

Archaeological Encounters

Archaeological Encounters:
Building Networks of Spanish and British
Archaeologists in the 20th Century

By

Margarita Díaz-Andreu

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P U B L I S H I N G

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by Margarita Díaz-Andreu

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PREFACE

This book makes extensive use of documentation – mainly correspondence – stored in archives. This is my most ambitious attempt to deal with this type of source. When I started to work on the history of archaeology, the use of archives was practically unheard of. Then, back in the early 1990s, the history of archaeology aimed to provide a chronological account of the discoveries and discoverers in the history of the discipline and to explain the changes in archaeological theory. My first break with the *status quo* was to change the angle from an internalist to an externalist focus – I wanted to place archaeology in its socio-political context. However, I became increasingly aware that new questions required additional types of sources. Published information in the form of books, articles and the like could not answer the kind of enquiries I was making, especially when it came down to the level of the individual. It was necessary, therefore, to search for answers in archives, a source I first tapped into in 1995. Also in that year I wrote a first article on Gordon Childe and Spain (Díaz-Andreu 1998), although as far as I knew Childe had destroyed all surviving personal letters addressed to him before he left England in 1956. In 2002, however, I learned of the existence of two archives that were being organised at that time: the Martínez Santa-Olalla Archive and the Pericot Archive. In July 2005, thanks to a Dr. M. Alwyn Cotton Foundation award, I conducted two weeks of research on the Pericot Archive at the Library of Catalonia. In it I discovered forty letters from Childe to Pericot and a draft of a letter from Pericot to Childe (Díaz-Andreu 2007c). I quickly became aware that Childe had been but one of the Catalan archaeologist's many correspondents. That is how the idea for this book emerged.

This book was mainly written while I was working at Durham University, but I have finished it in Barcelona, where I have been appointed as an ICREA Research Professor at the University of Barcelona. It is based on research first undertaken thanks to an AHRC “Geographies of Archaeological Knowledge” project (Award AH/E504094/1). My research was also supported by the AREA IV network (Archives of European Archaeology) of the European Commission's Culture 2000 programme (n° 2005-0841/001-001 CLT CA 22), and the British Academy grant SG-46727. Two

periods as a visiting fellow at the University of Barcelona's Department of Archaeology and Prehistory at the invitation of Prof. Francisco Gracia in the summers of 2007 and 2008 were of tremendous help to my research while in Barcelona. I would like to thank all the archivists who helped with my work. First and foremost I must mention Anna Gudayol and her team at the Biblioteca de Catalunya (including Isabel Gálvez, Montse Molina, Alicia Morant and Anna Nicolau), as well as Marga Ruiz Gelabert and Núria Altarriba, for their help with different aspects of the Pericot Archive. Salvador Quero Castro's assistance with the Martínez Santa-Olalla Archive was invaluable. I would like to thank to Mr Colin Harris, Superintendent, Special Collections Reading Rooms, the Research Support, Department of Special Collections and Western MSS, Bodleian Library and Eva Oledzka, then archivist at the British Museum's Department of Prehistory and Europe. The documents relating to the help given to Bosch Gimpera by the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning were accessed with the permission of CARA, the Council for Assisting Refugee Academics (John Akker, pers. comm. 18-9-2009).

I am most grateful to the large number of people who, over the last three years (and before), have helped me with the writing of this book and have answered my many questions; their assistance is often acknowledged in the text. There are too many to list here in full, but I cannot fail to mention all those who experienced some of the events explained in this book and have been extremely kind in providing me with additional information. Some of them are no longer with us. Among those of the oldest generation, I should mention John Evans, Peter Gathercole and Michael Thompson and from the younger cohort, José Aparicio (Diputació de València), Geoff Bailey (University of York), Francisco Burillo (University of Zaragoza), Iain Davidson (University of New England), Prof. Josep Maria Fullola Pericot (University of Barcelona) and Richard Harrison (University of Bristol). I have also received invaluable support from Catalan archaeologists, especially Prof. Francisco Gracia Alonso (University of Barcelona). Montse Molina, Ignacio Montero and Fabián Cuesta have also been extremely helpful and have supplied me with articles I could not easily obtain while in England. I must also mention the stimulus and encouragement of some of my ex-colleagues in the Department of Archaeology, Durham University and in particular that of those involved in the History of Archaeology research group. The English has been edited by Paul Turner and Angel Smith.

