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Christopher Hawkes and the International Summer Courses of Ampurias

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Introduction: About Remembering

This article aims to provide an initial analysis of the early connections between Christopher Hawkes and Spanish archaeology in the context of his participation in two of the international summer courses in Ampurias in 1947 and 1950. The documentation used for this article comes mainly from the Pericot Archive in the Library of Catalonia, in which there are 43 letters from Hawkes to Pericot between 1940 and 1975. In addition, other correspondence in the British Museum and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be mentioned. This study forms part of a larger project of recovering the memory of twentieth-century British-Spanish relations, of which a first phase has centred on the assessment of Gordon Childe's contacts with Spain (Díaz-Andreu 1998; forthcoming-a; forthcoming-b). As in Gordon Childe's case, all memory of Hawkes' visits, and indeed of his relationships with Spanish archaeologists, has since been lost. Unfortunately, this situation is not exceptional: most of the links between Spanish archaeologists and British and American archaeologists in the twenty years around the Spanish Civil War have dropped out of archaeological memory. To the names mentioned in a recent seminar (Gordon Childe, Edward Thurlow Leeds, Eoin MacWhite, Hubert Savory) (Armada Pita 2006), many others could be added. As this article will show, however, there were many contacts and these help to explain some developments in the archaeological thinking and practice of the participants involved in these exchanges, as well as some events in the international organisation of archaeology.

The story this article explains has been buried in the lost memory of the history of archaeology. Neither the Ampurias summer courses nor many of the protagonists of these events are mentioned in world histories of archaeology. Perhaps this is not surprising as history is inevitably selective. A few years ago Chris Evans lamented the fact that in *A History of Archaeological Thought* Hawkes had been mentioned only once in contrast to the 44 references to Childe (Evans 1998: 399). I would like to

argue that this may be related to the fact that world histories of archaeology written in English have been a Cambridge tradition, written by Cambridge scholars or by scholars with close connections to Cambridge. This seems to have silenced contributions from other parts of the world, as well as from archaeologists working in Iron Age, Classical and Medieval archaeology (Daniel 1975; Trigger 1989). “It is impossible” – admits Trigger – “in a single volume to examine every archaeological theory or even every regional archaeological tradition”, and therefore he hopes that “by concentrating on a limited number of significant developments it will be possible to learn something about the major factors that have shaped archaeological interpretation” (Trigger 1989: 2). Writing history is about choice, but the selection of the events to be included in them has an obvious impact in disciplinary memory. Well-known – and useful – world-wide histories of archaeology written by authors such as Trigger and Daniel do not explicitly deny the value of the archaeology undertaken in other countries than Britain, the US and perhaps other major nineteenth-century imperial countries, nor do they explicitly devalue the work of archaeologists working in fields other than prehistory. Yet, in practice, their silence on the deeds of so many archaeologists over the world has the effect of erasing the memory of their contributions to the development of the discipline.

The Main Protagonists

Charles Francis Christopher Hawkes (London, 1905 – Oxford, 1992) was trained as a classical scholar at Oxford university (1924–1928), and in September 1928 joined the British Museum as Assistant Keeper. In 1946 he was appointed the first Professor of European Archaeology at Oxford, where he managed to create the Institute of Archaeology in 1961, retiring from his post in 1972. Internationally from 1948 Hawkes had a major role as a member of the Permanent Council of the International Congress of Pre- and Protohistoric Sciences or CISPP (Congrès international des sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques), a post he would keep until 1971. Hawkes married the young archaeologist Jacquetta Hopkins in 1933, later an archaeological writer and populariser. Their marriage ended in divorce in 1953. In 1959 he married again to Sonia Chadwick, an archaeologist herself, whose interest lay in Anglo-Saxon studies¹ (Harding 1992; Hawkes 1982; Webster 1991). Hawkes’ main field of study was Iron Age Britain, about which he published extensively (Champion 2004–2006).

It could be argued that his relationship to colleagues from other countries started with his involvement in the first CISPP in 1932. To prepare for this he travelled to Paris (1931) and Berne (1932). A year after the first CISPP celebration in London in August 1932, he was invited to a meeting in Groningen, the Netherlands, after which he visited sites in Western Germany and Belgium (1933), and participated in the second CISPP in Oslo (Norway). He had also gone to France to collect material for an article on the Belgae (1929) and joined the excavation at Gergovia (France, 1934). In addition to these trips he had frequently travelled abroad on holiday: Switzerland (1912), France (1913, 1928), Portugal (1926), Greece (1927) and Majorca for his honeymoon (1933) (Webster 1991: 241–243). His extensive knowledge of European archaeology was made apparent in his book *The Prehistoric Foundations of Europe*, where he cited sources written in many languages by key European archaeologists at the time – including many Spanish archaeologists (Hawkes 1940). Before his first archaeological trip to Spain in 1947 he had met the two main prehistorians of the pre-Spanish Civil War period, Pere Bosch Gimpera and Hugo Obermaier² (Díaz-Andreu & Cortadella 2006), and most likely he had also met Lluís Pericot (see below).

¹ **Hawkes, Jacquetta** (1910–1996), née Hopkins, archaeologist and populariser, Vice-President of the Council for British Archaeology 1949–1952; OBE 1952. She married Christopher Hawkes in 1933 but the marriage was dissolved in 1953. **Hawkes, Sonia** (1933–1999), Anglo-Saxon archaeologist, curator of the Scunthorpe Museum (1958–1959), research assistant at the Oxford Institute of Archaeology (1959–1973) and university lecturer (1973–1984) (Champion 2004–2006).

² **Bosch Gimpera, Pere** (Pere in Catalan, Pedro in Spanish) (Barcelona, 1891 – Mexico City, 1974), professor of Ancient and Medieval History at the University of Barcelona (1916–1933), he moved to the Chair of Prehistory

Hawkes was invited to the Ampurias international courses by Lluís Pericot Garcia (Girona, 1899 – Barcelona, 1978, Luis Pericot García in Spanish). Pericot had studied in Barcelona, where he was taught by Pere Bosch Gimpera, the newly appointed Professor of Ancient and Medieval History at the University of Barcelona from 1916. They became long-term friends even after Bosch went into exile. Pericot obtained the Chair of Ancient and Medieval History of Santiago de Compostela in 1925 (Armada Pita 2004), but for personal reasons soon moved to Valencia (1927–1933), where he was allowed, for administrative reasons too complex to explain here, to be Professor of Modern History, and then to Barcelona in 1933 (Fullola i Pericot 2002). He became an important member of the political-cultural elite in Barcelona and Spain as a whole, becoming the vice-president of the CSIC (the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Higher Council for Scientific Research, the Spanish version of the CNRS) in the 1960s.

