past (Arnold, 1999:1); history as "self-interest" in the most extreme sense of the word (Galaty and Watkinson, this volume). Altekamp (this volume, p. 70) articulates the problem well: "Archaeology is burdened with two things: the expense of carrying out field archaeology, and paradoxically, its appeal and popularity." Financial dependence on the state makes archaeology especially vulnerable to

BETTINA ARNOLD • University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

manipulation by political entities, including individual leaders, whose interest in its research potential varies but is always expedient. A particularly good example of the "usable past" syndrome is Shaw's discussion (this volume, p. 138) of Atatürk's reaction to a controversial linguistic treatise he received from the Viennese scholar Kvergic: "When Atatürk read the thesis, he said, 'OK, I have found what I wanted!'" The fact that the theories presented in Kvergic's thesis did not have the support of linguists—the Turkish language scholar Ahmet Cevat Emre dismissed it as a "freak theory"—was irrelevant to Atatürk, whose purposes it happened to suit perfectly.

The same phenomenon is thus both onus and boon: the fascination of the general public, including leaders of countries, with the processes and products of archaeological research. That interest, however, is selective, and it especially rewards research that satisfies particular needs, from harmless entertainment through the self-aggrandizement of certain groups at the expense of others, to the justification of genocide (Arnold, 2002a). Superlatives sell, as any advertising executive will tell you. Archaeological research that produces actual or perceived superlative results ("oldest," "most spectacular," "only known example," etc.) has always gotten the lion's share of attention and funding. Political support of such research is merely another manifestation of the same problem, at least as seen by professional archaeologists primarily interested in obtaining a more complete, rather than a selectively edited, view of the past. For some archaeologists, it is precisely the political potential of the past that constitutes the attraction, as can be seen in Begg's description (this volume, p. 23) of the Italian archaeologist Carlo Anti: "He also explicitly believed that ruins had a political value [Anti, 1933:315]."

A combination of two categories of archaeological research tends to be especially attractive to the extreme nationalist programs that produce dictatorial regimes: the first research category is temporal, and involves the "origins" of a particular group of people or culture; the second is spatial, and focuses on the territory that can be ascribed to that group or culture based on material culture remains—usually some version of the German linguist-turned-archaeologist Gustaf Kossinna's "Kulturkreis" approach (Arnold, 1990:466–467; Haßmann, 2002a:69–72; Haßmann and Jantzen, 1994; Veit, 1984, 1989). Gilkes' case study (this volume, p. 39) is a good example: "In an archaeological sense Romanità could be interpreted liberally as the search for origins."

The rhetoric of origin myths consistently makes use of the concept of timelessness. It is not sufficient to show that "our people" were "there first;" they must be shown to have been "there always." Archaeological evidence may be the material manifestation of the antiquity of human habitation in a particular region, but at the same time it has temporal limits. At least in Europe—unless one is willing to accept early hominids such as *Homo erectus* as ancestors—the Upper Paleolithic represents the first appearance of anatomically modern humans. Ultimately a creationist vocabulary must be adopted, and at some point archaeological evidence

is abandoned or its evidence repudiated. The following quote from a Polish novel by Zofia Kossak-Szczucka published in 1938, cited by Piotrowska (1998:265), imagines the proto-Slavic population of the Iron Age fortified town of Biskupin as it is about to be attacked by Germanic tribesmen:

> They would all die if need be but would never leave their village while they lived. This was their heritage, Slavic, Polanic, their very own. They did not come from nowhere, they hadn't driven anyone out, they hadn't taken someone's land. They had lived here since the eye of the divine *Dadzbog* had shone over the world. They would never give up their land to the foreigner, not for anything.

The vocabulary of autochthonous origins employed here by a Catholic writer in a 20th-century European country is the same as that of Native American, Australian or fundamentalist Christian creationists, and can be found in the propaganda tracts produced by most of the fascist regimes featured in this volume. Clearly, the writer is presenting Polish identity in the year before the German invasion as a series of nested boxes: one is a Slav first, a Pole second, and only then a Catholic. The language of rootedness, belonging, and kinship with a particular place suggests that such emotional appeals are not linked to any one belief system, but are derived from some deeper source that is common to all cultures, what Michael Ignatieff (1995) has termed the complex of "blood and belonging."

At the same time, however, most dictatorial regimes recognize the problematic nature of archaeological research, which can produce results that are threatening to the state. Amorphous and indiscriminate ideological programs are common to most of the dictatorships featured in this volume, as Gilkes suggests (p. 43): "The contemporary explanation of the time . . . outlined a philosophically based collective program, though the actuality of Italian fascism was rather more nebulous and opportunist. Perhaps this lack of any deep-seated doctrine or theory, combined with authoritarianism, is itself a definition."

2. CHOICES, CHOICES: CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY

The archaeological past is especially a problem for dictatorships in multicultural, multi-ethnic nations. Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (this volume) describe, for example, a "double tradition" of nation building in Greece based on ancient Greece on the one hand and medieval Hellenism on the other. In Switzerland, a geographically constrained nation that is home to several languages and cultural traditions, there is a similar tension between the past represented by the Roman occupation, on the one hand, and the Helvetii, a Celtic tribe, on the other (Furger, 2001:304–305). The question is, when a modern nation-state has a complex, multi-cultural past, how does it choose an "emblematic" culture? Is the response

of a multi-cultural society under dictatorship the same or different from that of a more mono-cultural society?

