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# INTERNATIONALISM AND PROFESSIONALIZATION IN PORTUGUESE ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE CLOSE OF THE *ESTADO NOVO*

by

Sérgio Gomes\*

**Abstract:** In this paper I focus on the role of internationalism in the history of archaeology in Portugal during the final period of the *Estado Novo* dictatorship (late 1950s and 1970s). I discuss how the participation of the Portuguese archaeological community in an international network allowed several key changes in the way archaeological practice was understood. From these changes, I highlight the importance of the international influence on two topics: the reconfiguration of the Portuguese archaeologists' scientific agenda (that was connected with nationalism and an inquiry focusing on National Identity); and how this agenda entailed new ways in which to represent archaeologists as professionals and archaeology as an independent discipline.

**Keywords:** Portugal; *Estado Novo*; history of archaeology; professionalization; internationalism.

**Resumo:** Neste artigo discute-se o papel do internacionalismo na história da arqueologia em Portugal durante o período final do Estado Novo. Tenta-se problematizar o envolvimento da comunidade arqueológica portuguesa numa rede internacional de contactos. Nesse envolvimento ocorreram um conjunto de mudanças na prática arqueológica que viriam a condicionar o desenvolvimento da arqueologia em Portugal. Destaca-se, então, o modo como uma nova geração de arqueólogos foi fazendo a gestão de um conjunto de influências internacionais no sentido de reconfigurar os objectivos da prática arqueológica. Nessas reconfigurações, por um lado, surgiram linhas de pesquisa alternativas ao estudo da cultura nacional ou à actividade de inventário e descrição de arqueólogos anteriores; por outro lado, essa alternativa ao modo vigente de fazer arqueologia, ia abrindo a possibilidade para que a disciplina adquirisse uma maior expressão institucional e sócio-profissional.

**Palavras-chave:** Portugal; *Estado Novo*; história da arqueologia; profissionalização; internacionalismo.

## 1. Introduction

In this article I will discuss the role of internationalism in the history of Portuguese archaeology at the close of *Estado Novo* dictatorship (i.e. the late 1950s to the mid 1970s). Internationalism is not considered here as an ideology that is opposed to nationalism, but

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rather as a way of describing the construction of a network, where information and people circulated beyond the frontiers of nation-states according to different institutional or personal projects and interests (Díaz-Andreu 2007; Evans 1995; Kaeser 2002). International colleagues, and their influences, are usually referred to as important elements in the development of archaeological practice in Portugal (e.g., Jorge & Jorge 1996; Fabião 1996; Díaz-Andreu 1997; Fabião 1999; Pimenta 1999; Martins 2005). Regarding this, I aim to contribute to a better understanding of how internationalism acted at the close of Estado Novo, arguing that it became an important element in the later creation of “the archaeologist” as a socio-professional figure in Portugal.

Internationalism will be explored in this article by analyzing several of the textbooks used during this period, as well as the publication of international books by Portuguese publishers. In addition to this, I will look at the contributions made by non-Portuguese archaeologists working in Portugal, paying attention to the interaction between the interests of the international and Portuguese archaeologists. I will argue that international contacts allowed the growth of an alternative line of research, which eschewed the previous and dominant research paradigm based on a global anthropological inquiry. I will not be discussing archaeological practice undertaken in the Portuguese colonies. Instead my concern will be to explore how the development of archaeology can be related to the historical context in Portugal at that time.

The kind of interaction developed between Portuguese archaeologists and international colleagues had a different impact on archaeological practice in Portugal through time. These different impacts were not only related to the internal development of the discipline but also to the social and economic contexts within which those interactions took place. In fact, since the end of the 1950s, Portugal started to reformulate State services, complexifying its bureaucracy and demanding the specialization of technicians (Barreto 2004). I will argue that, within the international archaeological network, Portuguese archaeologists used their contacts in order to improve their knowledge and skills whilst seeking to create an independent discipline and establish themselves as a new socio-professional elite. Such technocratic phenomenon – the establishment of archaeology as an independent discipline, and archaeologists as professionals with a specific training – is mainly emphasized in the 1970s and in the period after the revolution that ended Estado Novo (Díaz-Andreu, *ibid*; Jorge & Jorge, *ibid*). However, we can look at the period in discussion here as a prelude to this phenomenon, i.e., as a moment in which were set the necessary conditions for a later development.

I will argue that the changes that occurred since late 1950s to 1974 – mainly the ones concerning the complexification of the State Services and the growth of the economy – allowed the reinforcement of a regime based on personal meritocracy in which was privileged the specialization of professionals. Such social and economic contexts set the expectations of archaeologists and conditioned the way they developed their practice and constructed their relationship with international colleagues. In this way, and by stressing the importance of historical conditions, I will first summarize the historical context to this interaction and describe how it was constructed. This is in order to situate the international trends that I have identified in archaeological practice. At the same time, I will try to demonstrate how the social and economic context was prepared (and asking for) a specialized professional: a “social-professional figure” that could work on the study of past materials remains.