Hawkes' invitation may also have been instigated by the other director of the summer course of Ampurias, Martín Almagro Basch (Tramacastilla, Teruel, 1911 – Madrid, 1984). He studied under Pericot in Valencia before moving to Madrid. There, between 1932 and 1934, he started his academic career as an assistant to Professor Hugo Obermaier (Regensburg, Baviera, 1877 – Fribourg, Suiza, 1946). After the war Almagro Basch managed to obtain the posts vacated by the exiled Bosch Gimpera: he became the director of the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona (1939), the director of the Service for Archaeological Investigation of the Provincial Government of Barcelona – for the *depuraciones* or purges³ in these two institutions see (Gracia Alonso 2002–2003) – and Professor of Prehistory (1939). In the years immediately after the Civil War, from 1940 to 1943, he excavated in Ampurias using prisoners of war (Gracia Alonso 2002). In 1954 he gained in public competition the Chair of Prehistory at the University of Madrid, and became the head of the Department of Prehistory of the CSIC in Madrid, the General Commissar of Archaeological Excavation (i.e. the person who controlled fieldwork permits and subsidies for them) (1962–1973) and the director of the National Archaeological Museum (1968–1981) (Pasamar Alzuria & Peiró Martín 2002: 70–72).

The role of Almagro Basch and Pericot in this story and their creation of the Ampurias summer courses should be understood in the context of the internal politics of Spanish life and archaeology. After the Civil War there were visible changes to both the most important university chairs of prehistoric archaeology held by Pere Bosch Gimpera and Hugo Obermaier, but most archaeologists continued in post⁴. Yet, in accordance to the Falangist (i.e. Spanish Fascist) ideological tone of the regime immediately after the Civil War (Preston 1995: 113), it was a Falangist, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, who became successful both in controlling archaeological management and the teaching of prehistory at the University of Madrid, covering for Obermaier's absence. Santa-Olalla did a poor job, partly because, in order to avoid opposition from other professional archaeologists, he diverted state funding for fieldwork from them while sponsoring amateurs and placing them in control of

(1933–1939). In 1939 he left Spain and lived in Oxford (1939–1940), Colombia (1940–1941) and México D. F. where he taught at the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) and at the Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). He was head of the Philosophy and Humanities division of UNESCO in Paris (1948–1952). **Obermaier, Hugo** (1877–1946), Privatdozent at the University of Vienna, he obtained the Chair of Quaternary Geology in the Parisian Institute de Paléontologie Humaine. During World War I he remained in Spain and worked for the JAE (1915) and became professor of Primitive History of Man (1922). When the Spanish Civil War started while he was at the CISPP congress in Oslo, he chose not to return to Spain. He spent his last years in Freiburg (Switzerland) lecturing.

³ The *Depuración* was a process by which people with the wrong political past were removed from their posts.

⁴ Most archaeologists continued in post, but not all for some archaeologists went into exile or died as a consequence of the war. Amongst the first were the university professors and prehistorians Pere Bosch Gimpera and Hugo Obermaier, the Hellenist Lluís Nicolau i d'Olwer, the Basque archaeologist father José Miguel Barandiarán Ayerbe (who returned in 1953), the Andalusian Miguel Such Martín and the Galician archaeologist Sebastián González García-Paz. Amongst those who died were father Fidel Fuidio Rodríguez and Gonzalo Viñes Masip (see Díaz-Andreu *et al.* forthcoming).

regional archaeology (Díaz-Andreu & Ramírez Sánchez 2004). This inevitably led to rivalry between the Universities of Madrid and Barcelona (as well as between the University of Madrid and most of the other institutions in the capital). The mood of the regime started to change from the moment Germany's fortunes were reversed in World War II, and the Catholics, and in particular the Opus Dei faction, gained strength.

It was at this time that the Ampurias summer courses were created by Almagro Basch and Pericot. The first had moved from being an alleged communism in his youth to becoming a member of the Falange during the Civil War (Gracia & Fullola Pericot 2006: 331). He later became a traditionalist, with links to the pro-monarchy and Catholic faction of the regime (Pasamar Alzuria & Peiró Martín 2002: 71), contributing, for example, to the Opus Dei journal *Arbor*. Pericot was a liberal professor who adapted to Francoism. His pragmatism and his good nature helped him to get on well with everybody – an important social skill in dictatorial regimes which helps to explain the important positions he obtained throughout his career.

Before Ampurias: Contacts between Pericot and Hawkes in the 1920s and 1930s

Although the earliest letter between Hawkes and Pericot in the Archive Pericot at the Library of Catalonia is dated to June 1940, it is likely that there had been other letters, now lost. Pericot seems to have kept most – if not all – of his correspondence after the Spanish Civil War, but there are fewer letters before this period. The fact that he wrote to Hawkes letting him know that he had survived the Civil War suggests there were earlier letters that have not been preserved. In any case, before the date of the first letter now in the Archive, we know that Pericot had travelled to Britain in 1927 and 1932 and met many archaeologists. He was corresponding with other British archaeologists – mainly Tom Kendrick, Cyril Fox, Wilfrid Hemp, Miles Burkitt and Gordon Childe⁵ (Díaz-Andreu forthcoming–b). The earliest letter known from Pericot to Hawkes is dated 21 March 1940 and is found in the British Museum. In it Pericot expressed his wish that Hawkes and his family were well. He mentioned that Childe had advised him to read an article by his wife Jacquetta⁶ on 'Spanish pottery and the Narbonne finds' (perhaps Hawkes 1938). He expressed his interest in reading it and promised to send his own publications in return. He also sent his regards to Tom Kendrick. Hawkes answered this letter on 17 June: 'I write to let you know that Mr Kendrick and I received your letters and are glad to know that you are well. With regard to Exchange (sic) of publications, will you write to me again when the General Situation (sic) is more clear?' (AP – Hawkes 17.6.1940)⁷. In a second letter dated 29 July 1940 Hawkes told his Catalan colleague that his family would be delighted to see him, indicating that Pericot may have wished at some point to travel to Britain that summer. Yet, this trip does not seem

⁵ **Burkitt, Miles Crawford** (1890–1971). Lecturer in Prehistory in Cambridge (1915–1957), one of Pericot's first contacts in Britain. Although not primarily a researcher, his overviews were of fundamental value for many generations of British archaeologists. **Childe, Vere Gordon** (1892–1957). Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology at Edinburgh (1927–1946), Professor of European Archaeology at the University of London (1946–1956). His books attained widespread influence because of his ability to provide syntheses which ranged across large geographical areas including the Near East and Europe. **Fox, Cyril** (1882–1967), after his celebrated doctoral thesis *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, became Keeper of Archaeology in the National Museum of Wales (1924–1926), Director of the National Museum (1926–1948), and Lecturer in Archaeology at Cardiff University. **Hemp, Wilfrid James** (1882–1962), inspector of Welsh monuments, and secretary of the National Monuments board from 1913, in 1928 he was made secretary of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire (1928–1946). **Kendrick, Thomas Downing** (1895–1979), Assistant (1922), Assistant Keeper (1928), Keeper (1938) and Director of the British Museum (1950–1959).