The Swiss ultimately chose the Neolithic Lakedwellers as the basis of their primary cultural identity partly because the geographic range of this "Kulturkreis" most closely approximated the modern boundaries of the nation-state (Isler-Kerényi, 2001:296). On the other hand, the Roman past is still the most-published of the archaeological phases in Switzerland (Furger, 2001:304), suggesting that at least in the Swiss case the archaeological record would be of limited political use to a prospective dictator. In fact, it is more likely that archaeological research would be censored rather than supported in a nation-state whose past could not be easily made to fit a particular ideological program intent on creating the illusion of a unified ethnic/cultural identity.

Shaw (this volume) discusses similar difficulties faced by Turkey under Atatürk in constructing a monolithic cultural identity, again due to the range of possible pasts from which to choose: Hittite, Byzantine or Ottoman? Turkey's geographic location as a bridge between Occident and Orient has given it a past analogous to Grand Central Station—making it difficult for the state to come up with a monolithic nationalist narrative. Claiming cultural homogeneity for Turkey was clearly not an option. Since Turkey could not be shown to have a clearly-defined separate identity within the European family of nations, all Europeans were redefined as "Turks" through a solipsistic melding of hyper-diffusionism and ethnocentrism. As Shaw (this volume, p. 133) describes it, the state set about the "complicated task of making Turks, whose language was not among those of the Indo-European family, affiliated with (if not actually) Aryan," while at the same time making the Turks the "racially and ethnically autochthonous people of Anatolia." According to this theory, the reason Turkish was not an Indo-European language was that it predated Indo-European languages, which in fact were presented as having emerged from this Central Asian Japhetic "tribal" language womb (Shaw, this volume, p. 140). Shaw (this volume, p. 142) describes this politically generated, ethnic alchemy as follows: "Whereas many in Europe and the United States had turned to utilizing philology and archaeological diffusionism as evidence for racial superiority and as promotion for Eugenics, the Turkish answer to the problem of difference in an era of nations went to the opposite extreme, denying racial differences by making everybody, monomaniacally, Turkish." The "invention" of Turkey as a linguistic as well as cultural "cradle of European civilization" allowed Turkish nationalists to turn what could have been viewed as a liability in the building of national identity, namely an undeniably multi-cultural society, into an asset. Instead of shutting other European cultures out, it simply incorporated them by creating an identity that was simultaneously inclusive and ethnocentric. Such identifications tend to be mutable, with the emphasis on different archaeologically or historically documented people depending on the context. The past invoked in the construction of national identity may not be the same one invoked when a justification for

territorial expansion is required, for example (see, in this volume, Begg's discussion of Italian archaeology in Egypt; Gilkes in Albania; Munzi in Libya; Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou in Greece). Munzi (this volume, p. 73) describes the appropriation of archaeological research in the construction of the discourse of empire as follows: "Archaeology played a fundamental role in building the ideology of the historical right of Rome to Libyan land," and "the Roman idea of empire became a useful theoretical and propagandistic instrument in the politics of expansion in Africa."

The selective emphasis of some periods at the expense of others extends to the practice of archaeology in the field in most dictatorial regimes. Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (this volume, p. 160) describe this phenomenon in the context of the excavation of the Athenian acropolis, "where all later monuments were initially demolished so that the classical ruins could be better excavated and displayed to advantage." Altekamp (this volume, p. 62) makes a similar point: "The work that was being concentrated on the Roman urban phase [at Lepcis and Sabratha] therefore led to the destruction of important evidence from other periods." Begg (this volume) describes a related problem in which selective state research sponsorship makes money available to excavate only certain kinds of sites, or to preserve certain sites, as Altekamp has documented in Libya.

The officially sanctioned cultural chronologies that are established under dictatorships tend to follow a similar pattern as well, as Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (this volume) point out. The dictatorships of Metaxas and Mussolini both consciously imitated the German National Socialist concept of a series of stages of national evolution, culminating in their own regimes (Hitler's Third Reich, Metaxas' Third Hellenic Civilization, Mussolini's Romanità). Invariably the modern eras leading up to the dictatorship are portrayed as degenerate, and the return to an earlier, more glorious period in the nation's or people's past is evoked as restoring the true nature of the state to itself through the person of the savior (i.e. the dictator himself)(Arnold, 2002a:98–102). The slogan on an Italian stamp from 1927 commemorating the colonization of Libya is a good illustration of this sense of returning to or recapturing the past: "Coming back to where we already were" (Munzi, this volume, p. 90).

Clearly, archaeology is a two-edged sword for dictatorships. The undeniable propaganda value of selectively highlighted archaeological research must be weighed against the potential threat posed by archaeological discoveries that undermine the ideological framework of the regime. The propaganda potential is considerable, as Gilkes demonstrates (this volume, p. 33–34). The "power of legend and associated commemoration" provided Italian fascists "with the foundation of tradition with which to impose the new modes of consciousness deemed necessary for the dawning of a new era." A key question, however, is why totalitarian regimes, often founded and always backed by military force and the threat posed by state organized violence, deem it necessary to usher in a new era through the invocation

of the past? The dependence on such validation would seem to be an Achilles' heel. When archaeology is not obviously useful to a dictatorship, it is potentially dangerous, making archaeologists vulnerable to persecution and extermination, as happened in Russia under Stalin (Childe, 1935; Clark, 1939:196–197). The symbiosis between archaeological research and the state then is more than simply an academic topic, at least for archaeologists working in contexts in which they pose both a threat and an opportunity for exploitation.