## **2. Portugal and the last decades of the *Estado Novo***

Before discussing the last decades of *Estado Novo*, I will present a brief summary of the main aspects regarding the establishment of the dictatorship and its main political characteristics. In the mid 1920s, Portugal was facing a general crisis that led to an army coup d'état on 29 May 1926 against the democratic First Republic. Such a political event suspended the 1911 Constitution and established a military dictatorship. From then, until the approval of the 1933 Constitution, which formally established the *Estado Novo* dictatorship, the political context in Portugal was getting closer to the anti-democratic and anti-parliamentary ideology rising up in some other European countries, such as Spain, Italy, Germany and Austria (Payne 1995). During this period, António Oliveira Salazar – a professor of Economy at the University of Coimbra – gained popularity as a politician, mainly because once nominated Minister of Finance he could resolve the financial crisis that Portugal was facing. In 1932 he was named President of the Council of Ministers. In the following year, with the approval of the new Constitution, Salazar became the ruler of Portugal until 1968. Marcelo Caetano was the second, and the last ruler of Portugal during *Estado Novo*, at that time he was a professor of Law at the University of Lisbon but he had already been the Minister of the Colonies (1944-1947), the Chairman of the Corporate Board and the Minister of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (1955-1958). In 1974, an army revolution – named the Carnation Revolution April 25 – ended the dictatorship re-establishing democracy (Marques 1986; Pinto 2004; Rosas; 1992; Rosas 1994).

*Estado Novo* means New State and that is the way the regime had presented itself: as a new state to an ancestral nation whose last years of government had led it into a crisis. Such auto-denomination entailed a scheme of legitimation focusing simultaneously on historicist nationalism and on a discourse about the salvation of the nation i.e. politics was presented in continuity with the *glorious past moments* of Portugal. Such continuity privileged an essentialist point of view of the national culture, in a way that defined a 'True' Portugal – seen in the Golden Ages – and a 'False' Portugal responsible for the crisis. Such political pressure led scholars to develop an anthropological inquiry – where archaeological practice took place – in order to illustrate cultural essence and the singularity of Portugal as a Nation (Cunha, 2001; Marques *ibid*; Martins, 2005; Monteiro & Pinto 2004; Rosas *ibid*; Rosas *ibid*). However, since the 1960s the readjustment of the external politics of *Estado Novo* allowed major contact with other European countries, facilitating the circulation of alternative information, new commodities and people.

### **2.1. Social, economic and political changes since the 1960s**

In the last fifty years, Portuguese society has changed dramatically (Barreto 2004; Lains 2004; Monteiro & Pinto 2004; Rosas *ibid*). As the sociologist António Barreto emphasizes, in comparison with the first half of the twentieth century, Portugal was recast with new economic and demographic structures, along with new traditions and conditions within which individuals crafted their mentalities and behaviors (Barreto *ibid*.). Such changes started at the end of the 1950s, when the dictatorship was adjusting its politics to the new international order (*ibid*.). Regarding this, it should be pointed out that in 1959 Portugal became one of the founding states of the European Free Trade Association, thereby further

developing its relationships with other European countries, and becoming more involved in European political and economic matters (ibid.). In addition to these State policies, during the 1960s, Portuguese emigration had started to grow; people privileged other European countries, particularly France. Likewise, Portugal became a destination for tourists from other European states. Finally, in 1961, the onset of the Colonial War encouraged those who did not wish to fight in Portugal's African colonies to escape to other countries, with France, once more, being one of the favorite destinations (ibid.). Within this context, Portugal became more enmeshed with Western Europe, after a long period of isolation.

The two final decades of *Estado Novo* were characterised by an economic growth that changed the traditional structure of the national economy. Indeed, since the 1960s, the tertiary sector increased its importance in the national economy and became the main sector where people were employed. Several reasons can be mentioned for this change, but the most significant relates to the diversification of the State Services (Barreto, ibid.: 146). Such diversification was aimed at better integrating several regions within the national territory, as well as certain social groups that had previously been excluded or less integrated within market and social dynamics, namely women (through their incorporation into the labour market) and also young people (through better educational conditions and job opportunities) (ibid. 145).

Regarding the importance of these changes, the way Portuguese archaeologists managed contact with international colleagues should be considered. I will try to demonstrate that a link can be made between the diversification of State Services and the role of Internationalism in the process of professionalizing archeological practice in Portugal. In fact, if archaeologists wanted to be represented in the State Services, drawing on its new-found diversification, they first had to "create" an autonomous discipline capable of producing a specific kind of professional, whose skills would be adequate to work on national heritage. With such a challenge, archaeologists had to face the disciplinary hegemony of Anthropology and History within the Academy, and international contacts had an important role to play by proposing alternative models to the ones practiced in Portugal during the first half of the twentieth century. It should be pointed out that I am not arguing for a causal link between these phenomena. Rather, I'm suggesting that "international contacts", "changes on archaeological practice" and "diversification of State Services" interacted with each other creating a network of historical conditions that allowed for a reinforcement of archaeology within the labour market and social dynamics.