⁶ The only correspondence from Jacquetta Hawkes to Pericot is dated to 1960 and 1961 and relates to a note that Pericot wanted to be published in *The Observer* and also to a request from Jacquetta to Pericot to find some accommodation for some friends who were going to Barcelona. She writes to Pericot under her married name of Jacquetta Priestley.

⁷ References to letters in the Pericot Archive are indicated by AP, the author and the date of the letter.

to have taken place given that, first, it would have been the middle of the Battle of Britain in August 1940, and second, no other trace of it has been found in the correspondence in the Pericot Archive.

After these two letters there is a gap of seven years until 1947. Yet some indirect contact is mentioned in the correspondence between Childe and Pericot. In 1943 Childe explained that he had been able to give his greetings to Hawkes as asked (AP – Childe 8.5.1943). In the same letter Childe had also commented on the Oxford professor's latest publication (Hawkes 1940): 'Hawkes also published a book covering rather the same field as my *Dawn* but in places more fully though without any footnotes and in very difficult English. It is called "The Foundations of Europe down to the Mycenaean Age" and is full of new and original ideas as well as facts; his treatment of megaliths will interest you particularly'. On 20 January 1946, before another planned visit by Pericot to Britain, Childe suggested that he should visit museums: 'the collections in Cambridge are certainly accessible, and I think for you Kendrick and Hawkes will be able to make those of the British Museum available' (AP – Childe 20.1.1946).

An Italian-French-Spanish International Venture: the Ampurias International Summer Courses and Their Connection to the International Institute of Ligurian Studies

The International summer courses of Ampurias started in 1947 and have taken place annually ever since⁸. It is interesting to note that Ampurias was not an isolated case. International summer courses had started to be organised in Spain before the Civil War as part of the educational reforms of the Spanish Republic (1931–1939), one of the most renowned courses being that of Santander (Gracia & Fullola Pericot 2006: 22). The first course in Santander was held in 1933, but no archaeologists attended it: the course coincided with one of the other educational projects of the Republic – the well-known Cruise around the Mediterranean in which most of those who worked in archaeology after the Civil War – including Pericot and Almagro – participated (*ibidem*).

The first Ampurias course, like those which followed, had the Greek colony and later Roman city of Emporion (Ampurias in Castilian, Empúries in Catalan) as its centre, although visits were usually organised to other sites and museums. Until 1960 the Ampurias courses were co-directed by Professors Martín Almagro Basch and Lluís Pericot Garcia, thereafter by Almagro Basch (1961–1964), Almagro Basch and Eduard Ripoll (1965–1966)⁹, Ripoll (1966–1982) and then by the directors of the Museu d'Empúries.

The correspondence sheds light on the origin of the Ampurias course: to start with the idea of the course seems to have been a joint venture between Italian, French and Spanish Institutions. The promoters were Pericot and Almagro from Spain, and Nino Lamboglia from Italy. In relation to France the situation is less clear, for there are four names mentioned in the literature: Jean Jannoray, Jean Mallon, Maurice Louis and Henri Rolland¹⁰. All these archaeologists were backed

⁸ The course still continues nowadays under by their Catalan name – Curs Internacional d'Arqueologia d'Empúries, which in 2006 has seen its 60th anniversary (<http://www.mac.es/empuries/coursempuries06.pdf>).

⁹ **Ripoll i Perelló, Eduard** (1923–2006). Assistant keeper (1947–1953), Keeper and subsequently Director of the Archaeological Museum in Barcelona and of the Museum of Ampurias (1963). He also lectured in Prehistory at the Autonomous University of Barcelona where he was Vice-Dean (1968–1981). He gained the Chair of Prehistory at the Open University (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia) and was director of the National Archaeological Museum (1981–1986).

¹⁰ **Jannoray, Jean** (1909–1958), member of the French School at Athens. From 1942 director of Historical Antiquities of Languedoc-Roussillon (Gran-Aymerich 2001: 362). **Lamboglia, Nino** (Impera, 1912 – Genoa, 1977), a fascist supporter who in 1937 had created the Istituto di Studi Liguri. He published key works on Samian and Campanian pottery, which in Spain allowed a more accurate dating of Iron Age Iberian strata (Cortadella 1997). Lamboglia was key in the introduction of the stratigraphic method and other key fieldwork techniques in Spanish archaeology, which were known before, but not widely followed (Gracia in Díaz-Andreu *et al.* forthcoming) (see also Ripoll 1974). **Louis, Maurice** (d. 1966), vice-president of the International Institute

up by a combination of institutions in which they worked. From 1947 to 1950 only the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri (International Institute of Ligurian Studies) is mentioned for Italy, but in the case of France the literature points to the Centre de Préhistoire de l'Institut d'Études Occitanes (1948) and the University of Montpellier (1949) and in the case of Spain the Estación de Estudios Pirenaicos (1947, 1948) and the Instituto de Prehistoria Mediterránea (CSIC) (1949, 1950) (for information about the latter institutions see Díaz-Andreu *et al.* forthcoming). The network of institutions becomes even more complicated when one realises that the International Institute of Ligurian Studies was based in the Museum Birknell in Italy, but consisted of 22 'sections' of which 15 were in Italy, 5 in France and 2 in Spain, the vice-presidents being Maurice Louis for France and Martín Almagro for Spain (Lamboglia n.d.).

Officially this joint venture between Spain, France and Italy seems only to have succeeded in 1948 and 1949¹¹, although it was attempted in 1947: on 12 July Hawkes mentioned that he supposed 'that the Reunion will then already be at Ampurias and not still at Genova' (AP – Hawkes 12.7.1947). In 1948 two courses were organized in combination under the XI International Agreement (Convenio) of Ligurian Studies (Ripoll 1974: ix). The first course was directed by the International Institute of Ligurian Studies – Nino Lamboglia – in combination with the Centre of Prehistory of the Institute of Occitan Studies (Centre de Préhistoire de l'Institut d'Études Occitanes (Institut d'Estudis Occitans in Occitan)). The Italian-French meeting took place in the South of France from 23 August to 5 September 1948, and several prehistoric sites were visited. Most of the participants in the first course then moved on to the Spanish course in Ampurias, the second Ampurias International Summer Course¹² (5 to 13 September). In Catalonia more visits to archaeological sites and museums took place. Amongst those who participated were Massimo Pallotino, Aldo Crivelli and Ferdinand Benoît¹³ (Ripoll 1974: x).

