学术关系：1916-1936年间意大利和西班牙考古学家和前史学家之间的学术关系

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引言

西班牙对意大利考古学的了解可以追溯到19世纪中后期，通过重要发掘报告的传播。科学分析倾向于古典艺术史的参数，尽管这并没有影响到基于伊比利亚半岛自己考古记录的学术工作的发展。其影响表现在各种方式：在罗马征服和统治对西班牙民族主义的重要性；在第一批文献综合或学术专著中，如José Ramón Mélida的《西班牙考古学》（1929年）；以及通过由JAE（进一步研究委员会）资助的研究项目。这项研究重建了1929年在巴塞罗那举行的第四届国际古典考古学大会，并导致了1932年在伯尔尼举行的国际前史科学大会（CISPP），在西班牙内战后，以及西班牙考古学家Bosch Gimpera和Hugo Obermaier的努力下，这个跨越了古典和前史考古学的网络，被用于支持该会议的举办。然而，共同的西班牙和意大利考古学利益也导致了罗姆-西班牙地区的新古典主义考古项目。最终在西班牙新的法西斯政府下，以及考古学家García y Bellido、Santa Olalla、Taracena和Almagro的参与下，考古学被用来证明西班牙民族主义，以及其帝国主义、强大的中央领导和政治与语言统一的意识形态。

梦想的意大利

就像英国贵族在18世纪末的旅行一样，Bosch Gimpera也享受了私人“Grand Tour”。1912年7月，在柏林大学学习古典语言学并获得JAE的资助期间，Bosch提出了去法国和意大利旅游的可能。尽管JAE拒绝了他的请求和任何经济援助，他并没有放弃这个计划。8月末，他去了哥本哈根、斯德哥尔摩、伦敦和巴黎，他的母亲Dolores Gimpera陪伴他。他们一起探索了法国首都，然后访问了布鲁塞尔、科隆、巴塞尔、米兰、威尼斯、佛罗伦萨、罗马、皮萨和热那亚，然后返回到巴塞罗那，途中途经尼斯和马赛。

这不仅是一次愉快的旅行，还是一次工作，Bosch利用这次机会研究了他停留城市的博物馆收藏。在JAE的报告中，他提到了他在康士坦斯湖博物馆的访问，他在那里检查了该地区沼泽环境发现的材料，以及在佛罗伦萨对Etruscan材料的分析，还有他对Crete的米诺亚和克里特陶器的系列Attic花瓶的考察，以及他对罗马的访问，再次检查了克里特陶器。他在1915年为加泰罗尼亚大学罗马史教授职位的考试中讨论了这个主题，但没有评委听说过克里特-迈锡尼文化，拒绝了他的候选人资格（Gracia Alonso, 2011: 150-153）。

Bosch的弟子也申请了JAE的奖学金。Alberto del Castillo在1920年获得了德国的奖学金，然后前往意大利，在Bologna、Florence和Rome的博物馆工作，与Pigorini在民族学和前史博物馆合作，与Sergi在罗马的人类学学院合作。1923年1月，他又去了意大利，在Bologna的博物馆工作了四个月，完成了他对Bell-shaped beakers的研究。然而，西班牙的学者让大部分研究集中在其他国家，而西班牙内战对安东尼奥García y Bellido来说是一个转折。
fessor of Classical Archaeology at the Central University of Madrid from 1931, replacing Mélida, García y Bellido obtained grants from the JAE and the Royal Academy of History between 1930 and 1935. He worked in Germany in 1930, 1932, 1934 and 1935, but spent most of 1933 in Italy broadening his knowledge of Greco-Roman archaeology and Italian proto-historical cultures. He was in Florence from April to June, analysing collections of Greek pottery, and compiling data that he would use in his studies of the Greek colonization of the Iberian Peninsula. Then, after taking part in an educational Mediterranean cruise in the summer of 1933, which would introduce three generations of Spanish scholars to Italian archaeology (Gracia Alonso and Fullola, 2006), he toured sites in Southern Italy before a long stay in Rome (Blázquez and Pérez, 2004: 19-58).