### **2.3. On the representation of "international life ways"**

The social and economical changes mentioned above allowed a profusion of alternative scenarios within the Portuguese social imagination. In fact, the entrance of international commodities in the national market, the contact with other realities within emigration, or the expectations of a different way of life for those who did not wish to participate in political projects (such as the Colonial War), reinforced interest in other countries. The historian Rui Bebiano points to the influence of three main international life ways that empowered people to act (Bebiano 2006). The first of these was closely connected with opposition to the regime; it was shared by a "resistance" who believed in a communist utopia displayed by countries such as the Soviet Union, Cuba and China. The second

scenario was based on the prestige of Western Europe, which was seen as a source of inspiration for a universal project. Images of pacifism, solidarity, freedom of expression, respect for human rights, plurality in education, and efficiency in the welfare state, inspired new social and political models. Within this imagery, Paris was the city of culture becoming the destination *par excellence* for students and intellectuals. A third scenario was offered by the United States of America whose image was ambivalent; it was represented as an anti-utopia by Marxist groups and shared by another group as a country where people could get the opportunity they needed for a successful life.

As we will see in the following section, Western Europe had an important role to play in the expectations of Portuguese archaeologists. This does not mean that individual archaeologists did not express an interest in the other scenarios, but when we look upon archaeologists as a community, contacts with Western Europe are more evident. In fact, archaeologists had privileged interactions with French, German, Spanish and English colleagues providing continuity with earlier contacts. However, the changes that Portugal was going through, and the new challenges presented for the internal development of the discipline, remade some of those contacts and, consequentially, its importance in the practice of archaeology in Portugal.

### **3. The reconstruction of the international archaeological network in Portugal during the last decades of the *Estado Novo***

In this sub-section I will start to discuss some of the textbooks produced and used by the Portuguese archaeological community during the last decades of *Estado Novo*. In selecting these works, my aim is to analyse exemplars which could be taken as representative of different traditions within archaeological practice took place. Textbooks offer us an overview of the way the authors understands the discipline. Therefore, the ways in which they manage data and bibliography for example, gives us clues about their relationship with international influences. We can see how international influences were appropriated and, at the same time, how those influences are presented to new generations. In addition to this, I will discuss the translation of international books by Portuguese publishers in order to bring another point of view onto how international archaeology influenced that of Portugal. Finally, I will analyze how direct contacts were developed by looking at international colleagues working in Portugal at that time.

#### **3.1. Textbooks**

When we look at archaeological practice during the period under discussion, there are two main lines of research, one focussed on national culture – aiming to define the essential character of Portuguese culture – and the other on historical process and periodization. It should be noted, however, that these research lines were not antagonistic. On the contrary, both represented an effort to understand the particularity of artefact remains identified in the Portuguese territory within a major universal history. With respect to national culture, we can see the presence of two different kinds of researchers. Firstly, local amateurs studying particular regions and scholars who attempt to produce syntheses

about the national character based on anthropological research. Secondly, and within the historically oriented research line, a group of researchers constituted by scholars and individuals affiliated with national organizations that sought to produce chronological syntheses.

I choose three textbooks, and an article, which I consider to be examples of each of the lines of research. Abel Viana's textbook should be seen as symptomatic of those amateurs interested in the study of national culture. By analysing Santos Júnior's textbook, I aim to discuss an example of an academic anthropological inquiry where archaeology was used during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Jorge Alarcão's textbook was written in order to offer a guide to those students graduating in history. Lastly, I will analyse a paper on fieldwork techniques written by Eduardo Cunha Serrão and Eduardo Prescott Vicente; this is a different document, however, the article shares with the textbook an objective to contribute to the training of archaeologists.

The first textbook to be analysed is "Some Elementary Notions of Archaeological Practice" (*Algumas Noções Elementares de Arqueologia Prática*), published in 1962 by Abel Viana only two years before his death. It represents a synthesis based on his own experience as an archaeologist since the mid-1920s. Viana was a primary school teacher whose interest in national culture had led him to work in several regions of Portugal with other colleagues, namely a group of archaeologists at the *Serviços Geológicos de Portugal* (Geological Services of Portugal). He had also undertaken many studies on the ethnography of those regions. Viana's goal was not simply to develop an archaeological research programme, but also to study local groups in order to contribute to the definition of regional and national cultural identities. In the preface of his book Viana explained that:

the idea of this small guide arose, on one hand, from the memories of our first difficulties in identifying Portuguese archaeological sites and, on the other, from several demands made by many people who desired some clear and useful information concerning national archaeological research. To these two reasons, I should add a third one, namely a devoted service to Portuguese culture, despite being a very modest work (ibid.: 4)

In fact, Viana's third reason became the main thrust of the work; Viana understood archaeology as a technique for gathering materials which did not demand any kind of background in theory. He argued that archaeologists, and those in charge of archaeological research, should be local individuals with an interest in the study and maintenance of local and national culture. These local archaeologists would not require any advanced training, but should know how to recognize and collect archaeological materials. Viana's book was structured in order to provide this kind of knowledge. The first section presented several examples of archaeological sites and artefact collections organized by periods in order to offer a guide to the recognition and classification of archaeological evidence. The second section was concerned with excavation procedures, and the third one described archaeological practice in Portugal at that time. Viana also presented a list of major Portuguese sites and a selected bibliography organized by chronological period. His bibliography provides us with an image of the way he selected international influences. Viana presented several works by Spanish, French, German and English archaeologists working in the Iberian Peninsula during the first half of the century. This literature was mainly written in Portuguese, Spanish and French. Among the titles he included works by archaeologists such as Henri Breuil and George Zbyszewski on Palaeolithic and by the Germans George and Vera

Leisner on megalithic monuments. These four archaeologists were very important in the formation of many professional and amateur archaeologists working in Portugal during the first half of the century. It should be pointed out that Viana, in the chapter about excavation procedures, suggested the reading of French and German titles in order to do good work. Such titles were referred to in their original language, and Viana complained about the ones written in German, saying that it was very difficult to read since the Portuguese were not familiar with German.