3. CLASS AND GENDER

Among other issues raised by these questions, there are class and gender elements involved that are not often discussed in the archaeological literature, although they are a subtext in some of the contributions to this volume. Independently wealthy individuals were among the earliest archaeologists, and many later archaeologists either bankrolled their own research (Heinrich Schliemann is an obvious example) or were supported by wealthy patrons, as in the case of Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon. Other members of the European nobility supported or carried out archaeological research, including the Duchess of Mecklenburg, who excavated several important Iron Age tumulus cemeteries in Slovenia until her family locked her up to prevent further expenditure of their rapidly dwindling finances (Wells, 1981); Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, who supported her excavations, as well as other archaeological projects (Arnold, 1990:465); and most recently, Prince Charles, who graduated from Cambridge University with a BA (Honors) degree in archaeology and anthropology. Begg (this volume) describes various royal or noble visitors to the site of the Italian excavations at Tebtunis in Egypt, including Princess Mafalda and her husband, Prince Philip of Hesse.

In the early 20th century, archaeology became a relatively well-paid profession that required training and education, making it a viable career option for members of the middle and even lower classes in Europe. Many of the new positions were associated with museums, universities and other state-funded organizations, increasing the degree of state control over the funding, production and dissemination of archaeological knowledge. Altekamp discusses this phenomenon in the context of Italian colonial archaeology in Libya, while Gilkes (p. 43) provides the career track of Italian archaeologist Luigi Ugolini in Albania as an example: "He came from a humble north-Italian background—his father was an impoverished watchmaker—yet had fought heroically in the war . . . a ready-grown 'new man.'" Examples from Nazi Germany abound as well, perhaps most notably Hans Reinerth, a high-ranking party operative in the Rosenberg Office who had not been able to obtain a university appointment through the usual system of nepotism reserved for the upper classes in pre-1933 German academia, and became a Nazi Party member at least in part to further his career (Arnold, N. D.).

The middle class has often been described as the breeding ground of fascism (Brustein, 1996:1–30), and not coincidentally it also was the source of many professional archaeologists in the early 20th century. This phenomenon was not restricted to totalitarian regimes—the professionalization of the field that Spain experienced after WWII (see Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez, this volume) occurred in the United States as well, largely due to the GI Bill. One example among many was the well-known North American archaeologist James Deetz, who went to Harvard University on what he called the "hillbilly affirmative action plan" (Web site for the Plymouth Plantation Colony Archive Project: http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/users/deetz/Plymouth/JDeetzcar.html). Archaeology became a ticket to upper middle class financial stability and prestige for members of the middle and lower middle class in fascist regimes like Germany and Italy. Gilkes on Ugolini (this volume, p. 43): "In this he was merely one of many, in Italy, Germany, Spain and elsewhere, who were prepared to take the rewards offered by the state, in return for open participation in the collective program." Careerism was one of the handmaidens of most dictatorial regimes in Europe.

Gender, like class, tends to be ignored or marginalized in discussions of the ways in which the profession of archaeology and society intersect (see Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez, this volume). The expression of attitudes toward gender in totalitarian regimes in the context of archaeological research—what has been called "gender ideology" (Spector and Whelan, 1989)—constitutes an area of research that could profitably be explored in more detail. This can take several forms, including the attitude toward women reflected in the interpretation and representation of gender roles in the past, for example in school texts (Haßmann, 2002b) or museums, or the degree to which women were active within the archaeological profession. Gilkes (this volume, p. 35) briefly deals with the process of "filtering physical realities to create myths," including the reification of gender roles, that characterizes dictatorships, while according to Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (this volume), gender discrimination under Metaxas was institutionalized, in part based on androcentric models of past gender configurations.

Essentialist gender roles are a common denominator of totalitarian regimes, partly for economic reasons (removing or excluding women from the work force has an immediate positive effect on male employment statistics), partly due to the martial underpinnings (including the "cult of the male hero") of such states, which manipulate images of women and children to present them as innately vulnerable and tied to house and hearth. Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (this volume) do not explore the possible effect this may have had on the representation of gender roles in the interpretation and dissemination of archaeological data, but based on other totalitarian regimes, such as Germany, one might predict that such essentialist constructions of gender were transposed into the past in Greek archaeological publications, especially those intended for popular consumption.

The same paradox existed in Greece that existed in Nazi Germany—on the one hand, women were necessary in the workforce, particularly if war began to claim large numbers of work-age men, but on the other hand their propaganda value as vulnerable embodiments of the state remained essential to the ideological program. Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (this volume, p. 165) quote Metaxa and Govostis (1977:269): "Greeks have always known to show a virile ethos, low in numbers, frugal, poor, victorious over the flaccid matriarchal materialism and its infidel and barbarous hordes." Women in Greece were legally barred from professions that had no essential academic value, such as academic archaeology, and were not able to enter the Archaeological Service until 1955, when the law was repealed (Nikolaidou and Kokkindiou, this volume).