This educational Mediterranean cruise was organized by the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of Madrid’s Central University, and supported by the Ministries of State (Foreign Affairs) and of Public Education and Fine Arts, and brought together 190 teachers and students from the universities of Madrid, Barcelona, Salamanca, Seville and Valencia. They took 45 days to visit Malta, Tunis, Egypt, the Holy Land, Crete, Rhodes, Smyrna, Istanbul, Greece, Sicily and part of central Italy. Nearly all of the main representatives of Spanish archaeological research between 1920 and 1950 were on board, with the exception of Bosch Gimpera, Manuel Gómez Moreno, Elías Tormo, Hugo Obermaier, Luís Pericot, José Ferrandis Torres, Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, Cayetano de Mergelina y Luna, Blas Taracena Aguirre and Antonio García y Bellido were among the teachers. And Juan de Mata Carriazo, Martín Almagro Basch, Julio Martínez Santa Olalla, Juan Maluquer de Motes, Carlos Alonso del Real, Encarnación Cábrer Herreños, Emilio Camps Cazorla, José María Mañá de Angulo and Felipa Niño Mas, were among the students and recent graduates. The cruise was a unique opportunity for archaeologists and archaeology students to see the main sites and museums of the Classical world. This experience would decisively shape their professional and academic activities after the Spanish Civil War.

After a tour of the eastern Mediterranean and Greece, the ship Ciudad de Cádiz reached Palermo, Sicily, on July 23. The travellers visited the main archaeological sites of the city and then detoured to Syracuse before moving on to Naples on July 25. Here they visited the archaeological museum before going to Pompeii and Herculaneum on July 26, Paestum on July 27 and Rome on July 28. They were introduced to the large-scale excavation techniques used in work at Pompeii, and to the concept of monumental archaeology that was favoured by Mussolini’s government.

Consequently the excavation of large archaeological complexes would also become a standard feature of the archaeological research promoted by Spanish governments in the period immediately before and after the Spanish Civil War. Implementation began on June 11, 1936, with the publication of the Plan for Works, Excavations and Acquisition of Buildings and Land Destined for Monuments of National Artistic Heritage. With a budget of 6,816,927 pesetas, this plan had been put before Parliament by the Minister of Public Education and Fine Arts, Marcelino Domingo, and prioritized the sites of Itálica, Clunia and Medina Azahara. In 1940, after the end of the Spanish Civil War, the General Commissariat of Archaeological Excavations of Franco’s Ministry of Education and Science presented its first plan of archaeological action, which advocated funding for work at the three sites, Itálica, Clunia and Medina Azahara, as well as at the sites of La Alcudia, Azaila, Mérida, Numancia, Sagunto and Ampurias. In spite of the political differences with its predecessors the Franco regime maintained the policy of supporting archaeological research.

**The IVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology**

Bosch was in frequent contact with his Italian colleagues. Count Francesco Pellati invited him to the conference on the history of Cyrenaica held in 1927, although in the end he was unable to attend due to administrative problems with the Ministry of State. However, he did take part in the International Congress of Etruscan Studies held in Florence in 1928, and attended the meeting on the archaeology of the island of Rhodes in the same year. At the former, one of the characteristics of Bosch’s academic personality was clearly demonstrated: his definition of a position on a question and then the defence of it at all costs, riding roughshod over any arguments of the opposition. At this conference Italian researchers, led by Ugo Antonelli, put forward their theses in defence of the Italian ethnicity of the Etruscans in order to ingratiate themselves with Fascist authorities and obtain funds to continue their research. Bosch and other researchers such as Axel Boethius defended the opposite position, that the Etruscans were of Lydian origin. They based their arguments on the evidence in Classical texts, a position characteristic of the German historical school in which they had both been educated. Like Wilhelm Unverzagt they were disdainful of the Fascist paraphernalia and the patriotic interventions of the conference speakers, and along with Boethius, Bosch refused to use the term ‘Etruscan-Italian’ to refer to pre-Roman communities on the Italian peninsula.

Nevertheless, and in spite of all of the politics, the fact is that they were wrong. Archaeological research was beginning to find evidence of continuity in the sequences of occupation between different stages of Villanovian and Lacial cultures and the Etruscan levels, without any rupture or contribution by external populations. This confirmed the indigenist thesis at the expense of the migrationist one, which attempted to assign the origins of Etruscans and Romans to the communities of Asia Minor. After visiting the Pigorini museum, Bosch began corresponding with Antonelli, among others, concerning a series of artefacts from a pit tomb near the Cucumella Tumulus at Vulci, which he wanted to compare with some Spanish material. In addition he began to correspond with Neppi Modona, with whom he was to continue to exchange both his publications and those of his students, Alberto del Castillo and Luis Pericot, for the series, Studi Etruschi.
which he wanted for the Prehistory Seminar at the University of Barcelona.