The second textbook, Santos Júnior's "Notes on Anthropology" (*Apontamentos de Antropologia*), is representative of those academics whose archaeological practice took place in an anthropological research context. This textbook was produced by Santos Junior's students during the mid-1960s at the Faculty of Sciences (University of Porto). Santos Junior represented a new face of Mendes Corrêa's "anthropo-sociology", a global research inquiry defined during the 1920s (Pimenta 2007). Mendes Correa produced a scientific version of the mythic Lusitanian origins of Portugal that became one of the most important contributions to the definition of national identity during the dictatorship. This research focused on the concept of race, which allowed the identification of several peoples within the Portuguese Colonial Empire, each defined by "race essential characteristics". This research was promoted by the State, namely the *Junta Nacional do Ultramar* (Overseas National Council) that organized several "anthropological research missions" in different colonies.

As in Viana's case, archaeology was understood by Santos Júnior as a technique. In his textbook, archaeology was discussed in three chapters: one related to the evolution of humankind, another which discussed ancient human industries, and a third on chronological methods. In these chapters we can see an international influence similar to that observed in Viana's textbook, especially regarding the French influence on the study of lithic technology. However, even if Santos Júnior knew and used some of these research lines, his theoretical matrix was still defined by the work of Mendes Corrêa, which, in a European context, corresponded to traditional anthropological research, based on the systematic construction of cultural identities (Pimenta *ibid.*). In this way, even if these textbooks presented several differences, they both corresponded to the same inquiry, specifically the identification of cultural essences and their development through time.

Jorge Alarcão's "Lessons of Prehistory" (*Lições de Pré-história*), was published in 1967 in order to offer a guide to the graduation in History. Jorge Alarcão had learned archaeology not in Portugal, but in England. After finishing his degree in Historical and Philosophical Sciences at the University of Coimbra in 1958, he applied to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation for a grant in order to attend the University of London for a postgraduate degree in Archaeological Conservation and another in European Archaeology (Lopes & Vilaça 2004). He finished the latter degree in 1962, receiving the Gordon Childe award for best student. In an interview I conducted with Jorge Alarcão about his career<sup>1</sup>, he noted that during his stay in England, he had the opportunity to visit several museums, which he felt was an important element in his professional formation. He stated that having the opportunity to engage with different dynamics of archaeological heritage management, created expectations that made him then think about the potential of the profile of archaeology

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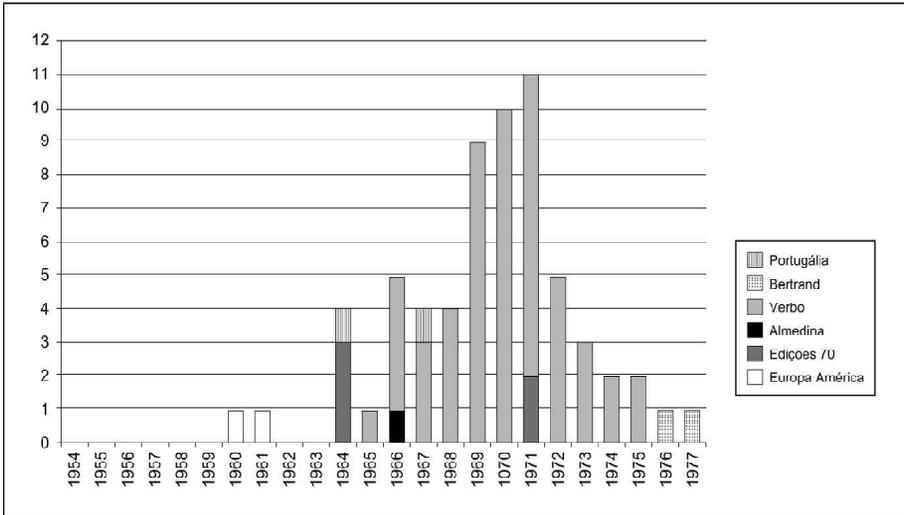
<sup>1</sup> I had discuss this interview in "Manuela Delgado and Jorge Alarcão in the History of Archaeology in Portugal" present at session "Personalities and the History of Archaeology" in Theoretical Archaeology Group held at Southampton in 2008.

back in Portugal. By 1963 he was already back in Portugal, and he became a lecturer at the University of Coimbra where he published the textbook referred to above. During his academic career, he became an archaeologist specializing in the Roman period. In doing so, he developed two important collaborative excavation projects with French colleagues. I will return to this topic later, but for now I would simply like to emphasize that Jorge Alarcão, by virtue of his background in History and postgraduate training in Archaeology, started to introduce a different approach to the examples mentioned earlier. Archaeology began to be understood as an autonomous discipline with a particular form of inquiry that demanded specific training. The textbook “Lessons of Prehistory” written by Jorge Alarcão reflects the need for this very specialization.