The photographs published in this book have been gathered from a number of institutions. Taking museums first, permission to reproduce photographs has been obtained from the Ashmolean Museum (Figure 6.1), the British Museum (4.1), the Musée des Antiquités Nationales (5.4), the Museo de San Isidro Los Orígenes de Madrid (3.5) and the Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya (6.9). The following universities have also granted permission: the Evatt Collection, Flinders University Library (Figure 4.5), the Hugo Obermaier-Archiv, University of Erlangen (5.2), the Institute of Archaeology (London) (4.8), the Institute of Archaeology (Oxford) (6.7), the Pericot Family Archive, Department of Prehistory, Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Barcelona (1.1, 3.1, 3.2 and 4.7), and St John's College, Cambridge University (5.15). Other institutions that have given permission to publish photographs are the Arxiu de l'Institut Municipal de Museus de Reus (IMMR) (Fig 4.9), the British Academy (Figures 5.9 and 6.2), the Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) (5.13) and the Servei d'Investigació Prehistòrica (SIP) of Valencia (5.7 and 5.8). Some photographs have been sent with permission for publication by individuals, including John Coles (5.11), Martín Almagro Gorbea (3.6), Nicolas Hawkes (6.10) and Michael W. Thompson (5.14). Photograph 1.2 was taken by the author. It has not been possible to locate the copyright holder of Figures 5.3 and 6.13. All tables, maps and diagrams are by the author. The letters reproduced on the dust jacket are from the Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona, Fons Lluís Pericot, Correspondència. Permission has also been granted by all known literary executors.

Some of the information given in this book has seen the light in a different form in earlier versions. I have published previous works on three of the authors dealt with in this book: Gordon Childe (Díaz-Andreu 1998; 2007b; 2007c; 2009); Grahame Clark (Díaz-Andreu 2010) and Christopher Hawkes (Díaz-Andreu 2007a; Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009b). The data provided in these articles overlap and complement the information offered in this volume.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACNP	Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas (National Association of Catholic Propagandists)
AGA	Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares
BM	British Museum
BOD-Hawkes	Bodleian Library, Hawkes Papers
BOD-Myres	Bodleian Library, Myres archive
BOD- SPSL	Bodleian Library, Archive of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning
BSPF	Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française
CARA	Council for Assisting Refugee Academics
CASE	Congresos Arqueológicos del Sureste Español (Archaeological Congress of the Spanish Southeast)
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CE	Comité Executive (Executive Committee [of the CISPP/UISPP])
CEH	Centro de Estudios Históricos (Centre for Historical Studies)
CGEA	Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas ([Spanish] General Commissariat for Archaeological Excavations)
CIAAP	Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique (International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology)
CIPP	Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas (Commission for Palaeontological and Prehistoric Research)
CIPSH	Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines (International Council of Philosophy and Human Sciences)

CISAE	Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques (International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences)
CISPP	Congrès international des sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques (International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences)
CNA	Congreso Nacional de Arqueología (National Archaeological Congress [of Spain])
CP	Conseil Permanent (Permanent Council [of the CISPP/UISPP])
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Spanish Higher Council for Scientific Research)
ENAH	Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (National School of Anthropology and History, Mexico City)
FP	Fons Pericot (Pericot Archive)
IIA	Institut international d'anthropologie (International Institute of Anthropology)
INQUA	International Union for Quaternary Research
IPH	Institut de Paléontologie Humaine (Institute of Human Palaeontology of Paris)
GAI	German Archaeological Institute
JAE	Junta para Ampliación de Estudio e Investigaciones Científicas (Council for the Expansion of Study and Scientific Research)
JSEA	Junta Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Higher Council for Excavations and Antiquities)
MuM-O ASO	Museo de los Orígenes (Madrid), Archivo Santa- Olalla
PCP	Pan-African Congress
PCP & QS	Pan-African Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies
RGK	Römisch-Germanische Kommission
SEAEP	Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria (Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory)
SIA	Servei d'Investigacions Arqueològiques (Service of Archaeological Research - of Barcelona)