After the Etruscan conference, Bosch undertook a tour of the Aegean, leaving from Brindisi and visiting Patras, Corinth, Athens, Smyrna, Patmos and Cos before reaching Rhodes. Back in Rome, Bosch met with Francesco Pellati and Ettore Pais to confirm Italian support for the negotiations to hold the 4th International Congress of Classical Archaeology in Barcelona in the following year, a meeting he had begun to organise in Brussels five years earlier. The interest of the Italians grew as the months passed, especially Pellati’s, and in January 1929 he congratulated Bosch for having gained the support of the Spanish government for the congress. Pellati was convinced that the Barcelona meeting would be successful due to the presence in the organising committee of Mélida and Obermaier, and of Bosch himself. Pellati also suggested a date for the second fortnight of September which was accepted. Pellati provided information and documents on how the third congress in Rome (some years earlier) had been set up, along with the specific reasons that prevented the follow-up conference in Algiers, due mainly to the outbreak of the First World War. He believed that the proposal for the conference in Spain linked up perfectly with the lecture series begun in Athens, and continued in Cairo before the Rome meeting.29

Because of the lack of news, Pellati asked for confirmation at the end of April 1929 that the congress would take place.30 By the start of July all of the Italian researchers had received the conference documents31 and had started to send their letters of acceptance to Bosch, along with their lecture titles. Some, like Ugo Rellini,32 suggested that the organisers request that official delegations be sent, a measure that had already been discussed by the time the Ministry of State sent out information on the conference to other European governments. Pellati and Antonio Taramelli organised the Italian delegation under the aegis of the Minister of Public Education.33 Initially the delegation was to comprise these two scholars and Paolo Orsi, Pericle Ducati and Pietro Romanelli,34 although some of these were not all able, or in some cases not particularly keen, to participate.35 In the end, thanks to Pellati’s efforts in publicising the meeting among Italian researchers, new applications to take part were received from Francesca Franciosi36, Rodolfo Micacchi37, Umberto Calzoni38, Gaetano Mori39, Raniero Mengarelli40 and Ugo Ferraguti41. On September 9, Pellati informed Bosch about the list of official delegates from Italy, consisting of himself, Carlo Aza, Umberto Calzoni, Ducati42, Giulio Giglioli, Mengarel- lì, Rellini, Romanelli and Taramelli43, (although, eventually, Mengarel- lì would not be able to attend).44

Bosch also relied on the Italian researchers’ participation in the ‘Foreign Correspondence Committee’, which had to persuade the international community of the value of the work of the organising committee, the quality of Spanish research and the appropriateness of holding the meeting in Barcelona. The Spanish press noted the calibre of the foreign researchers expected to be present in Barcelona, and reported on the members of the committee, who were, in the case of Italy: ‘Count Francesco Pellati, of the Fine Arts Department, Rome; Prof. Hugo (sic) Ant- onelli, Director of the Museum of Prehistory, Rome; Prof. Aldo Neppi Modona, University lecturer and secretary of the Standing Committee on Etruria, Florence’45. The Foreign Correspondence Committee comprised the following leading figures: Gerhard Rodenwaldt, Wihelrn Unverzagt, Hans Zeiss and Lothar Wickert from Germany; Oswald Menghin from Austria; Arthur Stanley Riggs from the United States; Henri Begouen and Raymond Lantier from France; and Thomas Downing Kendrick, Osbert Guy Stan- hope Crawford and Adolf Mahl, representing researchers from Great Britain and Ireland.

The interest of the Italian archaeologists and researchers was logical, given the programme. Divided into twelve sections, research into the Classical world and Latin culture predominated, and only four sections diverged from this main subject. These were Prehistoric and Protohistoric Archaeology (I), Eastern Archaeology (II), Pre-Hellenic Archaeology (III) and Organization of Archaeological Research (XII). The eight other sections reflected the main themes: Italian and Etruscan Archaeology (IV), Spanish Archaeology (V), History of Classical Art (VI), Greek and Roman Antiquities (VII), Epigraphy, Papyrology and Numisma- tics (VIII), Mythology and History of Religions (IX), Ancient Topography (X) and Christian Archaeology (XI).