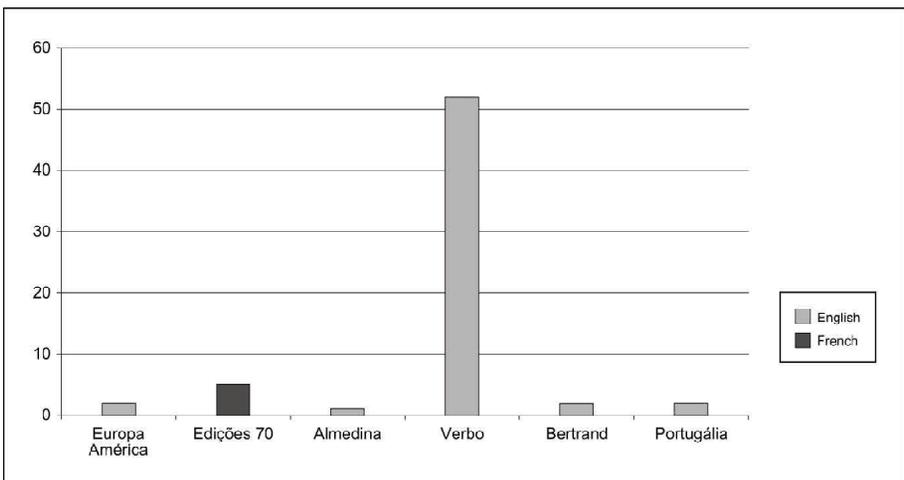
In contrast to the other textbooks, Alarcão’s work was on a specific chronological period, and sought to synthesise the different periods of Portuguese prehistory, establishing connections between the Iberian Peninsula and Europe. This major aim can be found in the structure of the book, with chapters concerning chronological periods and sub-sections regarding different geographical scales of analysis. In this way, it is different from Viana’s textbook, whose aim was to offer an overview of Portuguese archaeology, as well as Júnior’s work, whose focus on anthropology rendered archaeology little more than a handmaiden of complementary knowledge. Simultaneously, in Alarcão’s book we can see an update of the bibliography. Although he continued to refer to some of the older books and articles, he privileged recent literature, showing a better knowledge of contemporary international writings, especially those produced in Western European countries. For example, he referred to George and Vera Leisner’s (1963, 1964) work on Portuguese megaliths and also to Glyn Daniel’s book “The megalithic builders of Western Europe”. In dealing with Portuguese rock art, he cited the French book “Les religions de la préhistoire” by Leroi Gourhan, and in the case of Iron Age hill forts, in addition to Mário Cardozo’s work on the “cultura casteja”, he mentioned “The Celts” by T.G.E. Powell.

My analysis of textbooks will finish with a discussion of something of a different nature, with the article written by the archaeologists Eduardo Cunha Serrão and Eduardo Prescott Vicente. They were both members of the *Associação de Arqueólogos Portugueses* (Association of Portuguese Archaeologists), however they were not professionals. Even so, they got interested in archaeology and were directing excavations at several sites near Lisbon. The name of the paper is “Excavation at Sesimbra, Parede and Olelas – fieldwork techniques” (*Escavações em Sesimbra, parede e olelas – Métodos Empregues*) and it was presented at the First [Portuguese] National Archaeological Congress held in Lisbon in 1958. The authors discuss the application of field methods and present a synthesis and evaluation of several international books related to the topic. This article became an important contribution to excavation and recording techniques, and was used by several archaeologists as a guide. At the same time, this text is an important element as regards the impact of international archaeology in Portugal. Serrão highlighted his experience at the Council for British Archaeology, saying that it was very important in his training as an archaeologist, and gave him the opportunity to become familiar with excavation and recording techniques. In addition to Serrão’s experience in England, the article focussed on literature about fieldwork, suggesting the reading of *Les Fouilles Préhistoriques* written by Leroi-Gourhan in 1950, the German review *Aus Grubendung Funde*, and the books about fieldwork method written by Professor Richard Atkinson (1946), Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1954) and Dr. Kathleen Kenyon (1956).

### 3.2. The publication of international books by Portuguese publishers



**Graph 1** – Number of books translated by Publisher.  
(Note: *Estado Novo* ended on April 25th, 1974)



**Graph 2** – Original language of the books translated by publisher.

In order to discuss the translation of international books, I am considering the publications of international books by Portuguese editors between 1955 and 1976. Graph 1 shows that at end of the 1960s/beginnings of 1970s there was an increase of this kind of publishing. In contrast, until 1960 there was no translation of international books and

during the 1970s, even if the activity persists, there was a decrease in the number of books that were translated. Most of the books were published by Verbo, which published 52 books in two collections directed by Manuel Farinha do Santos, a professor of Prehistory at the University of Lisbon. One of these collections – *Historia Mundi* – was a translation of “Ancient People and Places” directed by Glyn Daniel and published by Thames & Hudson, the other – *Biblioteca das Civilizações Primitivas* – was a translation of the collection “Library of Early Civilizations” also published by Thames & Hudson (Table 1). Such editorial projects had an important impact regarding the translation of English literature (Graph 2); in fact it corresponds to 52 of the 59 books originally written in English. Among the other seven books, five were works by Gordon Childe (Table 1). The other two books were *Archaeology and Society* by Grahame Clark, published in 1966 by Almedina, and John M. Coles’s *Experimental Archaeology* published by Bertrand in 1977. Within the French literature that was translated, only five studies by Leroi-Gourhan were published by Edições 70 (Table 1).