In 1949 the third Ampurias summer course was organized by Spanish, Italian and French institutions, the latter now being the University of Montpellier (Ripoll 1974: ix-x). The list of participants included Maurice Louis, Nino Lamboglia and Antonio Beltrán, together with the Italian scholars Pietro Romanelli and Alberto Ablondi; Jean Jannoray from France and Manuel Gómez Moreno and Alberto del Castillo from Spain¹⁴ (Ripoll 1974: x-xi).

of Ligurian Studies (1966, BSPF 63: cxxiii). **Mallon, Jean** (d. 1982), Paleographer. He wrote a celebrated *Paleographie romaine*. Published in Madrid 1952 (Scriptorium 37: 287–289, 1983). **Rolland, Henri** (1886–1970). Architect, from 1941 délégué aux Antiquités of the Basses-Alpes, de Saint Rémy and Saint Blais (Gran-Aymerich 2001: 593).

¹¹ From 1950 only the Institute of Ligurian Studies is mentioned as a partner for the Ampurias summer courses (Ripoll 1974). The Centre de Preistòria de l'Institut d'Estudis Occitans must have been short lived, as Mr Jan Moreu, the actual National Director of the Institut d'Estudis Occitans, informed me that he had never heard of it. Neither had he heard of any of the names of the archaeologists mentioned in this article (pers. comm. 4.7.2006).

¹² Daniela Gandolfi, in her article about the Italian archaeologists Bernabò Brea and Nino Lamboglia, includes a photograph of a visit to Comte Begouën in the South of France dated to September 1948. She states that this visit took place during the "Spanish Week", although it seems that logically one should reserve the name for the events taking place in Spain from 5 September (Gandolfi 2004: fig. 1).

¹³ **Benoît, Ferdinand** (1892–1969). Member of the French School at Rome in 1922, worked as an archivist in Arles from his return to France. Between 1928 and 1932 he was cultural adviser in Tunis and Morocco. Back in Arles, he added to his duties that of assistant keeper of the Archaeological Museum. From 1942 he was director of Historical Antiquities of Provence and Corse and in 1946 he became the director of the Musée Borély of Marseille. From 1936 he taught a course of ancient and medieval archaeology at the university of Aix-en-Provence. He was co-founder of the Institute of Ligurian Studies (Gran-Aymerich 2001: 62–63). **Crivelli, Aldo** (1907–1981), Swiss archaeologist, inspector of museums and excavations (1944–1961) and from 1958 also of monuments (1958). **Pallotino, Massimo** (1909–1995) Associate Professor of Etruscology and Ancient Italy at the University of Rome, Professor in Calgaria (1940) and Rome (1945) (Filip 1966/69: 994).

Hawkes thought that this collaboration was commendable:

'I have also to-day (sic) written to Almagro, and what have (sic) said to him I say also to you: these Cursos (sic) embracing Spain, Italy and S. France together are really a splendid thing! We can all make such things within our own countries; we can also invite foreign scholars to them; but that the "Congress" itself should perambulate between one country and another, making an organic integration between them, is a real innovation, and one which I hold to be of outstanding importance for our studies. So I wish you the very best of luck this year.' (AP – Hawkes 8.8.1949).

Hawkes' Participation in the First International Summer Course of Ampurias (1947)

From 1947 to 1950 all the correspondence between Hawkes and Pericot refers to Hawkes' participation in the first international summer course of Ampurias held in 1947. There were several foreign scholars invited for the event. Jean Mallon and Nino Lamboglia were there representing France and Italy. Christopher Hawkes and the Portuguese Eugenio Jalhay¹⁵ had also been invited. Hawkes was not the first British archaeologist to be invited. Pericot had first approached the Cambridge scholar Grahame Clark who, like him, worked on the Mesolithic period (Pericot 1942). Clark, however, declined as he had just been awarded a stipendium for travelling to Scandinavia so could only get to Spain in the third week of September, too late for the event (AP – Clark 26.5.1947). Someone else had also been invited¹⁶, but no information about the name has been found. It could have been Gordon Childe, for he had close contact with Pericot. However, Childe had just been in Spain a few months earlier, in April 1947 (Díaz-Andreu 1998; forthcoming–b), and the Ampurias summer course is not mentioned in their correspondence. Nor is it mentioned in the correspondence with other British colleagues with whom he was in relatively frequent contact such as Miles Burkitt and Thomas D. Kendrick. Whoever this person was, he could not make it and in his place Christopher Hawkes, the newly appointed Professor of European Archaeology at Oxford, was invited. This choice would have been well liked by the other course director, Almagro, because of the latter's interest in Iron Age archaeology.

Four letters were sent by Hawkes before the course took place in September 1947 and one immediately after. He accepted the invitation on 29 March 1947, but hinted that he would not have funds to go to Spain on 10 May. Also, on 12 July he mentioned that 'the question of my visiting also Barcelona and Madrid, as you kindly suggest, is primarily one of financial character: it is not possible for me to have much money with me, and my position can only be of a guest of the Consejo [CSIC]'. This comment most probably made Pericot realise that his application to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

¹⁴ **Ablondi, Monsignor Alberto** (1924–) graduated in archaeology in 1946. He became the leader of the World Catholic Federation for the Biblical Apostolate (WCFBA). **Beltrán Martínez, Antonio** (1916–2006), Professor of Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics at the University of Zaragoza (1949–1981) and director of the Provincial Museum of Fine Arts of Zaragoza (1956–1974). **Castillo Yurrita, Alberto del** (1899–1976), well-known because of his theories on the Bell Beakers in Europe. Professor from 1931 (although works as such from 1934 in Barcelona) until his retirement in 1969. **Gómez Moreno y Martínez, Manuel** (1870–1970) started working for the Artistic Catalogues (1900–1913). In 1913 he obtained the Chair of Arabic Archaeology at the University of Madrid from which he retired voluntarily in 1934. He was the main promoter of archaeology at the highly-regarded centre for archaeological excellence, the Centre for Historical Studies of the Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios (JAE). **Romanelli, Pietro** (1889–1981). Specialist in Imperial Roman Africa. Member of the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens. From 1919 he focused his attention on Libya. In 1925 he became the director of the Museum of Tarquinia and was Professor of Archaeology of Roman Africa at the University of Rome (1925–1960) (Gran-Aymerich 2001: 594).

¹⁵ **Clark, Grahame** (1907–1995), lecturer at Cambridge (1935–1952) and Disney Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge (1952–1974). **Jalhay, Father Eugénio** (1891–1950) (Pericot 1951), a Portuguese archaeologist and Jesuit priest, who excavated at the Copper Age sites of Alapraia and Vila Nova de São Pedro and at the Iron Age site of Sanfins (Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira 1935: 142).