The Barcelona Congress, held from September 23 to 29, 1929, was an overwhelming success. Bosch, as organiser, had to overcome many obstacles due to the doubts of the more nationalist sectors of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans, who regarded the meeting as yet another example of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship’s attempt to create Spanish- nationalistic uniformity. However, Rodenwaldt expressed the opinion of many of those present when he pointed out, during the opening session in the Aula Magna of the University of Barcelona, that the objective of the German delegation was not only to honour the scientific voyages of Alexander von Humboldt, but also to confirm the excellence of archaeological research in Spain, in reference to the international impact of the work of Bosch and Ober- maier46. Among those attending were Karel Abolon, W.J. Schramil, Joan Andreuvescu, Wlodzimierz Antoniewicz, Gregory Borovka, Félix Durrbach, P. Douau Bullic, Ugo Ferraguti, Director of Excavations at Vulci; Ernst Curtius, Director of the German Archaeological Institute, Rome; Carlo Galassi Paluzzi, Director of the Istituto di Studi Romani; Adolph Goldschmidt, Maertens, Henri Martin, Boris Schukow, Maurice Reygasse and Stanley Riggs.47 Others, such as the Italians Neppi48, Rellini49, Agostino Gemelli50, Alfonso Bartoli51 and Serafino Ricci52 could not attend, but supported the congress.53 Aristide Calderini even requested that the documents of the conference’s working groups be included in the journal Aevum, published by the Faculty of Letters of the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan.54

During the opening ceremony on September 23, Taramelli, from the Presidential table, told participants how the congress had allowed him to fulfil his dream of getting to know Spain. He gave the Italian Government’s official
greeting and ‘predicted that the congress’s tasks are the prelude to that society of intelligence and the future. He said it was necessary to achieve serenity by means of these festivals of thought that are festivals of the heart and recalled the fraternity of Spain and Italy’. After speeches Bosch proposed the appointment of the congress’ definitive presiding committee. Taramelli and Pellati were chosen, along with Méliéda, Rodenwaldt, Durrbach, Thomas, Pearson, Manuel Gómez Moreno, José Ferrándis Torres, Francisco Álvarez-Osorio, Obermaier and Blas Taracena. Working groups were held in the lecture halls of the University of Barcelona. On September 25, Pellati presided over the work of the section on Ancient Topography and Numismatics, and detailed current work to compile an archaeological map of Italy. This speech, supported by Taramelli, was very well received by those present. On the September 26, Pericle Ducati presided over the meeting of the Classical Archaeology section, during which Romanelli read a paper on the representation of life in the country on Roman mosaics from North Africa, and Giulio Giglioli talked about the various stages of the Republican period documented in the excavations undertaken in the centre of Rome. Probably because his brother was the Italian consul in Barcelona, Romanelli was invited to speak in the Aula Magna of the university on Monday September 30, where he gave a rather long-winded lecture on the state of archaeological research in Italy.

The most decisive conference activities that emphasised Bosch’s prestige were visits to the exhibition Art in Spain, held at the National Palace under his direction, to the Prehistory and Archaeology sections of the Museum of Decorative Arts and Archaeology of Barcelona, which Bosch himself had designed between 1923 and 1925, and to the excavations at Ampurias (in Catalan Empúries, a Greek and Roman town site on the coast). These all had a significant impact on participants, especially the tour of Ampurias. Although Bosch had been Director of the Archaeological Research Service of the IEC since 1915, he had hardly intervened at all in the excavations. Emilio Gandía had directed the fieldwork, while the scientific side had been supervised by Josep Puig i Cadafalch, who refused to take part in the congress’ sessions for political reasons. This meant that Bosch had to explain the site, and ironically, later he would take charge of it, from 1935 until the Civil War. Durrbach and Taramelli thanked the organisation and Bosch for all of their attentiveness during the visit to Ampurias. The Italians succeeded in moving Gandía by composing and reciting a poem praising his work at the excavations.

Back in the Aula Magna of the university, Taramelli again represented the Italians at the September 29 closure of the congress, at which the speakers not only congratulated each other on the success of the sessions, but also, on Durrbach’s proposal, agreed to hold the Vth Congress in Algiers during the following year to commemorate the centenary of Morocco’s French conquest. However, undoubtedly the most important conclusion, in terms of international relations, was the appointment of Méliéda and...
Bosch as coordinators of a future international committee to organise new meetings65. The death of Méïda shortly afterwards left Bosch in sole charge of this mandate, which he would successfully implement. Between September 30 and October 2 a group of participants travelled to Majorca to visit its historic sites62. On the way back, on October 3, Joaquín María de Navascués guided the group on a general tour of Tarragona63. From there, the group divided into two, with those interested in Classical archaeology visiting Valencia, Madrid, Mérida, Itálica, Seville and Carmona, and the prehistorians, with Bosch and Serra Ráfols64 as their guides, touring Calaceite, Azaíla, Zaragoza, Soria, Numancia, Burgos, Santander and the Altamira caves65. At the end of the congress Ducati and Pellati were quick to congratulate Bosch on its success. Ducati expressed his hope that it would be the starting point for future scientific relations between the two countries in the fields of History and Archaeology66, while Pellati, after remembering the importance of the sites they had visited at Tarragona, Sagunto and Ampurias (Empúries), also called for the continuation of contact67.