4. EDUCATION AND INDOCTRINATION

Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (this volume) also discuss the problem of the pedagogical reconstruction and presentation of the archaeological past in a dictatorship. The Metaxas regime clearly recognized the risks inherent in not presenting a uniform version of the past to children in school texts and curricula, and the editing out of content that could be seen "as indirect criticism of the vigorous government policy" resulted in selective and contradictory use of the distant past in the service of Marxist propaganda (Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou, this volume, p. 164). Deviations from officially sanctioned presentations of the archaeological past were harshly dealt with, as is shown by the persecution of faculty in the School of Philosophy at the University of Thessaloniki (Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou, this volume). Munzi (this volume, p. 83) describes a similar situation in fascist Italy: "In schools, the syllabus, in particular in its attention to Roman accents, was programmatically revised" to reflect the "historical right to colonize and the need to restore the ancient glory of Rome." The National Socialist propaganda machine in Germany targeted children and adolescents very early, and made comprehensive use of the selectively edited archaeological past in its indoctrination program, with a particular emphasis on creating a "Germanic" identity (Haßmann, 2002b). That this pedagogical program was centrally conceived and directed is made clear by the following quote from the Minister of the Interior: "The notion that the primary task of schools is to promote the development of self-aggrandizing individual personalities has had its day. The new school system is based on the primacy of the concept of the communal good, an ancient bequest of our germanic ancestors and therefore most closely suited to our inherent nature" (Haßmann, 2002b:110). The restructuring of prehistoric chronology to fit this "Germanic" past required that some archaeological data be highlighted while other information was suppressed (Arnold, 1998:98–100), and this "new school" approach was not only taught to children, but also to those

who were being trained to teach them. All of this was intended to produce a new generation of Germans for whom the ideological foundations of the party would constitute a seamless whole with their own identities, and the extent to which the program was successful can be measured in the lingering effects of this indoctrination in people still living who were children at the time (Haßmann, 2002b:107).

5. "ARE YOU NOW OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN...?"

The extent to which membership in political parties under dictatorship is an indication of support for the regime is another important issue, since it has been argued that political affiliation in dictatorial regimes is based on self-interest (Brustein, 1996:xiii). Based on such studies, party membership alone does not appear to be a reliable indicator of loyalty to the ideological platform of the regime under a dictatorship. On the other hand, context is important. Studies of National Socialist membership rolls in Germany, for example, have shown that a temporal element typically is involved, and is recognized by special terms assigned by participants at the time. Individuals who joined the party after March 1933, when Hitler became chancellor and Germans could no longer freely oppose the Nazi Party (Brustein, 1996:viii), were referred to as *März Veilchen* ("March violets") by those who had become members during the *Kampfzeit* ("period of struggle") (Arnold, N. D.), for example. A similar distinction was made in Franco's Spain between early members of the Falange, known as "old shirts" (Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez, this volume), who joined voluntarily at the beginning of the movement, and those who became members only after the dictatorial regime had established itself. At minimum, not being a party member could be a bar to achieving certain positions, as Begg's description (this volume) of the career of the Canadian-Italian Gilbert Bagnani in Egypt demonstrates. Bagnani, although an avowed anti-fascist, did apparently sign the fascist oath in 1933 in order to be able to take on the role of director of the excavations at Tebtunis after Carlo Anti, the previous director, became Rector of the University of Padua. Clearly, motivations for becoming a party member in a totalitarian regime (apart from genuine conviction) are complex, ranging from self-preservation in the literal sense (with non-compliance resulting in death) to self-promotion in the form of career advancement. An especially good example of this in the context of Nazi Germany is again Hans Reinerth, the highest ranking archaeologist in the Rosenberg Office, who was publicly accused by fellow prehistorian Bolko von Richthofen (brother of the so-called "Red Baron") of having joined the Nazi Party not out of conviction, but solely in order to further his academic career goals. Reinerth sued von Richthofen for slander, and the case produced a paper trail that exposes the often expedient nature of party support under dictatorship (Arnold, N. D.).

6. WALKING THE TIGHTROPE

Another symptom of this phenomenon is the compartmentalization of archaeological research into two categories in a totalitarian regime, which is disseminated in a bi-polar fashion as well: popular (i.e. propagandistic) publications vs. academic publications. The result is a kind of intellectual and ethical schizophrenia. Gilkes' (this volume) description of Ugolini throwing a sop to his fascist financial supporters in the form of a popular publication entitled *The Myth of Aeneas* (1937), while simultaneously cranking out scientific monographs funded by the regime on the strength of his popular propagandistic publications is a good example. There is a similar pattern in German archaeological publications at this time (Arnold, 1990:473).

The extent to which individual archaeologists are able to affect the politicization of archaeological research in totalitarian regimes clearly varies. How and in what ways? Can resistance be identified any more accurately than commitment to the cause of the regime? As Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (this volume, p. 156) put it, "Can we trace counter-discourses behind the official façade of the nationalism put up for internal consumption vs. international negotiation?" There is no doubt at all that there was a difference in Nazi Germany between official discourse, as documented in the existing archival records, and archaeological practice. Archaeologists became increasingly concerned after 1933 about the image of German prehistoric archaeology as a lunatic fringe pursuit, partly due to Himmler's continuing patronage of borderline individuals like Hermann Wirth, one of the founders of the original Ahnenerbe (Arnold, 1990:470–471; Haßmann, 2002a:73, 120). Interestingly enough, it was Himmler who gradually disassociated himself from such crackpot practitioners, rather than the other way around. The conflict between the Ahnenerbe and the Amt Rosenberg was also exploited by mainstream archaeologists concerned about the possibility of a single umbrella organization controlling all German archaeological research. Longstanding historical tensions between the northeast and the southern parts of the country also undermined attempts at centralizing archaeological research (Arnold N. D.; Brather, 2001:479, 483).

Footdragging, sabotage and other forms of resistance referred to as "weapons of the weak" (Scott, 1985; see also Hamilakis, 2002:322) also have an impact on the extent to which a dictatorship is able to control and centralize archaeological research (Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou, this volume). Depending on the severity of the penalty (the threat of death, either one's own or that of family members, must be considered a very different motivator than loss of income or prestige, for example), the degree to which such resistance was a) practiced and b) can be documented in connection with individual archaeologists varies tremendously in different totalitarian regimes. A comparative study of this phenomenon would possibly be valuable, as Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (this volume) also point out.