The increase in translations of books written in English does not necessarily mean that they became a major influence within the Portuguese archaeological community. There are several reasons that prevent us from jumping to such a conclusion. First, the picture presented above is not fully complete because translations into Portuguese were also made and commercialised in Portugal by Brazilian publishers. In addition, Portuguese archaeologists could easily read Spanish and French literature in its original form. Regarding this, it should be highlighted that in the textbooks analysed in the previous section, the books by Spanish or French colleagues were referred to in their original language. This obviously explains the absence of translations from these languages but it does not discard their influence (although it would explain the ignorance about developments in Germany referred by Abel Viana, with the exception of the works of the members of the German Archaeological Institute published in Portuguese or about Portugal). By considering these comments to Graph 2, the increase in the number of English books translated, instead of being interpreted as a major influence English archaeology in Portugal, seems to indicate a novel interest on the part of Portuguese archaeologists with English archaeological literature. In fact, since Portuguese were not particularly familiar with the language, one of the ways to use this literature was by promoting its translation and publication.

### 3.3. International archaeologists working in Portugal<sup>2</sup>

Although we can see an increase in the circulation of English literature, the majority of international colleagues working in Portugal were still coming from France and Germany. Despite this, there were several English archaeologists interested in Portuguese or Iberian Pre and Protohistory. These include H.N. Savory (1950, 1968), Beatrice Blance (1957, 1964), Christopher Hawkes (1958, 1959, 1971) and Elizabeth Shee (1974). Savory published an important synthesis, *Spain and Portugal. The Prehistory of Iberian Peninsula*, a book based on his earlier research, which was translated and published in Portugal by Verbo. In

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<sup>2</sup> This sub-section is a summary of the main topics of the following literature: Jorge & Jorge, 1996; Fabião, 1996; Díaz-Andreu, 1997; Pimenta, 1999; Martins, 2005; Jorge 2005.

addition, Desmond Clark's published *The Distribution of Prehistoric Culture in Angola* in 1967, and also work with several of the archaeologists who had participated in the Overseas National Council's anthropological missions by inviting them to write in his "Atlas of African Prehistory" (Clark 1967).

The opening of the German Archaeological Institute, first in Madrid and later in Lisbon, renewed the influence of German archaeology in Portugal. From 1964 to 1973 Hermanfrid Schubart, from the German Archaeological Institute in Madrid, who was interested in the Iberian Bronze Age, and Edward Sangmeister, from the German University of Freiburg, started digging at Zambujal, a site that they interpreted as a fortified settlement dated in the third millennium BC and located in the Portuguese Estremadura. The excavation acted as an important fieldwork school for a new generation of Portuguese prehistorians. In addition to this, H. Schubart also dug the necropolis of Atalaia (Alentejo – south of Portugal) contributing to the study of the Iberian Bronze Age (Schubart, 1975). The German presence became more effective with the establishment of the German Archaeological Institute of Lisbon in 1972. Its director, Philina Kalb, in collaboration with Martin Hock, provided continuity to Leisner's work and also developed a study focusing on the Atlantic Bronze Age (Kalb, 1980; Kalb & Hock 1982); in addition M. Hock was also studying Iron Age (Hock 1980). Simultaneously, Theodor Hauschild started work at Milreu, a Roman site located in the Algarve (Hauschild 1964; 1980).

In addition to German archaeologists there were two French teams working in Portugal – one concerned with prehistory and the other with Roman archaeology. The latter was a collaborative project, begun in 1964, between the University of Coimbra and the University of Bordeaux. As part of this project, Bairrão Oleiro, Jorge Alarcão, Robert Étienne and Françoise Mayet excavated at Conimbriga, in the centre of Portugal, and São Cucufate in Alentejo (Alarcão, Étienne, Mayet 1990). These works focused on the study of pottery (Alarcão, 1974), numismatics and epigraphy, contributing to the formation of a Roman group at the University of Coimbra. Jean Roche led the French team working on prehistory. Since the 1950s, Roche had been working in Portugal (Roche 1951; 1953; for example), establishing in 1963 *La Mission Archéologique Française au Portugal* which gave continuity to his earlier works. In 1973, as part of this project, he started to work with the University of Porto, creating a fieldwork school in Lapa do Suão (Portuguese Estremadura) (Roche, 1983). Roche also supervised both Vítor Oliveira Jorge (1982) and Susana Oliveira Jorge (1986), thereby promoting the institutionalization of a working team on prehistory inside the University of Porto. By supervising postgraduate students, these international archaeologists were contributing to the emergence of a major group of professional archaeologists inside the University. It should be noted that, by that time an archaeology group was created within the Faculty of Arts at the University of Porto (taking archaeology from the Section of Anthropology in the Faculty of Sciences, where Mendes Corrêa and Santos Júnior developed their work).