Bosch's prestige in Italy as a central figure in Iberian archaeology was confirmed over and above the limits of his research. As early as 1929, he was invited to take part in the meeting, held by the Human Palaeontology Section of the Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze68, and to contribute articles and news on archaeological activity in Spain to the Bollettino de la Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei (AIM)69. Guido Calza, who met Bosch during the Algiers congress, invited him on behalf of the President of the AIM, Count Constantini, to give a lecture in Rome at the start of 1931, as part of a cycle of talks on Mediterranean archaeology. Bosch accepted the invitation, proposing various lecture subjects such as: 'Cultural relationships and problems of chronology in the Mediterranean in the Neolithic period' and 'Problems of post-Mycenaean Mediterranean ethnohistory', although due to internal problems within the AIM he was never able to deliver the lectures in person70. In April 1931 Romanelli even asked him to contribute to the news section of the Bollettino del Museo dell'Impero Romano with the most relevant information on Spanish research into Roman monuments and sites,71 a subject that Bosch had never worked on. In 1929 Bosch published two articles in Italian journals: 'Problemi della colonizzazione greca in Spagna' in Historia and 'Le relazioni mediterranee postmicenee ed il problema etrusco' in Studi Etruschi, which reaffirmed his prestige. He was to maintain this prestige, even during the Spanish Civil War, among Italian researchers who were not ideologically committed to Fascism, to the chagrin of Martínez Santa Olalla, who sought to spread the political arguments of the Franco side among the professional elites of European archaeology72.

From Algiers to Berne

At the beginning of 1929, Bosch and Obermaier attended the opening of the archaeological museums of Berlin (Gracia Alonso, 2011: 237-239). Here they discussed, with Lantier, Unverzagt and Gerhard Bersu, the organisation of a specific congress on prehistory, as distinct from the congresses on anthropology and archaeology. This discussion continued in September in Barcelona, when Bosch, Lantier, Obermaier and Rodenwaldt examined the idea in greater detail. They composed a draft call for papers for the prehistory congress, although the definitive decision to hold it was postponed until they met again in Algiers at the Vth International Congress of Classical Archaeology. In Algiers Bosch and Obermaier – members of the official Spanish delegation along with Mergelina and Taracena – and Unverzagt and Weygand (in Lantier's absence)73 decided not to delay the proposal any further. Thus, when the centenary of the German Archaeological Institute was celebrated in Berlin in October 1930, an organising committee consisting of Bosch, Lantier, Bersu, Unverzagt and Obermaier, known as the 'Committee of Five', was set up. The group met again in France at the museum of Saint Germain-en-Laye on February 24 and 25, 1931, along with Roland Vaufrey, and with John Myres, on behalf of the Anthropology Institute of London. Bosch, appointed secretary, was responsible for convening a meeting to set up the prehistory congress in Berne on May 28 and 29, 1931, at which Bosch, Lantier, Bersu, Henri Breuil, T.S. Arne and Myres drew up the rules for the Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques (CISPP), forerunner of today's UISPP. During the work that followed the Berne meeting, Bosch insisted (to his friends, in particular to Rellini) that Italian representatives should be appointed to the Standing Committee. With the agreement of the main researchers, the name of Paolo Orsi, Superintendent of Antiquities of Sicily, was put forward as a consensus figure. The appointment of the secretary proved to be more difficult.75

The publication in 1932 of Bosch’s Etnología de la Península Ibérica had considerable repercussions in Italy. In an analysis that went beyond professional courtesy, Ettore Pais wrote:

'I admire the breadth of your conclusions. I saw with the greatest pleasure the appropriateness of the comparisons you draw with other countries. You have dealt with the problem not from the perspective of a specialist, but of someone who is deeply aware of all historical, archaeological and ethnographic problems and is able to tackle them in general terms ... I will review your book in the journal Historia'.76

However, Bosch barely quoted Italian researchers, only Taramelli with his work on Sardinia, and Ettore Pais on various facets of the history of Rome and pre-Roman communities, while he also reissued old research by L. Garofalo on the Iberians in southern Gaul. This disregard is surprising, given his broad knowledge of Italian bibliography, as he gave preference to French and German authors and his own works on Italian themes.