Unfortunately, much of this information exists only in the memories of those who were active participants in the events in question, as a well-meaning German colleague once pointed out to me as a justification for why it would be better to let sleeping dogs lie. He argued (although he did not use precisely these words) that the metahistory of German archaeology under the Nazis existed exclusively in the memories of those who participated in the events of that time, and without that subtext, there was no hope of reconstructing what had actually happened based solely on the archival record. Nor is the finger-pointing that inevitably follows the collapse of a dictatorial regime necessarily useful in illuminating its underlying ideology, since personal enmity, rather than actual infractions, often motivates such mopping up operations.

The very different post-war fates of Hans Reinerth and Herbert Jankuhn, both high ranking party officials as well as high-profile archaeologists in Nazi Germany, is a case in point. Both were equally culpable with respect to their war-time activities, but Reinerth had made far more enemies in the course of the Rosenberg Office's unsuccessful bid to control German archaeology, a battle that was eventually won by Himmler's SS Ahnenerbe—to which Jankuhn belonged. The result was that Reinerth's career was effectively over in 1945 (Arnold and Haßmann, 1995:80; Haßmann, 2002a:121–122), whereas Jankuhn went on to a successful post-war career teaching and training the next generation of German archaeologists (Steuer, 2001b:417–474). His ground-breaking (literally) work on settlement archaeology can still be ordered on Amazon.de (Jankuhn, 1977), and his excavations at the Viking trading emporium of Haithabu (Hedeby) remain an important contribution to the scholarship of the period. Both men died at a relatively advanced age—Jankuhn in 1990 at age 85, Reinerth in the same year at age 90, but the latter had little lasting impact on German post-war archaeology (apart from the anachronistic museum displays he controlled up to his death at the open air museum of Unteruhldingen on Lake Constance [Keefer, 1992; Schöbel, 2001]), whereas the former was extremely influential both during and after the National Socialist period. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that perhaps the most effective way to map the course and impact of a dictatorship on archaeological practice is through individual biography.

7. FOLLOW THE MONEY

The extent to which archaeology is useful to a dictatorial regime is of necessity reflected in the funding and establishment of archaeologically related projects, programs and institutions. The impact of state funding for German archaeology under National Socialism, for example, was both profound and long-lasting (Arnold, 1990:467–468; Haßmann, 2002a:88–92). If state support cannot be

documented, archaeological practice is less likely to have been directly affected by the regime, although individual archaeologists who are regime supporters may have had an impact on the ideological direction of research and interpretation. Archaeological practice in Spain under Franco (Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez, this volume), for example, seems to have been less affected by its political context, since there was little or no state support of archaeology compared to the other dictatorial regimes profiled in this volume. Begg (this volume, p. 29) discusses the significant role played by funding in the Italian archaeological program in Egypt, particularly at the Graeco-Roman site of Tebtunis. On the other hand, state interest and support could be withdrawn if the desired results were not forthcoming: "Without the discovery of visibly Roman monuments . . . not to mention tangible results of 'peaceful penetration,' fascist interest and funding in Egypt disappeared. Thus the state had an interest in specific archaeological results (Romanità) even beyond its national boundaries, which in turn affected the excavations through declining support . . . It was imperialistic Italian foreign policy like 'peaceful penetration' that enabled Anti to start the excavation [at Tebtunis] in Egypt, Anti's fascist interest in town planning that selected the site, and fascist propaganda like Romanità that contributed to its demise." The impact of state funding for German archaeology under National Socialism, on the other hand, was both profound and of long duration (Arnold, 1990:467–468; Haßmann, 2002a:88–92).

8. EFFECTS AND AFTEREFFECTS

Whether or not a dictatorship has a lasting impact on archaeological research appears to be determined by the following factors:

1. The length of time the regime is in power, and whether or not the dictatorship comes to an end through external conflict or as a result of internal political shifts.
2. The extent to which the regime's upper echelons (the dictator and his immediate circle) have an interest in the archaeologically documented past, whether that interest is motivated wholly or in part by self-interest. If the dictator is ignorant or contemptuous of the discipline and its propaganda value and/or suspicious of its practitioners, as in the case of Stalin, the main damage will be done through the physical elimination of professional archaeologists as well as the cessation or declining quality of research due to lack of financial support. In Spain, only the latter effect can be documented (Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez, this volume), while in Germany in spite of the contempt of the Nazi high command, including Hitler himself, for what they perceived as Himmler and Rosenberg's

obsession with prehistoric archaeology (Arnold, 1990:469), the propaganda value of prehistoric archaeology was sufficiently clear to have resulted in an unprecedented upswing in financial support for research and publication.

The contributions to this volume underscore the effect the personality, life history and interests of the dictator, the organization of the power structure, and the role of second tier operatives could have on the politicization of the discipline in a totalitarian regime. Shaw (this volume, p. 149) suggests, for example, that Atatürk's misguided enthusiasms were responsible for at least some of the rather bizarre notions associated with the so-called Anatolian "Sun-Language," described as the precursor of all later Indo-European languages; she cites Ahmet Cevat Emre's description of Atatürk as a "gullible . . . leader whose authority extended beyond his knowledge," as well as "an academic structure which favored an ideologically useful opinion over a correct one." Mussolini is similarly described as "an opportunist who despised museums and galleries, except where he could turn them to his own ends" (Gilkes, this volume, p. 38, citing Spotts, 2002: 323).