¹⁶ This documentation has been obtained from the Archive of the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (MAE, Ministry of Spanish Foreign Affairs) in Madrid. R-2477 exp. 55.

for Hawkes to receive some funding for his stay must have gone astray. On 17 July 1947, Pericot explained in a letter to the ministry¹⁷ that he had first invited someone else. He also explained that other scholars invited were the Portuguese Father Eugenio Jalhay, as well as Schulten¹⁸ and Lamboglia. Pericot's letter had the desired effect: the ministry bureaucrats finally sent the invitation to Christopher Hawkes on 24 July 1947. The invitation letter sent explained that the travel and some funds for accommodation would be provided. On 2 August Hawkes sent a letter to the Spanish Embassy saying:

'I have received with very great pleasure your letter transmitting to me formally the invitation, on the part of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, to visit Spain in order to take part in the Cursos de Verano [summer courses] and to remain up to two weeks in your country for the purposes of study and collaboration with Spanish colleagues in my subject, Archaeology. I esteem this invitation as a mark of honour, and a gesture towards the University of Oxford which will be greatly appreciated there, no less than as a token of your authorities' generosity and their regard for the human sciences. I accept with cordial gratitude, and note that your authorities will defray the expenses both of my stay in Spain and my journey back to England, which I appreciate very warmly' (R-2477 exp. 55).

Hawkes then wrote to Pericot 'If I have this good money for the expenses of the 15 days, and you arrange my journeys and my places to sleep, wherever I go, I am very happy to do whatever you fix' (16.8.1947).

The Ampurias summer course lasted from 25 August to 15 September. Its inauguration took place in the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona and then moved to Ampurias, where a stratigraphic trial pit was undertaken next to the Southern wall of the Neapolis. Visits were undertaken to various prehistoric and historic sites (in Agullana, Romanyà, Serinyà ...) and many museums in Barcelona and elsewhere in Catalonia. The course finished with a talk by the German archaeologist Adolf Schulten on Tartessos (Ripoll 1974). Hawkes would later comment that his 'renewal with Pericot had come through the summer-school and opening of the museum at Ampurias, 1947; at the *fiesta maior* of la Escala we all danced in the *sardanas*' (Hawkes 1982: 97).

The following letter sent by Hawkes was after his visit to Spain. On 21 September thanking Pericot for all his kindness, he wrote:

'I obtained a most happy impression of the work of archaeology which you are all doing, especially at Ampurias, and look forward eagerly to reading more of it, as your periodicals and books reach me, and to making it better known among my colleagues and students, some of whom I hope will visit you in time soon to come, and gain great profit. I hope to be able to send you some of our publications before long, in accordance with the arrangement which I proposed through Maluquer¹⁹.

Yet, for almost two years Hawkes did not write again to Pericot, although perhaps, as his first letter after his long silence hints, he may have kept closer contact with Almagro. In his letter of 8 August 1949 Hawkes started apologising: 'You are right to raise your eyebrows at my rather too long silence. I was delighted to hear from you, as I always am; but I have wanted to write to you a 'proper letter', and these last few months have not been propitious²⁰ to the moods of the imagination and reflexion (sic)' (AP – Hawkes 8.8.1949). As his comments make clear, Hawkes had received information about the third summer course. Thus, he congratulated Pericot saying: 'So I and all of us who think like this are really *(sic) greatly encouraged* by the example which Almagro and you have set, and the Italian-

¹⁷ See note 16.

¹⁸ **Schulten, Adolf** (1870–1960), assistant lecturer in Göttingen (1896–1907) and in Erlangen (1907) where he obtained a Chair in 1909 (Wulff Alonso 2004).

¹⁹ **Maluquer de Motes Nicolau, Joan** (1915–1988), assistant in the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona after the Civil War, Professor of Archaeology at the University of Salamanca (1949–1959) and at the University of Barcelona (1969–1985). Emeritus professor at the latter university (1985–1988).

²⁰ He may be referring to his problems at home (Finn 2005: chapter six).

French Institute of Lamboglia and Montpellier with you, in demonstrating that such things *can* be done, and successfully and well' (AP – Hawkes 8.8.1949). One of its great outcomes, he thought, was that the courses were putting together French archaeologists like Maurice Louis, Philippe Héléna, M. Sylvain Gagniere, H. Rolland, M.Coulouma with the Italian Lamboglia²¹. Given the French archaeologists' 'very backward condition ... it is of course for this reason especially good, that you now have them locked with you together with Lamboglia in this participation of activity' (ibidem).

In the same letter he commented:

'There: I have finished what I most wished to say; but I want to add this. I see from the brochure that you have excavations at a poblado [settlement] at ULLASTRET, and also at CASTELL near Gerona: such sites interest me much! and also it is good, that you thus bring in to the Cursos *practical* work. For much talking is no good, unless the *technique of excavation* is also good. Your country is dry, ours is wet: this makes differences in the nature of the strata and in preservation of remains. But the need for rigorous technique is the same; so I hope that this part of the proceedings will be particularly successful, and that all will take it really seriously (especially any French who come!)' (8.8.1949).

Hawkes was then invited to participate in the Spanish National Archaeological Congress in Alcoy²², but he could not go since it had been organized during the university term (AP – Hawkes 28.12.1949).

Hawkes in Ampurias and the Balears – 1950

In April 1950 Christopher Hawkes was invited to participate in the fourth summer course of Ampurias. The study trips organised as part of it included Barcelona and the Balearic Islands of Mallorca and Menorca (Ripoll 1974: xi). He was offered the chance to bring his family, a proposal that had also been made three years earlier. Then he had explained that he would not take his wife because: 'we have also to think of our son; and I expect that a Congress would not be a good holiday for him' (AP – Hawkes, 29.3.1947). This time he accepted, suggesting in return that his wife, Jacquetta Hawkes, participate in the course as well. The talk she proposed was on the history of archaeology, with the title, as he explained, 'Philosophie de la Préhistoire, essaying (sic) to define the nature of our subject, between the Humanistic and the Scientific disciplines: this kind of thing she does – as all things – extremely well, and we believe it useful, in the midst of such amounts of new material, new factual interpretations, new techniques, to consider sometimes also *Ou en sommes-nous?*' (AP – Hawkes, 3.4.1950). He proposed to talk about 'Mediterranean-British relations in the Bronze Final' (ibidem), but only her name is recorded as a speaker by Ripoll (1974: xi). Neither is that of John Evans, then one of Glyn Daniel's students, although Nicolas Hawkes remembers his presence there (Hawkes 2002: 314)²³.