SIP	Servicio de Investigaciones Prehistóricas (C: Servei d'Investigacions Prehistòriques); Service for Prehistoric Research
SOM	Seine-Oise-Marne
SPSL	Society for the Protection of Science and Learning
UAB	Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (C: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona); Autonomous University of Barcelona
UIA	Union of International Associations
UISPP	Union internationale des sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques (International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
WGF	Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research
WWI/WWII	World War I / World War II

EQUIVALENCE BETWEEN NAMES IN SPANISH (CASTILIAN) AND CATALAN

In this book I had to take a difficult decision on whether to use the Catalan or Spanish (Castilian) versions of names and toponyms. I finally decided to use the Spanish versions, as they were the ones used during most of Pericot's life. Catalan became one of the official languages of Catalonia after the Spanish Constitution of 1978 and the organisation of Spain into Autonomous Communities. Before that, with the exception of the autonomous spell in the 1930s, the only official language in Catalonia was Castilian, known in the rest of the world as Spanish. Even during the Francoist regime, when Catalan was officially forbidden, Pericot used Catalan to speak with and write to Catalan friends and in those cases he signed with the Catalan version of his name, Lluís. He even published a prologue in Catalan for a book written by a friend and published in 1954 (!) (Pericot and Espriu 1954). But this was an exception and beyond this circle of Catalan colleagues, he never used Catalan or the Catalan version of his name and he never used the Catalan versions of place names. If he had lived nowadays he would have probably acted otherwise. However, historians need to show respect for history. It is my understanding that for a book on his relationships with British colleagues he would have wished to have his name written in Spanish.

Spanish (Castilian)

Ampurias
Bagur
Bosch Gimpera, Pedro
Colominas Roca, José
Gerona
Lérida
Maluquer de Motes, Juan
Palol Salellas, Pedro de
Pericot García, Luis
Seriñá
Servicio de Investigaciones
Arqueológicas
Tarradell Mateu, Miguel
Serra Rafols, Elías

Catalan

Empúries
Begur
Bosch Gimpera, Pere
Colominas i Roca, Josep
Girona
Lleida
Maluquer de Motes, Joan
Palol i Salellas, Pere de
Pericot Garcia, Lluís
Serinyà
Servei d'Investigacions
Arqueològiques
Tarradell i Mateu, Miquel
Serra Ràfols, Elías

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PART I

THE CONTEXT

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological encounters and international geographies of knowledge

Since the late 1980s, sociologists and historians of science have highlighted the key role played by contingent historical factors in the creation of scientific knowledge. Science is seen not only as a cultural formation inserted into wider networks of social relations and political power, but, significantly, as also being moulded by the local environments or geographical locations in which it is produced. Scholars have focused their attention on the impact of the space in which the scientific knowledge is produced in order to understand practices and changes occurring in it (Harris 1998; Livingstone 2003). It is argued that science “is indelibly marked by the local and the spatial circumstances of its making” (Shapin 1998: 6). Following this line, in the last two decades a rich variety of analyses has been undertaken. Some scholars have tackled the apparent contradiction of the local production of knowledge versus the short span of time taken for its efficient circulation through networks to other places (Latour 1987: 180). Another approach distinguishes between the static, the kinematic and the dynamic geographies of place: from the places where science is created to the spatial implications of the preconditions needed for it to happen (the provenance of instruments, texts and correspondents, amongst others) and, finally, to the transmission of knowledge from one place to another (Harris 1998). As regards the latter, the historian of science, Stephen J. Harris, explains that “in the third sense, geography of knowledge also means the dynamics of travel: why and by what means did all these movements take place? What was the anima motrix responsible for the multiple peregrinations of the elements of knowledge?” (ibidem: 273). For his part, Simon Naylor has divided the scholarship on the geographies of knowledge into placing and contextualising science. Studies range from placing science at the smallest spatial level, including the laboratory and the lecture hall, to contextualising it in towns or cities, regions, nations and/or language regions (Naylor 2005).