It might be worth exploring this hypothesis in more detail by comparing the profiles of individual dictators to the fate of archaeological research in their regimes. Franco's apparent disinterest in prehistoric archaeology as a source of ideological legitimization for his regime, for example, presumably made possible the incompetence, neglect and poor quality of research and publication that characterized much of Spanish archaeology until the mid 1950s (Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez, this volume). Munzi (this volume, p. 80) describes a similar neglect of publication and dissemination of scholarly knowledge under Mussolini in Libya: "While excavations and restorations went on very quickly, due to their obvious political and propagandistic value, the related publications were delayed for decades or never appeared."

Most dictators rely on a complex charismatic mystique in their control of those around them. The cult of personality of individual dictators or members of their inner circle is often founded on mythological, prehistoric or historic heroic figures. As Eric Cline (2003:1) put it in a recent on-line editorial, "those who remember the past can deliberately attempt to repeat it, or at least can use recollections of the past to pursue modern objectives." Mussolini identified himself with the Roman emperor Augustus (1st century AD); Saddam Hussein has identified himself at various times with the Neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II (6th century BC) (Bulloch and Morris, 1991:42–43), the Akkadian ruler Sargon (3rd millennium BC) (Ibid.:44) and the Moslem Saladin (12th century AD) (Ibid.:90), depending on the context; Heinrich Himmler saw himself as the reincarnation of

Henry the Lion, the 12th century Duke of Saxony and Bavaria (Arnold, N. D.).

The former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein is a particularly good (if not to say timely) example of this phenomenon. Bulloch and Morris (1991:42) describe him as being fond of constructing historical endorsements for his policies, exemplified by the construction of an *ersatz* Babylon beginning in the early 1970s. In the birthday celebrations celebrated in Saddam's hometown of Tikrit in 1990, he "allowed himself to be identified with Sargon the Great, the ruler of the empire of Agade, the first great state to arise in the land of the two rivers" (Ibid.:44). Not coincidentally for Saddam's purposes, Sargon is known as the first Mesopotamian ruler to have successfully created a dynastic empire in the Middle East, mainly through military conquest.

While pursuing his campaign of exterminating Kurdish culture in Iraq, "Saddam often posed in Kurdish dress and, as part of his self-glorification, frequently compared himself with the greatest of all Kurdish heroes, the scourge of Richard the Lionheart and the Christian crusaders—Saladin" (Ibid.:90). A state-supported colloquium on Saladin was held in 1987 in Tikrit, where both Saddam and Saladin were born, with the title "The Battle of Liberation: From Saladin to Saddam Hussein," and a 1987 children's book ostensibly about the life of Saladin provides a brief background sketch of the Kurdish leader while devoting the rest of the book to Saddam Hussein, who is referred to in the text as "Saladin II" (Cline, 2003:1). As Eric Cline points out, there is a common denominator in Saddam Hussein's appropriation of these two historical figures: "Of all the Iraqi empire-builders—ancient, medieval, or modern—only Nebuchadnezzar and Saladin ever captured Jerusalem" (Ibid.:2). In a strange twist, it was this element of Saddam Hussein's propaganda campaign that was partly responsible for American fundamentalist Christian support of the Bush administration's war against Iraq—they saw Hussein's rebuilding of Babylon and invocation of Nebuchadnezzar as a sign that Armageddon was just around the corner (Ibid.:2).

The use of archaeological sites as symbols and stages by political leaders is a phenomenon not restricted to dictatorial regimes, though it is perhaps more frequently encountered in such contexts. Examples include various Israeli state officials at Masada in Israel (Abu el-Haj, 2001; Ben-Yehuda, 1995; Silberman, 1989); Napoleon III's statue of Vercingetorix (for which he was the model) at Mont Beuvray in France (Dietler, 1994); Monte Sacro in Italy (Munzi, this volume); Saddam Hussein at Babylon in Iraq (Bulloch and Morris, 1991); Alberto Fujimori at Chavin de Huantar in Peru (Silverman, 1999); Mussolini at Sabratha in Libya, where he inscribed "Between the Rome of the past and the one of the future" in the site guest book

(Munzi this volume), etc. This appropriation of the potency of places is as ancient as hierarchical social systems themselves—archaeological examples include the reuse of Neolithic tombs and the building of Roman temples over Celtic sanctuaries. The emulation of past practices and material culture is another example of this phenomenon. Munzi (this volume, p. 86) discusses various Italian administrators in Libya who created Roman-style Latin inscriptions with their names and titles, similar to Saddam Hussein's stamping of his name on the bricks of the reconstructed Babylon. Examples of the use/appropriation/modification/invention of material culture derived from archaeological sources in the construction of symbolic capital include the National Socialist swastika (Quinn, 1996), the ancient Macedonian "sun symbol" (Brown, 1994, 1998:73; Kotsakis 1998:60), and the Turkish "sun" symbol (Shaw this volume), among others.

3. The amount of state funding and support involved in the creation and expansion of programs, institutions and positions (including chairs and teaching positions at universities and schools) during the period in question. This dependence relationship may even outlive the regime itself, as in the case of prehistoric archaeology in Nazi Germany, which evaded any self-critical analysis of its role in underwriting the National Socialist ideological program for over 50 years, partly due to the tremendous debt the discipline owed to the regime for its infrastructure. It is only within the last five years that publications by archaeologists dedicated to this topic have begun to appear (Kuhnen, 2002; Leube, 2002; Steuer, 2001a); prior to 1990, the only German language publications on the subject were indirect treatments by historians (Bollmus, 1970; Kater, 1974), and the topic was taboo at most German universities (Arnold, 2002b:401–402).
4. Whether or not the regime in question has an expansionist/imperialist agenda. States searching for ways to justify land grabs are especially likely to make use of archaeological evidence to further their aims. This is one of the legacies of Kossinna's Kulturkreis/culture circle concept, which explicitly argues not only that ethnic groups can be identified on the basis of material culture, but also that such evidence validates claims to territory (Arnold, 1998:238, Figure 3). Italian archaeology under Mussolini and German archaeology under Hitler are good examples of this, whereas Spanish and Greek archaeology under the regimes of Franco and Metaxas, respectively, placed less emphasis on this way of appropriating the past.