By comparing the work developed by each international team, and the way they managed their relationship with Portuguese colleagues, there are some aspects I would like to highlight. Regarding the institutional affiliation, it should be noted that only the Germans had created an institute in Portugal i.e. even if the research was made in articulation, and sometimes promoting the training of Portuguese students (as in the case of Zambujal), institutionally it was promoted by the German Archaeological Institute. In the French case, both Roman and Prehistory research projects were managed within collaboration with

Portuguese Universities. English archaeologists, in contrast, were developing individual research programmes, in this way their relationship with Portuguese colleagues was more informal rather than institutional. The different institutional affiliations of each archaeologist conditioned the way their collaboration interfered with the professionalization of archaeology. The German archaeologists, by promoting the participation of Portuguese students on the Zambujal excavations, were allowing the spread of their fieldwork techniques in an informal context. This is also the case of English archaeologists, even if their work had been developed by certain personalities rather than institutions. In contrast, French collaboration, as it was developed within university projects, was promoting the rising of a generation with postgraduate degrees in archaeology.

Considering the nature of the subjects in study by international colleagues, it should be considered that all of them promoted lines of research that were oriented on Europe, such as the Atlantic Bronze Age or the Roman Empire. In this way, Portuguese archaeological evidence was being discussed as an alternative account to the traditional national culture discourse. By discussing it in terms of a supra-national scale of analysis, international and Portuguese archaeologists were detaching archaeology from a nationalist agenda. Simultaneously, considering that within the traditional anthropological research line archaeology was seen much more as a technique to collect and classify past materials, the re-orienting of archaeological research in a more global context entailed the development of fieldwork techniques and theoretical frameworks reinforcing archaeology as an autonomous discipline. However, from an institutional point of view, archaeology was still under the disciplinary hegemony of history.

In order to complete the analysis of the English, French and German teams working in Portugal, I will try to discuss it in terms of Bruce Trigger's definition of nationalist, colonialist and imperialist or world-orientated archaeology (1984). By considering this article, it is not my aim to classify the presence of each team in Portugal, but instead, I am using Trigger's proposal to extend the discussion, and aim to contribute to the interpretation of such a proposal. This classification attends to the position of countries in the world system, discussing the role of archaeology in their internal and external policies. Nationalist archaeology is connected to a political agenda that seeks the construction of nation-states. Colonialist archaeology refers to the practice developed in colonized countries in order to legitimize the control of such territories by colonial countries. Finally, Imperial, or world-oriented, archaeology is presented as a practice with a hegemonic agenda developed by those countries with worldwide political, economical and cultural power.

Regarding Trigger's proposal, at a first glance we could consider the presence of international teams as a case of imperialist or world-oriented archaeology. However, at the end of the article, he highlighted that these classifications are just a way to organize the profuse diversity and complexity of world archaeology (*ibid*: 368). In this way, I would like to add some topics to the way Imperialist archaeology was received in Portugal, and how Portuguese archaeologists had participated in it in order to improve their practice and archaeology's institutional establishment. International colleagues were working in Portugal in an attempt to answer research questions, because their research was directed to global questions that include several European (or world) regions. Even if this option was taken in order to develop an internal trend of the discipline, I agree with Trigger when he highlights that we can't just ignore the importance of the State supporting or being behind such projects. But, at the same time, we should also consider the response of local

archaeologists in order to discuss how such an Imperialist trend was appropriated. In the Portuguese case, it should be highlighted that the active participation of some of the personalities I referred to – by selecting influences or creating collaborative projects – re-directed eventual imperialist proposals into the re-creation of a Portuguese archaeology. In this way, rather than Imperialism per se, I think that these works can be considered as international practices that were managed in order to benefit the Portuguese archaeological community and to reinforce the creation of an international archaeological community.

#### **4. Conclusions**

Toward the close of the *Estado Novo* dictatorship (end of 1950s until 1974), Portuguese archaeology began to change. There was a new group of archaeologists who promoted an alternative approach that contrasted with a dominant research tradition focusing on the description of past remains and on the search for the roots of Portuguese culture. This group was reading literature produced beyond Portugal's borders and worked with several Western European colleagues, namely French and German teams interested in the study of Prehistory and the Roman period, within a more global archaeological perspective. These experiences engendered a process of specialization that contributed to the growth of the academic institutionalization of archaeology and, consequently, an increase in the professionalization of the practice. Through such contact, a "new figure of archaeologist" was starting to be established in Portugal, a "figure" that required specialized training far from the traditional anthropological research where archaeological practice had taken place. Within this process, Portuguese archaeologists developed their methodological skills and improved (or specialized) their discourse on past remains. During this period, the improvement of archaeological techniques allowed for a redefinition of academic archaeology, establishing it as an independent discipline, even if it was under the History section of the university.

At the same time, the emergence of the "professional archaeologist" demanded a higher degree of bureaucratic complexity in the state management of archaeological heritage. Although this phenomenon was more prevalent during the 1980s and 1990s, its roots can be seen in the period under discussion. In fact, as pointed by Margarita Díaz-Andreu, after the 1970s, the strength of institutional archaeology definitively transformed into a profession in the Iberian Peninsula (1997:22). Such phenomenon were facilitated by a general trend that promoted the specialization of the labour market and which entailed a more specific graduate training (Barreto 2004; Lains 2004; Pinto 2004; Rosas 1994). In this sense, the establishment of archaeology as a profession should be seen within the social and economic changes started at the beginning of the 1960s, during which a regime based on the relationship between meritocracy and technocracy was setting the possibilities for individuals to act. By getting specific training in archaeology, individuals could get "a profession" and enter into the labour market. By learning a specific technique, individuals could use their merits in order to create a profession and a socio-professional elite of interests. In other words, a new generation was no longer seeing archaeological practice as an "occupation of scholars or amateurs", but as a practice that could create the conditions to establish itself as a professional activity. At this point, international contacts had an important role, in the way they were used in order to improve the archaeological practice in Portugal as discussed above.