Before meeting in Spain, Pericot and Hawkes met twice in Italy at the end of April and in Zürich in August. In his letter of August 1949 Hawkes had already alerted (or perhaps asked for information?)

²¹ **Héléna, Philippe** (1897–1961). Keeper of the Museum of History of Man at Narbonne (1961, BSPF 58: 514–515).

²² Again, it is very interesting to note that he is invited to the National Archaeological Congress to be held in Alcoy in 1950. However, the meeting that took place in Alcoy was the first Archaeological Congress of the Southeast which was not converted into a National Archaeological Congress. The five previous congresses are known both as CASE and CNA, but not the Alcoy congress. My guess is that the change of plans that the correspondence shows must be related to the power struggle between the tandem Martín Almagro – Lluís Pericot in opposition to Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (Díaz-Andreu 1993; Díaz-Andreu & Ramírez Sánchez 2004).

²³ **Evans, John D.** (1925–). Gordon Childe's successor in the Chair of European Prehistoric Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology in London. He later became the Director of the Institute. John Evans spent the year 1950 in Spain trying to write a PhD on the Siret collection. A lawsuit from the Siret family against the National Archaeological Museum, where the collection was deposited, prevented him from accessing the material. He finally transferred his interest to the other side of the Mediterranean (Pamela Jane Smith, pers. comm. 6.7.2006).

Pericot about the celebration of the first conference: ‘I have been notified that the Italians intend to convene a “Mediterranean Archaeology” Congress at Florence in the spring (primavera) of 1950. This might be something of the same utility? But details of it have not yet reached me’ (AP – Hawkes, 8.8.1949)²⁴. Hawkes would later say that ‘the great year was 1950, which brought me to Italy’ (Hawkes 1982: 97). Pericot also attended the first International Congress of Mediterranean Prehistory and Protohistory meeting (Gracia *et al.* 2002: eleventh photograph between pages 156 and 157) and published in its proceedings (Hawkes 1950; Pericot 1950). Hawkes went back to Britain via Paris together with Bosch Gimpera. The latter would write to Pericot that the English professor had not stopped talking about Bronze Age chronology (letter in Gracia *et al.* 2002: 277), a worry which was still remembered by Hawkes thirty years on (Hawkes 1982: 97).

Hawkes and Pericot saw each other again in August 1950 at the CISPP meeting held in Zürich. Hawkes attended the congress as a member of the Permanent Council (Hawkes 1949). Pericot went to the meeting together with the president of the Spanish committee, Blas Taracena²⁵. There, the proposal that the following CISPP meeting in 1954 would take place in Spain, was successful against a rival tender made by Italian archaeologists. Blas Taracena became the president of the CISPP and Pericot its Secretary General. After Zürich Hawkes proposed that he and Pericot travel together to Barcelona (“my wife and son will come from England, we from Switzerland” (AP – Hawkes, 3.4.1950).

The fourth Ampurias summer course lasted from 2nd until 16th September. It was directed again by Almagro and Pericot, Beltrán acting as secretary. Other Spanish scholars present were the Marquis of Lozoya, A. del Castillo, J. Colominas, P. de Palol, Julián San Valero, Joaquín Tomás. To this group one could add Georg and Vera Leisner, a husband and wife team of German archaeologists specialising in megalithic Iberia. From Italy came Lamboglia (N. Hawkes pers. comm.), Luigi Bernabò Brea, Paolo Graziosi, L. Pallotino and from France Pierre Bouffard, J. Jannoray and M. Louis²⁶. An archaeologist whose nationality I have been unable to trace, C. Bodmer, and Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes – and their son Nicolas – completed the party. The course started in Barcelona on 2nd September with a visit to the archaeological museum and in the evening the party embarked to the Balearic Islands.

²⁴ It may be interesting to note that in 1935 an international conference of the Western Mediterranean had been organized by the Museum of Archaeology of Barcelona. I have not been able to find out who attended that meeting.

²⁵ **Taracena Aguirre, Blas** (1895–1951), director of the Museum of Numantia in Soria (1915–1936), of the Museum of Cordoba (1936–1939), and of the Nacional Archaeological Museum (1939–1951). From 1943 he was also the director of the Instituto Diego Velázquez of the CSIC.

²⁶ **Brea, Luigi Bernabò** (1910–1999), high inspector (soprintendente) of Antiquities of Eastern Sicily, director of the National Archaeological Museum of Siracusa, high inspector of antiquities in Liguria (1939–1941) (Filip 1966: 114; Malone & Stoddart 2000). **Colominas i Roca, Josep** (1883–1959), worker in the Service of Excavations of the Institute of Catalan Studies (1915–1923), archaeologists in the Service of Archaeological Investigations of the Provincial Council of Barcelona (1925–1959), and keeper in the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona (1934–1959). **Contreras y López de Ayala, Juan de - Marquis of Lozoya** (1893–1978). Art Historian. After the Civil War, Director General de Bellas Artes (1939–1951). Professor at the university of Valencia (1923–1946), Madrid (1946–1960) and Navarra (1963–1969). **Graziosi, Paolo** (1907–1988), Professor of Prehistory and Anthropology at Florence (1931), Director of the Museum of Prehistory of Florence (1954) and of the Italian Institute of Pre and Protohistory (1960) (Filip 1966: 434; Gracia *et al.* 2002: 256). **Leisner, Georg** (1870–1957) and his wife **Vera Leisner** (1885–1972) became specialists in megalithic Iberia. Married in 1909, they started a corpus of this type of site with funding from the Römisch-Germanische Kommission of Frankfurt and the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft. They moved to Lisbon in 1943 and in 1954 went on to form part of the team of the German Archaeological Institute. Vera continued working on prehistoric Iberia after Georg’s death. **Palol i Salellas, Pere de** (1923–2005) was lecturer at the University of Barcelona (1945–1956), Professor of Archaeology at the University of Valladolid (1956–1970), and of Barcelona (1970–1988). Emeritus Professor at the same university (1988–1995). **San Valero Aparisi, Julián** (1913–1997), Professor of History of Culture at the University of Granada (1948–1950), moved to Valencia as Professor of Prehistory, Ancient and Medieval History (1950–1983).

The first island to be visited was Mallorca. Jacquetta Hawkes gave the official opening address of the congress in French on 4th September, and on that very same day the party moved to Ibiza, coming back to Palma on 6th September. One anecdote that the very young Nicolas Hawkes recorded in his diary is that on 12th September Graziosi was unable to give his lecture on Palaeolithic Art because Bernabò Brea extensively overran his allotted time! On 13th September the group moved to Menorca in a less than satisfactory boat in which most of the party became sea-sick²⁷. On 16th September they moved back to Barcelona. After the congress Hawkes wrote that:

‘The programme of *Conferences* was *Excellent*: all were good! The visits were sometimes not enough helped by Explanations; but there was much done by the admirable Beltran, by Castillo and others who made personal talks. It was excellent too, that the Italians were such good colleagues. Altogether, I cannot regret such a wonderful trip, even though it has given me this wretched disease – and even though all the time things so often seemed chaotic!!’ (AP – Hawkes, 23.10.1950).