The ideological underpinnings of a dictatorial regime are often especially visible in marginal contexts, such as colonial territories or rural areas (Italian archaeology in Libya and Albania are good examples). Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (this volume) discuss how archaeology under dictatorship varies depending on its locality, i.e. center (capitol and major cities)

vs. periphery (remote provinces). Many European nation-states, including Germany, were still relatively new-born in the early 20th century, and local loyalties were often stronger than national sentiment, complicating the creation of a state-controlled archaeological institution. This was certainly the case in National Socialist Germany, where regional interests and mutual mistrust effectively sabotaged all efforts to create a single institution responsible for all archaeological research within Germany or conducted outside Germany by German archaeologists (Arnold, N. D.). Borders are typically contested zones. They are either hotbeds of manipulated research (as for example the area between Germany and Poland, which has changed hands multiple times in the aftermath of various conflicts [Lech, 1998:43–44]), or, in the case of rural areas of minimal strategic importance, marginalized.

5. The degree to which the state succeeds or attempts to organize and centralize archaeological research in the form of an ideologically defined research program that coordinates funding, fieldwork, publication and outreach—what German National Socialists referred to as *Gleichschaltung*, or mainstreaming.
6. The degree to which academic publications are affected by the ideological program imposed by the dictatorial regime. Gilkes' description of Ugolini (this volume, p. 51) as a sound archaeologist who "laid a solid foundation for Albanian archaeology" is matched by similar testimonials for German archaeologists such as Herbert Jankuhn, who was a committed fascist and a high-ranking member of the SS, but who trained numerous influential post-war German archaeologists after 1945 and produced an impressive corpus of professionally sound publications during his long career as an archaeologist. German archaeology emerged from the 12 years under fascist rule stronger methodologically than it had been before 1933, but so traumatized with respect to theoretical applications to interpretation that even now ethnographic analogy and model building are seen as suspect by many academic archaeologists (Fischer, 1995:38). Shaw (this volume, p. 150) argues similarly for Turkish archaeology under Atatürk, which she sees as having been co-opted/exploited for nationalist ends rather than ideologically corrupted in practice: "Thus the historiography of the state clearly dictated not the archaeology which was conducted as much as its utilization for the production of a centralized nationalist history."
7. The extent to which the ideological program put forward by the state has the support of the general public, whose role should not be underestimated. The information exchange, even in dictatorships, is not just top down. The ill-fated "Thing movement" in National Socialist Germany, an attempt by the Party to replace the two dominant Christian religious traditions (Catholic and Protestant) with a state-controlled neo-pagan religious complex, is a good example. Due in part to public resistance,

the Party abandoned this initiative after only two years (Arnold, 1992:34–36). There does seem to be a recurring theme of communal, participatory spectacle linking Italian and German fascism. Gilkes (this volume, p. 37) cites Berezin's (1997) discussion of "commemorative activities, held at both a local and a national level" as a critical element in the "forging [of] the 'new man' in the fires of legend and invented past." A question worth exploring further is to what extent mass public spectacle, imbued with legitimacy through the appropriation of symbolism derived from the archaeological and historical past, is an integral part of all dictatorships?

9. CONCLUSIONS

One of the most important questions posed by Galaty and Watkinson in the Introduction to this volume is whether there are differences between the study of nationalist archaeology and archaeology under dictatorship, and if so, how are they to be distinguished? Is it simply a question of degree or are there fundamental qualitative and structural differences in the relationship between the state and archaeological research under dictatorships as compared to less extreme forms of nationalist programs? Another critical question concerns the obligations of archaeologists vis à vis the societies in which they live and that support their research either in whole or in part. Should archaeologists be public intellectuals (Arnold, 2002a:111) or can they afford to remain savants, in the best tradition of the 19th century collectors and antiquarians? Do archaeologists have an obligation to speak out if they or their research are being co-opted or manipulated? Is there a qualitative difference between the obligation to speak out in a nation in which the appropriation or misrepresentation of the archaeological past does no obvious harm as compared to a regime in which archaeological research is used to underwrite a regime engaged in human rights abuses?

The mutability of nationalist archaeology is one of its universal hallmarks; the research foci shift when necessary, adapting themselves mercurially to the demands of the state. In this sense dictatorial regimes are simply located at one extreme of a continuum of archaeological subjugation to the interests of the state. In Germany, for example, the National Socialists emphasized and glorified the "Germanic" occupation of Europe, which made it difficult for post-war archaeologists to avoid an association with the abuses of this cultural phase of the German past. One result was that those archaeologists whose specialty was the Germanic speaking peoples tended to emphasize the regional (read: tribal) rather than national character of their subjects of study. Thus, publications after 1945 were entitled "The Alamannen," "The Franks," or "The Saxons." An even safer bet were the Celts in Germany, a culture and time period not as useful for the Nazi propaganda machine, and therefore unsullied by association with the fascist regime. The regional

element did not need to be emphasized, because the Celts had not been used to support Nazi territorial claims. Virtually all post-war publications dealing with the pre-Roman Iron Age in Germany speak of "The Celts," not the Suebi, or the Cimbri, or the Insubres. In addition, the Celts have turned out to be useful in the construction of a more recent post-war identity, that of the European Union. The relative uniformity of material culture from Spain to the Black Sea during the early Iron Age was appealing to those concerned with constructing a pan-European identity. Interestingly, the same Herbert Jankuhn who spent a good part of his career extolling the superiority of Nordic (Germanic/Scandinavian) culture recognized as early as 1941 that if Germany was going to successfully conquer Europe, a culture complex other than that of the Germanic-speaking peoples would eventually have to be called upon:

> I have suggested that German prehistoric archaeology should become a single unified project with the overarching theme "The Birth of Today's European States"... If we plan in the future to take over to a large extent the intellectual leadership of Europe, we cannot exclusively emphasize the Germanic element, thereby creating from the outset a barrier between ourselves and the other peoples of Europe; rather, we must to a much greater extent than has previously been the case emphasize the Indo-Germanic roots that we share with most of the European peoples. (Steuer, 2001b:428)

Jankuhn had anticipated by more than 50 years the cultural phenomenon of the Celts as a pan-European symbol, exemplified by the blockbuster museum exhibit "I Celti" in Venice in 1990—in tandem with the reinvention of Europe as a confederation of states. Not coincidentally, in the last decade significant amounts of EU money have been allocated to archaeological research on the Celts, at least partly because this emerging political entity is in need of its own prehistoric precedent.

The Chimera-like quality of the symbiosis between archaeology and the state is one reason scholars have had such difficulty articulating a clear distinction between nationalist archaeology and archaeology under dictatorship. As the contributions to this volume have made clear, there is no consensus regarding what precisely defines a dictator, much less whether archaeological practice exhibits different characteristics in one system as compared to the other. This lack of consensus is partly due to the fact that there are multiple avenues to deconstructing archaeology under dictatorship; this is both a strength and a weakness of this sort of scholarship. The divide between the documented and the "unofficial" story of archaeological research under dictatorial regimes can only (partly) be bridged if there are living informants who participated in the events being studied and are willing not only to talk, but to talk openly about their experiences (see Galaty and Watkinson, this volume). Most often their willingness to talk is in direct proportion to the extent of their insider knowledge (and usually also their culpability), with the result that those most eager to help are often the least informative, and vice versa. There is also

the problem of attrition—for example, most of the German archaeologists who might have been able to provide insight into the backstory behind the official National Socialist documents have died. Many modern nations, and the scholars working in them, face the problem of "dialectical tacking" between various identities exemplified by Libya as described by Munzi (this volume, p. 103): "Archaeology in modern Libya must find a way to mediate between its colonial past and independence, Rome and Islam, scientific and political needs and the possibilities of tourism—a challenge, given the unstable climate created by the mounting nationalistic ferment of the Arabic world."

Archaeology is structurally fragile, as Altekamp (this volume, p. 70) points out, partly because it is seen as a cultural luxury in most societies, and if it cannot be configured to appear useful, it is often a victim of shrinking budgets and shifting priorities: "The specific historical circumstances of the nineteenth century created a refuge for scholarly archaeology, but the intermezzo of fascism demonstrated how changing cultural and political conditions were able to destroy this protection as quickly as it had been created." Archaeology's utility to nation building was first generally recognized in the 19th century, which was a major contributing factor in its development as a professional discipline. In most European countries the 19th century was a sort of Golden Age in terms of excavation opportunities, if not an age of innocence, since the colonialist and nationalist exploitation of the archaeological record affected scholarly research to varying degrees. This exploitation was carried to extremes by some (but not all) of the fascist regimes of the mid-20th century.

Finally, what purpose, if any, is served by scholarship like that represented by this volume, apart from simply bearing witness to events that had horrific consequences in many of the regimes being studied? Does gaining a better understanding of the relationship between archaeology and dictatorship have any predictive or preventive value? Can we predict in which states archaeology is likely to become a handmaiden of dictatorship? Conversely, can the overtly politicized manipulation of archaeological research be used as an indicator for the emergence of a dictatorial regime, serving as a sort of canary in a coal mine? Some predictors do seem to exist. For example, metal producing cultures with fairly complex social systems and (ideally) with written sources are more likely to be manipulated in this way because the archaeological remains are typically numerous, well preserved, and visually compelling. On the other hand, there is also a geographic element involved—the Romans evoke very different associations in Italy than in the Empire outside the Italian peninsula. This is partly why the Romans were politically useful for Italian nationalists under Mussolini, but have tended to be viewed with ambivalence by the Swiss, the French and the Germans. If there is no one culture that meets the minimal requirements for constructing a single national identity, and many ethnic and cultural traditions are present in the nation-state in question, then archaeological research is unlikely to be co-opted for political purposes by the state, although various interest groups within the society may politicize the

interpretation of selectively targeted archaeological data. The United States is a good example—its physical size, the size and multi-cultural composition of its population, and its colonial past all preclude any totalitarian regime that might arise there from viewing archaeological research as a useful tool in underwriting the ideological program of a dictatorship. However, based on the patterns exhibited by the growing number of case studies of archaeology under dictatorship, including those in this volume, the U.S. could become a place in which archaeologists would face persecution under a dictatorship, since the archaeological past in such regimes is either perceived as useful and worth co-opting, or viewed as useless and a threat. Neutrality for those of us involved in the business of recovering, recording, preserving and representing the archaeological past has certainly ceased to be a realistic option, if it was ever anything other than an illusion.

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