In comparison, Hugo Obermaier’s El hombre fósil, whose revised second edition of 1925 replaced the 1916 edition, included many references to prehistoric research in Italy. In the chapters on the Palaeolithic, Obermaier used works
by A. Mochi, G.A. Colini, G. Bellucci, R. Battaglia and Ugo Rellini, and in the Palaeoanthropology section he quoted studies by G. Sergi and E. Graziini. Obermaier showed that he knew the subject in depth, although he also gave more space to French and German scientific studies. While Bosch and Obermaier knew of the conference through publications, García y Bellido, on the other hand, had lived in Italy for almost a year in 1933. So it is no surprise that in Los hallazgos griegos en España, published in 1936, García y Bellido, demonstrated his profound knowledge of the materials in Italian museums and of Italian and German bibliography, with frequent quotes from Buonamici, Guido Libertini, Spinazzola, Milani, Marconi, Ducati, E. Brizzio, Orsi, Gabrici and Rellini, and a much wider range of sources than in Bosch and Obermaier's books.

Another Spanish researcher, Julio Martínez Santa Olalla also maintained strong links with Italy. When he was a lecturer in Spanish at the University of Bonn (1927-1931), he befriended the linguist Vittorio Bertoldi, whom he invited to contribute to the Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña78 and with whom he maintained a scientific correspondence for years79. He also corresponded with Alfredo Bruchi, his contact in the Standing Committee for Etruria79, with Antonio Minto80, with whom he discussed the work of García y Bellido on the Etruscans, and with Count David Constantini, who was in charge of the Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei (AIM). Martínez Santa Olalla criticized some of the studies about Spanish archaeology published in this association's bulletin, in particular attacking articles by Wishaw and Encarnación Cabré, whilst praising one by Serra Vilars81 on the necropolis of Tarragona. He explained, to both Serra and Guido Calza, that the only archaeologists of any worth in Spain were Bosch Gimpera, Pericot and Del Castillo in Barcelona, and Obermaier and Pérez de Barradas82 in Madrid83.

**From London to the Civil War**

It was decided in 1932 at the Berne Congress that the first meeting of the CISPP should be held in London. Myres and Bosch worked together on the lists of the members of the Committee of Honour, the Standing Council and the National Secretariats84 and Bosch and Obermaier attended the meeting as Spain's official representatives85. Although Bosch eventually took a lesser role within the CISPP, his earlier work was recognized with his appointment to the commission to organise a conference for the Study of the Prehistory of the Western Mediterranean, to take place in autumn of 1935, in Barcelona.

But the convening of this Barcelona meeting was badly affected by political developments. After the uprising of the Catalan government, the Generalitat, against the Government of the Republic on October 6, 1934, Bosch was imprisoned, and accused of supporting military rebellion. Although he was released in December (Gracia Alonso, 2011: 275-285), his reputation was severely damaged, especially among researchers from those countries with Totalitarian regimes, and from others like Great Britain, who thought that Catalonia's secessionist drift was dangerous. Thus, when the conference opened on September 10, 1935, it was not only without most of the Spanish delegates, such as Obermaier, Taracena and Emeterio Cuadrado86, who had declined the invitation, but also without all of the British: Myres, Kendrick, Leeds, Murray, Gordon Childre, Crawford, MacAlister, Fox and Mahr; and the Germans: Unverzagt, Bersu, Rodenwaldt and Frobenius; and some of the French: such as Reygasse and Dussaud; and all of the Italians: Pellati, Neppi Modona, Orsi, Minto, Rellini, Ducati and Taramelli.

The failed conference was Bosch's last contact with Italian researchers before the Spanish Civil War. His ongoing exile in Great Britain, then in Colombia and Mexico and the duration of World War II, meant that relationships were not resumed until he returned to Europe, as Director of the Humanities Section of UNESCO, in 1948. Bosch returned to Italy again at the end of that year, visiting Pompeii and Naples for the first time, studying the excavations in the Roman Forum made during Mussolini's regime and the materials of the La Lagozza culture in Como. He held work meetings with Pia Laviosa Zambotti in Milan and was invited by Paolo Graziosi, to give a talk on the chronology of prehistoric cave art in the Levant at the headquarters of the Italian Institute of Art History in Florence87. From this time onwards, his contacts with Italy, supported by his position with UNESCO, once again became frequent. He worked with Sergi in organising the Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in 194988, discussed with Nino Lamboglia various facets of Avienus' journey89 and travelled repeatedly to Italy to attend conferences and give talks.