The disease he was talking about was typhoid fever which he caught while in Spain and which kept him for two months in the isolation hospital (Hawkes 1982: 97).

In the following years other British archaeologists participated in the Ampurias summer course. In 1951 the course focused on prehistoric art and Miles Burkitt was there. Not until 1960 did another British scholar, Professor John Evans, attend an Ampurias summer course.

Hawkes and Spain After Ampurias

After his participation in the fourth Ampurias summer course Hawkes was invited to participate in the Santander summer course of 1951 and again to Ampurias in 1956 but on both occasions he wrote back apologising (AP – Hawkes, 14.3.1951 and 19.3.1956). Yet the significance of his visit to Ampurias was acknowledged by Hawkes as early as 1955 when he wrote to his colleague Lluís Pericot that he had ‘received a grant of money, and permission to be absent from the University for 2 terms in 1956, in order to study the relations of the Mediterranean lands with Central Europe and the West ... my first steps in all this were taken for the Cursos of Ampurias 1947, and I must record that this experience has helped me to obtain now this further opportunity, so that my gratitude is always in part for you’ (AP – Hawkes 20.6.1955). Hawkes also remembered the Ampurias courses in his ‘Archaeological Retrospect’ (1983) which seems to indicate how important they were for his academic career.

Hawkes never, however, specialised in Spain, but travelled extensively in Italy in 1955–1956 as a Leverhulme Research Fellow and excavated in Portugal in 1958 and 1959. In 1965 he explained to Pericot that he had been ‘reading and reading. We have the *Ampurias*, *Actas y Memorias*, *Archivo*, *Zephyrus*, *Emerita*, *Revista de Guimarães* and I don’t know what else: I have been working through them all ... And there are more immediate purposes: I really must now publish my excavations of 1958–9 in northern Portugal’. He also explained that he had been to Aragón, probably to one of the summer courses organised by Professor Antonio Beltrán (AP – Hawkes, 8.5.1965). Hawkes attended the Tartessos International Symposium organised by Maluquer in Jerez in 1968. He also sent several students to visit Pericot and Almagro: Margaret Smith (later Margaret Brown), William Graves (who abandoned it after one year), and an Irish woman. Hawkes also mentions another unnamed student who was studying Celtic fibulae from Iberia (AP – Hawkes 8.3.1959)²⁸. Six years later he mentioned that one of the other reasons for reading so much Spanish bibliography was that ‘I have next year

²⁷ Beltrán relates several anecdotes – none related to the Hawkes – of what occurred during the eventful trip to Menorca (Beltrán Martínez 1988: 87–88). He, and Ripoll (1974: xi–xii), offer contradictory information about the route. For the details route provided in the main text of this article I have decided to follow Nicolas Hawkes’s notes based on his personal diary (N. Hawkes pers. comm. 18.7.2006). About this trip also see Hawkes (1982: 97).

²⁸ Other Oxford students who also had contacts with Pericot, probably through Hawkes, were William Culican in 1955 and Michael Walker in 1959.

a Spanish-speaking student who will take France and the Peninsula as [his/her] speciality' (AP – Hawkes, 8.5.1965), but nothing else is mentioned about this in the letters that followed. The opposite route was taken by two students, Antonio Blanco and Gloria Trias, but both have always been associated with Professor John D. Beazley (Medwid 2000)²⁹. There is no information in the Pericot Archive about Blanco, but Hawkes talked about Trias in a few letters (AP – Hawkes, 10.3.1953)³⁰. Hawkes also advised some of his former pupils such as Miss Ilid Anthony, Curator of the Roman Baths and Museum in Bath, to visit Pericot. In 1969 he explained to Pericot that the reason for the lack of students specialising in Spain was that he and his wife Sonia had 'been devoting them to English and Germanic archaeology where my wife can help me or replace me' (19.4.1969).

Despite his relative lack of engagement with Spanish archaeology, Hawkes remained all his life deeply indebted to his early visits to Spain. In 1965 he wrote in his characteristic mixture of English, Spanish and Italianised Spanish this amazing eulogy:

'There is of course the profound emotional appeal to me of everything in the Prehistory and archaeology of Cataluña [Catalonia] and the Balears, and of the names and personalities inseparable from them. A painter of the Baroque would have made of you all such a fine allegorical composition, crowding the slopes and niches of the monticole [hill?] set with megalithic and cyclopean structures: the deeply cerebrating Maluquer, the gallant Tarradell, the humorous Arribas³¹, the inscrutable Serra, the handsome girls, pouring from their cornucopias typologically significant ceramics, and at the top yourself, presiding and directing from a hammock suspended beneath an overspreading talayotic slab – while in the sky, floating on a cloud and attired as the Jupiter Serapis, a distant Bosch benignly smiles. These figures, and all the many more besides, whether always immediate in the consciousness like Beltrán, in his laurels of Zaragoza and now with his todavía el problema de la muralla de Tarragona³²; or more remote now like Castillo, have all of them high places in the doings of my life, and it is felicity to count them colleagues and true friends: none more true nor more felicitous than you, whom I have always so much loved, and whose generosity to me has continually been so great. So this new book, like the two 'Symposium' books before it, re-awakens strong feelings in my heart; and its arrival is ideal to me for that cause first.' (AP - Hawkes 8.5.1965).

He obviously knew the Barcelona group well. Still in 1972 he wrote:

'My dear friend, I write to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the Cursos de Ampurias 1947, when

²⁹ **Blanco Freijeiro, Antonio** (1923–1991) undertook post-graduate and post-doctoral studies in Oxford (1947–1949), Heidelberg and Bonn (1954–1955) and Rome (1956). He taught in Madrid (1950–1959), and obtained the Chair of Archaeology at the University of Seville (1959–1973), moving to Madrid (1973–1988). **Trias de Arribas, Gloria**. She had a studentship in the Spanish School of Archaeology and Ancient History at Rome (1955), lecturer at the University of Granada where her husband had a Chair (1964–1979), and collaborator of the William L. Bryant Foundation. She published a well-known *Greek Pottery in the Iberian Peninsula* (Trias de Arribas 1967–1968). In her stay in Oxford Gloria Trias studied the Greek vases of Ampurias (AP – Hawkes, 10.3.1953). Antonio Blanco was not a student from Barcelona nor does he seem to have been supervised by Hawkes. Blanco studied in Madrid under Antonio García Bellido (1903–1972), Professor of Archaeology at the University of Madrid (1931–1972). Perhaps the fact that García Bellido and Hawkes met in Ampurias in September of 1947 helped in his decision to go to Oxford under J. D. Beazley's supervision.