Comparing the importance of nationalism and internationalism in the history of archaeology in Portugal, I would propose that they contributed differently to the development of the discipline. Nationalism encompassed a search for the Portuguese cultural essence, undertaken by early twentieth century archaeologists. This tradition was promoting an institutionalization and professionalization of archaeological practice as a complementary technique within a global anthropological inquiry. Since the end of the 1950s, the construction of a network, where information and people circulated beyond the frontiers of each nation-state, was used by a new group of archaeologists in order to break with an earlier crystallized model of archaeology. Even if, in general terms, the archaeological community remained under the traditional research, a new generation of archaeologists started moving from this hegemonic inquiry and developed research techniques in order to present archaeology as an independent discipline. Such “independence” allowed for a new era of academic institutionalization of archaeology, reinforcing its relationship with History. At the same time, the diversification of State services was allowing its professionalization and, consequently, was creating conditions for the better establishment of archaeology within social, economic and political dynamics. In this way, archaeologists who began their active careers within the last decades of the *Estado Novo* availed themselves of international contacts and projects – Internationalism – in order to develop their research and construct a new socio-professional elite.

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**Table 1**

| <b>Editor</b> | <b>Collection</b> | <b>Title</b><br>(Portuguese Title)<br>(Original Title)                                  | <b>Author</b>     | <b>Year of the<br/>Portuguese<br/>edition</b> |
|---------------|-------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Os Celtas<br>The Celts  | T. G. E Powell    | 1965  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Os Egípcios<br>The Egyptians  | Cyril Aldred      | 1966  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Os Gregos até Alexandre<br>Greeks til Alexander   | R. M. Cook        | 1966  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Os Etruscos<br>The Etruscans  | Raymond Bloch     | 1966  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Troia e os troianos<br>Troy: and the Trojans  | Carl W. Blegen    | 1966  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | As Origens de Roma<br>The Origins of Rome   | Raymond Bloch     | 1967  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Os Iberos<br>The Iberians   | Antonio Arribas   | 1967  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Os Vikings<br>The Vikings   | Holger Arbman     | 1967  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Os Fenícios<br>The phoenicians  | Donald Harden     | 1968  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Medos e Persas<br>The Medes and Persians  | William Culican   | 1968  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Os Maias<br>The Maya  | Michael D. Coe    | 1968  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | A Escrita<br>Writing  | David Diringir    | 1968  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Arqueologia Subaquática<br>Archaeology under water                                      | George F. Bass    | 1969  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Espanha e Portugal<br>Spain and Portugal: The<br>Prehistory of the Iberian<br>Peninsula | H. N. Savory      | 1969  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Ossos, Corpos e Doenças<br>Bones, Bodies and Disease                                    | Calvin Wells      | 1969  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Peru<br>Peru  | G. H. S. Bushnell | 1969  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Os Primitivos Cristãos<br>The early Christians  | Michael Gough     | 1969  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | África Austral<br>Southern Africa   | Brian Fagan       | 1970  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | O Japão antes do Budismo<br>Japan Before Budism   | J. Edward Kidder  | 1970  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | Índia e Paquistão<br>India and Pakistan   | Mortimer Wheeler  | 1970  |

| <b>Editor</b> | <b>Collection</b> | <b>Title</b><br>(Portuguese Title)<br>(Original Title)  | <b>Author</b>               | <b>Year of the Portuguese edition</b> |
|---------------|-------------------|---|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>Os Bizantinos</i><br>The Byzantines  | David Talbot Rice           | 1970                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>O México</i><br>México   | Michael D. Coe              | 1970                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>Os Micénios</i><br>The Mycenalans  | William Taylor              | 1970                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>A China</i><br>Early Civilization in China   | William Watson              | 1971                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>Os Gregos: na Jónia e no Oriente</i><br>The Greeks in Ionia and the East                     | J. M. Cook                  | 1971                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>Roma Republicana</i><br>Republican Rome  | A. H. McDonald              | 1971                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>A alimentação na Antiguidade</i><br>Food in Antiquity: A Survey of the Diet of Early Peoples | D. Brothwell & P. Brothwell | 1971                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>Os Mongóis</i><br>The Mongols  | E. D. Philips               | 1971                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>A Cidade de Constantinopla</i><br>The City of Constantinople                                 | Michael Maclagan            | 1972                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>Os Gregos no Ocidente</i><br>The Greeks in the West  | A. G. Woodhead              | 1972                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>Sicília</i><br>Sicily Before the Greeks  | L. Bernabò Brea             | 1972                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>A Arte dos Romanos</i><br>The Art of the Romans  | J. M. C. Toynbee            | 1972                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>A Pré-história de África</i><br>Prehistory of Africa   | J. Desmond Clark            | 1973                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>Os Minóicos</i><br>The Minoans: The story of Bronze Age Crete                                | Sinclair Hood               | 1973                                  |
| Verbo         | Historia Mundi    | <i>Os Arménios</i><br>The Armenians   | Sirarpie der Nersessian     | 1973                                  |
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