Unlike the personal relations between Spain and Italy, institutional relations failed almost totally between 1932 and 1936 (Gracia Alonso, 2010). On May 11, 1932 Carlo Galassi Paluzzi called the directors of the Institutes and Academies with headquarters in Rome together, to inform them of his intention to organize a lecture cycle on Roman archaeology in 1933-1934 and to ask them for their help. Spain's Ministry of State was hesitant about the proposal and the sub-secretary Justo Gómez Ocerín90 asked the Chargé d'Affaires at the Embassy for a report on the economic assistance that the Istituto di Studi Romani would give the lecturers, and what response to the initiative there was in other countries.

As a result, on July 7, 1932 Miguel Blay91, Director of the Spanish Academy of Fine Arts in Rome, sent a report indicating that France, Belgium, Holland, Great Britain, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Egypt and the United States would attend in 1933, while Germany and Austria had confirmed for 1934 and perhaps 1933 as well. With this information about high levels of international participation, it would have been only natural for Spain to join in. But the proposal was ignored, and no Spanish archaeologists attended the courses. France was represented by Jérôme Carcopino and Germany by Ludwig Curtius. Spain only started to take part in 1935, although it was not represented by archaeologists, but by philologists such as José Rius y Serra and Carles Riba92, at a lecture cycle on Horace. In 1936 Claudio Sánchez Albornoz93 lectured on systems of communication in the Roman world. Official
Spanish Republican representation was interrupted by the start of the Civil War, and from 1937 onwards Spanish representation was assumed by Francoist refugees in Rome, such as Fernando Valls Taberner, who spoke that year at the lecture cycle on the figure of Augustus and in 1938 by Juan Serra Vilaró.

The Early Post-war Period

Politics and propaganda were bound up with ancient history and archaeology during the Spanish Civil War. On August 20, 1937, the Italian Embassy to the government in Burgos requested the participation of Spanish representatives in the Mostra Augustea della Romanità, to be held in Rome between September 23, 1937, and September 23, 1938, but received no reply. On June 28, 1938, Pietro Kirsch, Director of the Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Classica, and Giulio Belvederi sent an invitation to participate in the IVth International Congress of Christian Archaeology, to which Antoni Griera y Gaja was sent as a delegate, and Serra Vilaró, Tormo, Eduardo Junyent and Enrique Heras attended as well.

Inevitably, imperial ideas dominated political contacts during the first post-Civil War months. The Minister of the Interior, Ramón Serrano Súñer, defined the historical links of the two countries in a speech in the Palazzo Venezia on June 7, 1939, by invoking their historical and military links. The Romanization of Spain was one of the Fascist regime’s pet ideologies, and references to the common cultural heritage of the two countries were included in even the simplest of events held in Spanish cities with a Roman past.

However, cultural links did not keep up with politics. It was not until the following year, on February 27, 1940, that the new office of the Italian Institute of Culture opened in Madrid, in a ceremony presided over by Luigi Federzoni, President of the Royal Academy of Italy, the ambassador Gambara, and ministers Juan Luis Beigbeder, José Ibáñez Martín, Juan Yagüe, Agustín Muñoz Grandes, José Larráyoz and Luis Alarcón de la Lastra. Federzoni increased his support for the development of a new Spanish empire by publicizing Spain’s colonial work in Africa in the journal África Italiana, published by the Istituto Fascista dell’Africa Italiana. In its pages, Serrano Súñer also defended his historical view of the role of Spain in north-west Africa, indicating that expansion in this area was the result of applying Roman vicinitas. The Italian Institute of Culture opened the 1940-1941 academic year on January 15, 1941, with a lecture by Giuseppe Cardinali on the subject ‘Iberian and Latin Elements in the Formation of Roman Spain’, which covered the relationship between Falangists and Italian volunteers. Complimenting this the Board of the National Archaeological Museum decided, on November 29, 1940, to hold lecture cycles on the work of German, Portuguese and Italian researchers. In the session of January 8, 1941, Count Francesco Pellati was one of its speakers.