³⁰ In his letter of 8 March 1959 Hawkes mentioned the wedding of Gloria Trias and Antonio Arribas as an inspiration to his own wedding with Sonia Hawkes after a short engagement.

³¹ **Arribas Palau, Antonio** (1926–2002), keeper of the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona from 1955, lecturer at the University of Barcelona from 1958, he obtained the Chair of Prehistory at the University of Granada (1964–1979) and of the Balearic Islands at Mallorca (1979–1991). **Tarradell i Mateu, Miquel** (1920–1995), worked for the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona (1942–1946), director of the Provincial Department for Archaeology of Granada (1946–1947) and of the Department of Excavations of the Spanish Protectorate of Marrocco (1948–1956). In 1956 he obtained the Chair of Archaeology at the University of Valencia, moving to Barcelona in 1970–1988. He was emeritus professor in the latter university (1988–1994).

³² "Todavía el problema de la muralla de Tarragona" means "still the problem of the (Iberian/Roman) wall of [the town of] Tarragona".

you gave me the inestimable benefit of re-introduction to the archaeological companionship of Spain. Now I become pensionado [i.e. jubilado, meaning retired]; we have recently returned from Mazarrón [a coastal village in the southeast of Spain] where we are acquiring un apartamento permanente. I expect to spend months in Spain each year, and I hope to visit Barcelona this October. Yr. Christopher Hawkes' (AP – Hawkes 15.8.1972).

Despite his comments, Hawkes never moved to Spain.

Concluding Remarks

This article has revolved around an international venture undertaken by Italian, French and Spanish archaeologists and the participation of British scholars in it – and in particular of the Oxford professor Christopher Hawkes. There are several issues that can be highlighted from the events narrated in this article.

The first relates to their timing, which may cause some surprise to some. In the 1940s and for most of the 1950s, Spain remained a relatively isolated country in political terms. The success of the allies in World War II had led to a certain initial reluctance of many countries to deal with those states in Europe still led by right-wing dictators, including Franco's Spain. The impact of this on archaeology, however, was less important than may initially be thought³³. In the context of the Ampurias summer course one could claim that this international cooperation was possible because the collaboration took place between archaeologists of right-wing persuasion. This explanation would fit well for the case of Nino Lamboglia, whose sympathies to Fascism are well known (Cortadella 1997). One such link, however, does not prove anything, for it has been amply demonstrated elsewhere that one of the protagonists of this story, Pericot, was at that time maintaining a very cordial relationship with a Marxist, Gordon Childe (Díaz-Andreu 1998; forthcoming–a; Díaz-Andreu forthcoming–b). Also, with the different ideologies of Pericot and Almagro (pragmatism in the case of the first, traditionalist in the case of Almagro), neither of them might have been necessarily looking for any connections to Fascism. One has to conclude that after all, therefore, politics was not central in joint international ventures such as the Ampurias summer courses, even if those were organised by archaeologists working under a dictatorial regime.

The second issue to highlight is the issue of memory as introduced in the first section of this article. The silence in major histories of archaeology about the activities and discoveries undertaken by local archaeologists in certain parts of the world such as the Western Mediterranean is also found in Hawkes' biographers. Despite Hawkes comments on his participation in the Ampurias summer courses in his 'Archaeological Retrospect' none of the non-British archaeologists referred to in this article are even mentioned in any of the biographies written about Hawkes – although in her chronology Webster (1991: 243) includes a mention in 1950 to the 'Balearic summer school'. Yet Hawkes' visits to Spain and Italy had had an impact on his own work. As a direct result of his first participation in the Ampurias summer course he published an influential overview of Hallstatt archaeology in Central and Western Europe (Hawkes 1948a; 1948b). His paper at the International Congress of Mediterranean Pre- and Protohistory was published in 1950, and his lecture at the fourth Ampurias summer course in 1952. From 1953, however, his interest focused elsewhere, returning to the areas that had occupied him before the 1940s – Belgium 1953, France 1957, 1958 etc. but he combined this with some regard to the Atlantic façade with his excavations in Portugal (Hawkes 1958; 1959; 1971; 1984), some mentions of Spanish and Portuguese material in his articles (for example Hawkes 1970;

³³ Some scholars have claimed that an impact can be seen in international projects such as the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* or *Tabula Imperii Romani* (Olmos *et al.* 1993). However, in my opinion, a proper assessment is needed of whether this was because of the incompetence of the new protagonists of Spanish archaeology, or rather because of internal politics within Spanish academia, or even perhaps, in the case of the TIR, because of Crawford's unwillingness to allow Spain to continue participating. In many other areas, contrary to what would be expected, Spain continued to have or to re-create many international links.

Hawkes & Smith 1957) and some thoughts on Tartessos made in the context of his participation in the fifth Symposium of Peninsular Prehistory (Hawkes 1969).

Hawkes' presence in Spain was beneficial for Pericot, although the most obvious results were not visible in the latter's archaeological interpretations but in other more practical and institutional aspects of his academic career. In addition to being invited to Oxford in 1948, 1951 and 1955³⁴, Pericot may have benefited from Hawkes' role in the Permanent Council of the CISPP, as he may have been helpful in providing Pericot with information about issues related to it. There is no space to develop this aspect here, but suffice it to say that in the conference in Zürich in 1950 – the first CISPP after the war – the proposal for the following international meeting to be in Spain in 1954 was successful. This ultimately led Pericot to become president of the CISPP (De Laet 1970: 1431). The impact of this on the development of Spanish and European archaeology is still an area to be explored.

This article started with the intent of being a short note, but it grew longer owing to the ramifications of Christopher Hawkes' participation in the first and fourth international summer courses of Ampurias. Perhaps more questions have been raised than answered. Hopefully, however, this work has managed to shed some light on a forgotten story. If there is something to reiterate at the end of this article, it is an urgent call for more internationally balanced histories of world archaeology, and for a more in-depth analysis in them of the institutional framework which made the practice of archaeology possible, not only within each country's frontiers but also beyond them.

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³⁴ Another possible visit in 1960 could not take place. At the time Hawkes was in 'intensive academic-political negotiations, and the future constitution of Prehistory, Archaeology, Anthropology, and Museums, within the University' (AP – Hawkes, 25.2.1960), a battle that seems to have concluded in 1965 (AP – Hawkes, 8.5.1965). In 1969 Hawkes explained to Pericot that he could not organise a lecture in Oxford during his visit, since he was recovering from an operation on his eyes (AP – Hawkes, 19.4.1969).

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