In this volume, many of these aspects concerning the geographies of knowledge will be tackled. The aim of this book is to analyse archaeological encounters by examining how scholars living far apart communicate in practice and how they create the preconditions for the transmission of knowledge between separate geographical regions and countries. Communication arises in many contexts and uses several different media – conference halls, the dinner table, a scholar's office, on a train, at home, in excavations, etc. It occurs through active and passive participation in talks and conversations, through the written word, in direct mail exchanges and also through publications, translations and reviews. The substance of what is communicated also varies. It ranges from new discoveries and novel proposals, as well as innovative ways of institutionalising the discipline, to more specific and personal information about colleagues. In addition to analysing the means and practices of communication among scholars living in different places, this volume also aims to examine a related issue: whether the nature and perception of the geographical locations where archaeologists are based affects the development of archaeology as a science in an international context. Through a microhistorical study (cf. Kaeser 2008), it endeavours to assess whether the creation of knowledge in archaeology is influenced by the geographical location in which it is produced. Finally, it also looks into how ideas are received, paying particular attention to their reception by scientific communities located in other countries.

This book, therefore, moves back and forth between a macrohistorical perspective and a microanalysis, and finally goes back to macrohistory expanding, yet again, the focus of the study. The contextualisation of the scholars discussed in this volume cannot but be based on the wider perspective, looking into the most important events that took place in archaeology during the years it analyses. This will not take the form of a detailed description of major archaeological discoveries, but will follow my previous line of research on the external conditions that frame archaeological practice. The macrohistorical overview will provide some background information about the impact of the socio-political and economic framework in both Spain and Britain on the development of archaeological theories and practices in the period under study in both countries. Some attention will be paid to the grand ideologies such as nationalism and colonialism and even internationalism. This wider historical perspective will allow us to better contextualise the internal developments within the discipline, such as theory, method and institutionalisation.

In addition to the macrohistorical perspective, this book also looks on a smaller scale at how particular scholars may be affected not only by ideas in their learned environment, but also by the social networks of their academic milieu and beyond. To date, most of the studies that have investigated this issue have focused on the academic and personal links formed by colleagues who are frequently in contact. In contrast, this study explores the impact on science of the exchanges between scholars who do not see each other frequently, because they live in different countries. This volume looks at international relations in science, focusing on the processes that lead archaeologists from different countries to communicate with and visit each other and to congregate at major international congresses. It does this in a peculiar way, centring on internationalism, while balancing this grand scale with a consideration of micro-history. This is because the data on which the discussion in Part II of the book is based derive from a selection of events that the scholars in our study decided to describe in the letters that were their main means of communication while working apart.

From geographies to correspondence

An important component of this project is the study of the correspondence between one of the main archaeologists in Spain in the period after the Civil War, the Barcelona professor, Luis Pericot (1899-1978) (Fig. 1.1), and certain archaeologists in Britain, mainly based in London (one of them, Childe, moved to Edinburgh for several years), Cambridge and Oxford. This will lead us in Part II to analyse around a thousand letters written by British archaeologists that are now in the Pericot Archive. The information obtained from the correspondence and described in Part II will be looked at again in Part III from a different angle and enhanced by analysing other types of evidence, including reviews and translations. The goal of the final section of the book will be to examine how geography influences the production, circulation and reception of knowledge. Should we consider the place of production a key element in understanding how it takes place? To what extent does the perception of the geography where knowledge is produced influence its dissemination and reception? Issues concerning academic authority and credibility will be discussed in this context.



Figure 1.1. Pericot at his desk. Source: Pericot family archive, Department of Prehistory, Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Barcelona.

During the years this book deals with – the decades before and especially after World War II, broadly from the 1920s to the 1970s – letters were still the main way for scholars to contact each other while apart, especially when they were in different countries. The use of telephones was restricted to nearby communication, as the price of international calls was too high for them to be used in all but exceptional cases. Telegrams were also used for urgent communications. Today these letters are an important documental source for the history of archaeology. They are far more than anecdotal evidence and provide us with access to the primary source of information used by scholars to build their knowledge of events elsewhere in the discipline (Jacob 2008: 7). They contain proof of the process of events as they were experienced and felt by the individuals living through them. In the study of correspondence between scholars, letters help us to understand the tempo of a social relationship. The rhythm of their interactions is shaped by the intervals between letters, variations in the frequency of exchanges and silent periods as opposed to those with a frantic exchange of letters (*ibidem*: 10). In the cases under discussion, an explanation of these swings will be given to enable us to reconstruct, as Jacob proposes, the evolutive curve of social relations and intellectual

projects (*ibidem*). The letters also allow us to analyse the effects of gender, social, ethnic and class identities on social relationships.