As General Commissar for Archaeological Excavations, Martínez Santa Olalla controlled Spanish relations with Italy until the fall of the Mussolini regime. In February 1940 he went to Rome to take part in the twelfth cycle of talks De Gli Studi Romani nel Mondo, giving a lecture on Roman-Hispanic Archaeology in the Borromini Oratory, attended by the Spanish ambassador, Pedro García Conde. His Roman visit included a thorough tour of the excavations of the Imperial Forums, part of the work undertaken by the Mussolini government to glorify the city in the run-up to the 1942 Universal Exhibition, and radio talks on the ‘Hispanicization of Rome’ broadcast on Radio Roma. In both talks, Martínez Santa Olalla focused on the importance of the relationships between Hispania and Rome and the predominant role of the former in the maturisation, development and defence of the Roman Empire.

At the end of World War II, contacts between Spain and Italy were rapidly re-established. On Lamboglia’s suggestion, Martín Almagro Basch, Director of Barcelona’s Archaeological Museum, and Taracena, Director of the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid, were invited to the I Convegno Preistorico Italo-Svizzero. Approved by José María Albereda, as general secretary of the Higher Council for Scientific Research (CSIC), their attendance was justified, in the words of Taracena to J. Cañal, Director General of Cultural Relations of the Foreign Ministry, because:

‘... from a scientific point of view, the presence of Spain at the Congress is of undoubted interest, as it will be the occasion to reopen relationships that the past and present circumstances of the world impede’.

According to the report sent to the Department of Cultural Relations by the Consul of Spain in Genoa, on July 3, 1947, the success that accompanied Taracena’s attendance...

‘... has brought to the attention of those at the Congress the Archaeology publications of the Higher Council for Scientific Research (CSIC) previously sent to the “Istituto di Studi Liguri”, which were unknown to the French and almost all the Italians, has obtained from some of these professors contributions for our journals and has informed everyone of the Spanish bibliography in the speciality subsequent to 1940, of which they knew nothing.’

In fact, the invitation to Almagro was in response to an earlier invitation to Lamboglia to take part in the 1st International Archaeology Course at Ampurias, held from August 25 to September 15 that same year, under the direction of Almagro himself and Pericot. The courses at Ampurias would be the basis for Spanish-Italian collaboration during the early years of Francoism. Massimo Pallottino (1948), Luigi Bernabò Brea (1950), Aldo Crivelli (1948), Romanelli (1949) and Graziosi (1950-1951), among others, took part in them (Gracia Alonso, 2009: 353-365; 2012).

Conclusion

Contacts between Spanish and Italian archaeologists and prehistorians during the first half of the twentieth...
century clearly reflect the development of two parallel schools of thought in archaeological research in Europe. In Spain, the ideas of the French, British and German liberals of the inter-war period gradually gave way to Italian influences based on the definition of archaeology that Fascism imposed on Italy between 1923 and 1943. The development of monumental archaeology in Spain, which began in the mid-1920s with the excavations of Mérida and Hispalis under Mélida, and in Ampurias (Empúries) with the work of Puig i Cadafalch, was supported by nationalist sentiments eager to recover tangible proof of the past.

The reaffirmation of Spanish culture – and of Catalan culture as well – was rooted in the assertion of its Classical origins, of its clear debts to ancient Greece and Rome. During the Spanish Civil War, and then once it was in power, the Franco regime exploited the political capital that this concept of Spain’s past provided. The idea of empire, strong central leadership, and political and linguistic unity, in stark opposition to the territorial, linguistic and cultural diversity endorsed by the Republic of 1931 to 1936, found perfect expression in the monumentalist approach to archaeology centred on the Roman Era, but repackaged as a Hispano-Roman recreation of the essence of Latin culture. For the regime, the emperors and poets born in Hispania were not ‘Romans’, but ‘Hispanic’ or ‘Spanish’. This Fascist-inspired approach to archaeology, whose influence would still be felt in Spain as late as the mid-1970s, was characterized by an unquestioning positivism that developed in the context of the country’s political isolation after the end of World War II. As a result, and for almost two decades, Spanish and European archaeology went their separate ways.

The process of academic internationalization championed by Bosch Gimpera and Obermaier culminated in the organization of the International Congresses of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences and the meetings in Barcelona in 1929 and Berne in 1932. However, the turbulent events of the middle of the twentieth century brought it to an abrupt end, making way for the influence of Italian Fascist archaeology at the University of Madrid (1931). One of the most important researchers of Classical Archaeology in Spain after the end of Civil War.

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