One has to be careful, however, not to take the information provided in letters too literally. Scholars, just like anybody else, can contradict themselves, i.e. say one thing now and something else later. There are many explanations for this, ranging from strategic positioning to simple mood changes. A good example of such a contradiction is related to Pericot. On 2 December 1969 Pedro Bosch Gimpera, Pericot's former supervisor and one of his closest friends for many years, criticised him in a letter to Rafael Olivar Beltrand. He went as far as to say that he was even thinking of ending his friendship with Pericot (Olivar-Bertrand 1978: 25). Three days later, however, he wrote Pericot a letter that started with the usual "Dear friend Pericot" and said "I hope that next year we can meet here" (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002: letter 258 dated on 5-12-1969). It is possible that in the first letter Bosch was trying to please Olivar by criticising Pericot, as in the previous letter Olivar had seriously criticised Bosch's former disciple. This may partly explained why Bosch wrote what he did. One does not need to think about conspiracies to understand Bosch's two letters. We can see them as the result of the strategies that many people follow in normal communications, in which they try to make themselves agreeable to their interlocutor. One should not forget that when people write personal letters, they never expect them to end up becoming public and that the information they have written to one person will eventually be compared to that written to another.

The Pericot Archive (Fons Pericot) and other archival sources – background information

Much has been published about Pedro Bosch Gimpera and Spanish archaeology in the decades preceding the Spanish Civil War (Cortadella 2003a; Gracia Alonso 2011; Gracia Alonso et al. 2002; Ripoll 1977). In contrast, as explained above, much of the discussion in this book relates to the decades after the Spanish Civil War. The new information contained in this book comes from the Pericot Archive (Fons Pericot), now in the Library of Catalonia (Biblioteca de Catalunya) in Barcelona (Fig. 1.2). This contains an amazing number of letters received by Prof. Luis Pericot (1899-1978), mainly after the Spanish Civil War, as well as other items. In this book letters and other documents from the Pericot Archive are referred with FP- (Fons Pericot). If FP- is followed by a date, the file name where the letter is included should be obvious because of the text. In case

of ambiguity, the file name has been added. During Pericot's lifetime, many of these letters and other documents seem to have been kept in his office (Fig. 1.1), although they were probably only those he had most recently received. Most of the letters (probably the correspondence he had already dealt with or that which he did not want to deal with) were kept in his personal archive at home – if one can call piles of letters in boxes a personal archive! We have inferred this from a comment made by Margaret Smith, who once wrote “Dear Señor Pericot, This is a letter which is perhaps not for inclusion in the Archives on the top of your wardrobe, for we should like to ask for your advice!” (FP- Smith 4-5-1953). When Pericot's study was cleared after his death, most of the books were sold to second-hand bookshops. His correspondence, however, fared better. Although a small number of letters were apparently kept as relics by some of Pericot's former collaborators and all personal papers – mainly the correspondence between Pericot and his wife – were kept by the family (F. Gracia pers. comm. 23-8-2007), the remaining letters were saved for posterity. They were first offered to the University of Barcelona and, after that institution declined the offer, to the Library of Catalonia (BOD-Hawkes, Box 21, 16-12-1980, from María Luisa Pericot to Hawkes), which accepted it. A hundred large boxes full of documents were sent to the institution, sixty-five of them with correspondence and the remaining thirty-five with miscellanea, including newspaper clippings and notes on the Mediterranean Cruise of 1933. By 2012 three quarters of the correspondence had been organised and classified and the rest had gone through a first phase of classification by author in alphabetical order (A. Gudayol pers. comm., 22-3-2012).

The material was first worked on by one of Pericot's grandsons, Josep Maria Fullola Pericot, together with his colleague Francisco Gracia (Gracia Alonso et al. 2002). At that time the material was inaccessible to anybody else, not only because very few people knew it existed, but more importantly because a condition of the donation had been that access should remain restricted to family members until twenty-five years after Pericot's death, i.e., until 12 October 2003. It was just luck, therefore, that the author of this book attempted to use this source in the summer of 2004 while looking for material for her work on Childe (see Díaz-Andreu 2007b; 2007c; 2009). Although the material had not been classified at the time, fortunately the archivist in charge of the task, Anna Gudayol, agreed to support all research undertaken on the collection. Priority was given to classifying the part of the archive related to English-speaking scholars, without which the project on which this book is based would have been